

PUBLIC SECTOR-GOVT.-DEFENCE

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Dual peacetime role urged for navy

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SOUTH AFRICA cannot afford both a navy and a coastguard, writes RONNIE KASRIIS.

IS IT possible for the South African Navy to perform a dual role that of seaward defence in times of international crisis or war, as well as a peacetime police role in our maritime zones?

The use of the army and air force in support of the police is generally accepted. Should the navy not also perform this dual role?

Babini Vantyu argues otherwise in his column "Navy's role is defence, not bobby on the beat" (Cape Times, December 17). He asserts that I am seeking to justify the navy on the basis of its secondary function. This is incorrect.

What he has done is to focus entirely on a single sentence of mine and misinterpret it, ignoring all my statements over the past two years — frequently aired in the media — that the chief function of the navy is defence.

This was, in fact, the conclusion of a recent consultative conference of the Defence Review, where it was clearly stated that the design of the SA National Defence Force (which includes the navy) must be based on its primary military tasks and not on its secondary functions.

Review deliberations have, however, also emphasised the importance of the defence force providing secondary, supportive roles. Vantyu argues that the navy is "unsure" to carry out a secondary role and musters a number of references in support. But, with all due respect, from the main body of international opinion and practice, it is clear that navies perform this role rather well.

One international expert, Professor John Hattendorf, in a paper presented in SA in August 1994, commented on the dual role as follows: "Based on its military capability, navies have a policing function involving a whole range of civil responsibilities".

He continued: "In periods of extended peace and international stability, when there is little justification in the popular mind for a war fleet, the policing role is one through

which wartime capabilities and seagoing expertise can be preserved in a contingency force". Another well-known academic in maritime matters, Professor G Till, says "In littoral states need to administer their jurisdictions by means of forces, both civil and military. Some states follow the model of the US Coast Guard, others, are content for their navies to take a bigger share in such activities".

Although our navy is designed to fulfil its primary role of defending the nation, it is also capable of assisting in maritime policing and should do so to help earn its keep.

The central point is that SA, in fact, cannot afford both a navy and a coast guard and it would be a downright waste of resources not to utilise our naval capability for peacetime purposes.

The answer lies in mutual support of existing agencies — for example, the navy supporting Sea Fisheries, just as the army and air force support the police on land — with all state departments working together to avoid duplication of capabilities.

Turning to our Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), extending 200 miles around our coastline (including Prince Edward and Marion Islands) which, in area, is nearly equal to the entire land mass of SA, Vantyu asserts "The South African Fishing Administration and the Sea Fisheries' Inspection Service seem to be doing just fine and do not need the full-time help of the navy".

Under international law, however, we have a responsibility to monitor and manage our entire EEZ and this, contrary to Vantyu's statements, is normally carried out with naval assistance in most countries.

Vantyu further asks for "evidence" of predators in our waters and what the navy's role would be "in combating that plunder". Predators are poachers seeking illegally to exploit our marine resources, drug traffickers and arms smugglers who would operate in

our waters given half a chance, and also those who might conceivably seek to impose their will on SA by "gunboat diplomacy" in the unpredictable future.

If we have managed to keep poaching and other illegal activities in our EEZ within constraints, it must surely point to the navy as being a deterrent — quite unlike the situation in the waters of our neighbouring states where poaching is rampant.

The very fact that there is not yet a major problem in our waters is surely proof of the navy's success in its support for Sea Fisheries. And if a foreign power were, for example, to attempt to settle a fishing dispute in our seas in their favour, by means of a naval demonstration, our navy would need to act simultaneously in a defence and policing role.

The navy should support the Sea Fisheries in preventing poaching and smuggling along our coastline, just as the army and air force help the police in the fight against crime.

Those with the responsibility of defending our sovereignty cannot afford to rule out such an eventuality.

Examples of even democratic countries at loggerheads with one another over

scarce resources cannot be ignored, as in the recent case of Canada and Spain or the "Cod War" between Britain and Iceland.

And given the intense competition for these resources, who can guarantee that such confrontation will never occur in our waters?

Vantyu's statements that "the monitoring of such infringements" in the EEZ "is best done by satellites" and that "a country's fishing fleet is in most circumstances most likely to report such infringements" ignore the necessity of a physical presence out at sea to deter and catch the transgressors.

The incident he cites of two Taiwanese fishing boats being caught by SA Commercial Marine Inspectors after berthing in Cape Town with illegal nets is heartening, but we cannot rely on poachers conveniently calling at our ports.

In fact, the stricter we get the less likely this is to happen and the more devious they will become.

I would like to turn to Vantyu's challenge that I must justify the need for a navy to the homeless and hungry. Although he might not agree with my reasoning, his ignorance for a junior research fellow at UWC, is surprising, for I have repeatedly made my case on this question in Parliament and in the media.

Since he appears to have missed the point, let me repeat that since 1989 the defence budget has been cut by 51% in real terms, military spending has dropped from about 17% in 1989 to 5,8% of total government expenditure, and is below 2% of our GDP (which is less than IMF recommendations).

These figures certainly represent a useful peacetime dividend in favour of socio-economic development. The navy's share of the total defence budget is a paltry 8,8% (and has been well below 10% for many years) and with a rationalisation programme imminent, further defence cuts are bound to be made.

These must be carefully and systematically managed, however, if we are to maintain a credible defence capacity.

The Defence Review is a mechanism to guide the government on how we should arrive at an appropriate budget, prioritising what essential equipment we need to acquire, given the constitutional imperative to defend our sovereignty.

Vantyu should not be so quick to assume that the disadvantage of this country cannot understand the need for a strong defence force to protect our hard-won sovereignty and territory, or that we cannot appreciate that the government must provide both houses and jobs and the means to defend them.

What Vantyu misses is that by both defending our sea lanes and policing our EEZ in a cost-effective manner, the navy is not only protecting the livelihood of those directly dependent on the sea (such as our fishing communities), but also ensuring safe and secure access to international trade vital to our economy, the RDP and regional development.

Those who contend that we have lavished too much funding on our navy would do well to consider the cuts we have made and the position we occupy in the naval league table of developing nations.

A study by the American academics Todd and Lindberg, of 16 developing nations — where fleet size is measured against GDP levels — shows that we are bottom of the table, below Burma, Columbia, Peru, Thailand and Venezuela, with India in top position.

Before being so quick to undermine our navy, Vantyu should bear in mind that it has been the stepchild of the armed forces owing to the apartheid state's myopia, isolation and concentration on land forces.

The navy, if sufficiently equipped, could play a major role in our responsibility to the region and its oceans.

For instance, our country has been repeatedly asked by our neighbours to provide them with urgent assistance in combating the plunder of their waters and we could play a significant role in helping build up their naval capability and maritime interests for the common benefit of our entire region.

It is clear that we cannot afford both a coast guard and a navy, and since we cannot afford not to have a navy, it makes good economic sense that it should perform both a defence and policing role, for ourselves and our region.

□ Ronnie Kasriis is the Deputy Minister of Defence

SANDEF volunteer intake lowest ever

STAFF WRITER

THIS year's intake of recruits for the SANDEF volunteer force is the lowest in its history. Lieutenant Colonel John Leven, the force's personnel officer,

roughly 400 applicants were selected from about 50 000 hopefuls who volunteered for the one-year programme.

Of the 400, 115 are from the Witwatersrand, 100 from the Western Cape, 100 from the Northern Cape, 100 from the Eastern Cape and 100 from the Free State.

Recruits will undergo training at the army's main recruitment depot in Durban and the women's training college in George, the only women's military school in the country, which had 10 000 applicants competing

for 115 places.

The selection process is very tough and each applicant had to satisfy strict entry requirements before facing a selection board and undergoing medical and psychometric examinations.

Candidates drawn from around the country must have a clean criminal record and no dependants and must be under 30 years of age. The aim of the strict selection process is to determine the leadership qualities of the recruits.

Despite the tough competition many school leavers and the army to be an attractive option because of the R22 000 package paid for the volunteer programme. It is also seen as a way to get into the permanent force.

New recruits have mixed motives

OWN CORRESPONDENT

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JOHANNESBURG: More than 400 men and women pitched up voluntarily to register for national service at the National Exhibition Centre when the Witwatersrand Command of the South African National Defence Force began its annual intake.

Some of the eager new recruits to the SANDEF's Voluntary Military Service programme said yesterday that they wanted to protect their country. Others saw it as a form of employment.

Recruits will earn around R1 800 a month and pay a nominal fee for accommodation, food, uniform and medical benefits.

On completing the course, successful graduates will receive a special certificate of service.

Major Koos du Toit said the programme was introduced in 1994 as the main source of recruitment for the conventional units of the SANDEF.

"These new recruits will spend an initial period of 12 months in the force, during which continuous military training will be provided. This will be followed by a commitment of 30 days a year over eight years in a part-time force unit."

The recruits will be sent to one of five training facilities.

Of the 400 Gauteng volunteers, 30 are women who will receive their basic training at the SA Women's College in George.

Recruits offered a variety of reasons for joining.

Mr Thomas Zakhe Petse, 21, from Bosmont, said "Joining the army at this point means I can earn some money and perhaps even start studying towards a law degree."

Mr Frederick Venter, 21, from Claremont said he was following in the footsteps of his ancestors. "My father was a captain in the SADF and his brothers were all part of the force. The army is part of the South African heritage I have grown to admire and believe in," he said.

Norwood school-leaver Mr Norman Erikson, 18, said he joined the army because he was motivated by stories of camaraderie and brotherhood.

"I have friends and family who were in the defence force during the days of conscription and most of them often recall their experiences. Their stories are intriguing and I want to give myself the opportunity to develop similar memories," he said.

Mr Theo Manamela, 20, from Alexandra, is more certain of his reasons for volunteering. "My lifelong dream has been to sit at the controls of a jet fighter. The programme looks like a gateway into a long-term career in the defence force," he said.

Manamela said he was aware of allegations of racism in the defence force, but was convinced it was merely baggage from the past.

'Racism rife' in new defence force

M&G 10-16/1/97

(254)

The culture in the newly integrated army is still white, causing widespread racial problems

Rehana Rossouw reports

At least four soldiers in the South African National Defence Force are currently being court-martialed on charges of alleging that their commanding officer was racist.

The prosecutions appear to reflect widespread race problems in the newly integrated SA National Defence Force (SANDF). Black soldiers at four defence force bases informally surveyed by the *Mail & Guardian* this week complained about racism. They claim the culture of the army is still white and Afrikaans and harsh measures are taken against soldiers who were members of non-statutory armies on the grounds of "maintaining standards".

Even though they are prohibited by army regulations from giving information to the media, the soldiers said that racism is rife in the defence force and soldiers who are too outspoken have been targeted.

There have been physical clashes between white and black soldiers in the Western Cape, which have led to soldiers being charged and found guilty of charges in military tribunals. The number of clashes and charges is unknown but soldiers said there were "many".

Black soldiers complain that their infringements of army discipline are treated harshly while infringements by white members are often overlooked. They say their political leadership has abandoned them and does not respond to their complaints.

The soldiers said that shortly before the start in 1994 of their integration into the SANDF a policy called "Operation Juggernaut" was launched. They were told this was an attempt to maintain "standards" in the new defence force and which meant soldiers found violating military rules would be summarily dealt with.

This said a soldier based at the Youngsfield Military base in Cape Town who asked not to be named. He meant maintaining the "racist South African Defence Force norms" which were not consistent with international military norms.

"It means black soldiers are ridiculed and ostracised by some of their white counterparts. What it is ultimately geared at is lowering the morale of former members of Umkhonto we

Sizwe [MK] and the Azanian People's Liberation Army [Apla] in an attempt to force us out," said the soldier.

"Already many people have left the army because of racism and harassment and there are many more who are thinking of leaving right now."

The complaints appear common across the Western Cape. In the Boland, two members of Group 31 Battalion are currently facing a court-martial on charges that they claimed their commanding officer was racist.

Black soldiers at Group 31 claim their commanding officer, Colonel George McLoughlin, told them standards would be so high in his unit that MK and Apla members would be forced to seek employment at "Shoprite and OK Bazaars".

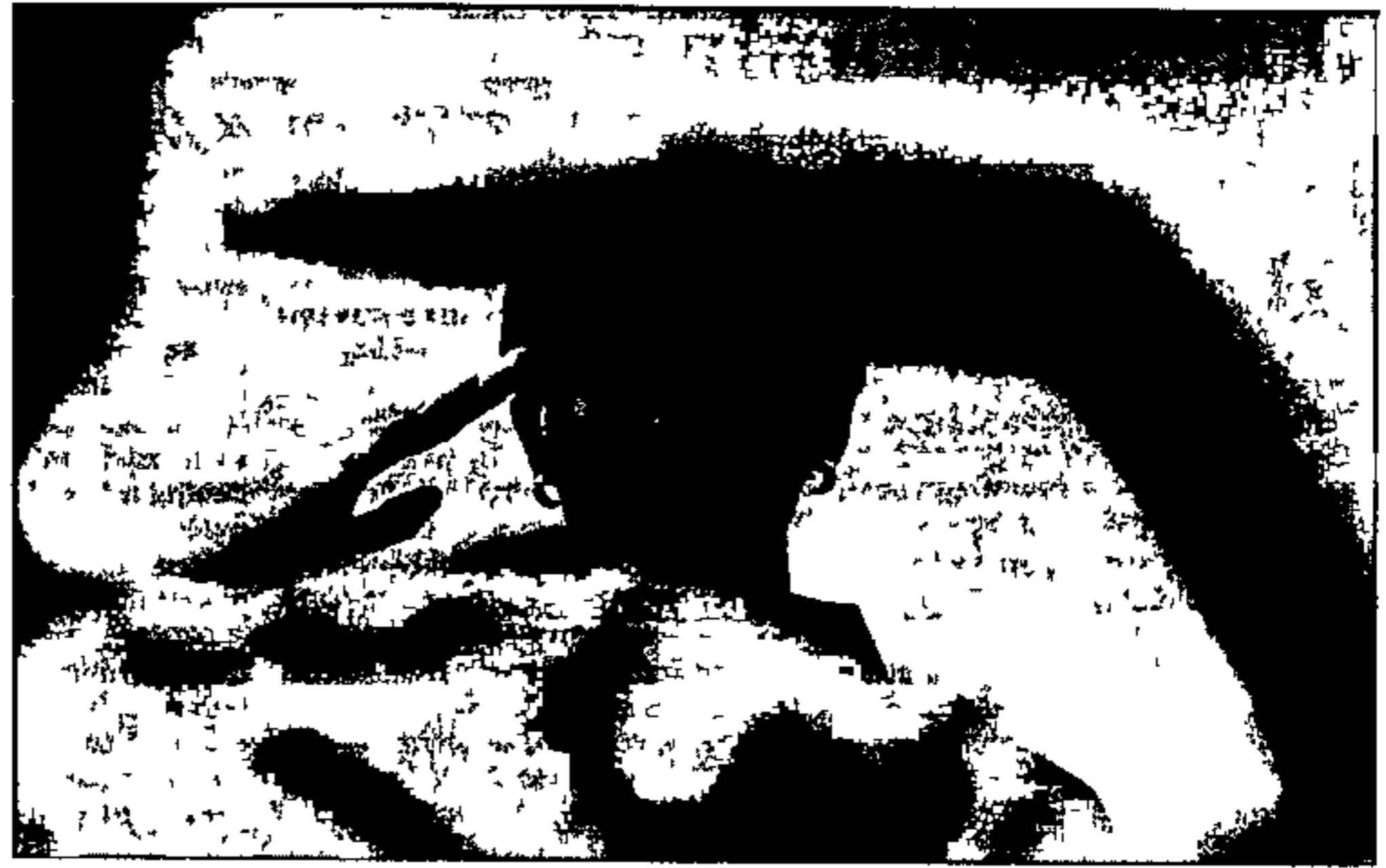
Group 31 soldiers said they had examples which clearly indicated that white soldiers who infringed military rules were not dealt with as harshly as black soldiers. A coloured member of the unit, Lieutenant-Colonel A Fredericks, was brought before a military tribunal and fined after being found guilty on charges of abandoning his post and using a military vehicle without authority.

Group 31 soldiers say Fredericks received a telephone call from relatives in February last year claiming that a young girl had been abducted. The callers told him the police would not respond to a missing persons report until 24 hours had elapsed.

Fredericks set off in a military vehicle to find the girl. He managed to track her down and remove her from the men who had abducted her before returning to his post. Two weeks later members of the unit were informed that they were needed to assist a civilian who reported that he had lost his wallet. Group 31 soldiers were dispatched, in military vehicles with high-tech night vision equipment to search for the missing wallet. The officers who ordered them to assist were not charged.

"This shows clearly what kind of people were in command of Group 31. When a black child's life was threatened and a soldier who is sworn to protect the public went to help, he was disciplined. But when members were ordered to help a white man find his wallet, the officer who gave the order wasn't disciplined," said a soldier based at Group 31 who asked not to be named.

Soldiers at Group 31 claim the SANDF's refusal to fund Booysen and Pfeiffer's legal costs because the lawyer defending them was



Attention Former MK cadres seem not to be welcome in the SANDF

PHOTOGRAPH STEVE HILTON BARBER

Army foils arms smuggling probe

Rehana Rossouw

In a topsy-turvy drama, a Military Intelligence (MI) investigation into allegations of arms smuggling in the Western Cape has been foiled because two soldiers assisting the probe have been charged by the defence force with leaking sensitive information. MI forms part of the defence force.

Staff Sergeant Herman Pfeiffer and Corporal Dawid Booysen, both based at Group 31 in Paarl, are facing a court-martial on numerous charges, including attempting to make copies of official documents. They are also accused of publicly questioning the competence of their commanding officer, Colonel George McLoughlin, and claiming that he was racist because he did not support the integration of the armed forces.

The two first appeared at an in-camera court-martial in Paarl last month and the hearing was postponed until February 17. The charges follow an approach by an MI officer: members of Group 31 were asked if they had any information about the disappearance of weapons in their unit's area of responsibility. MI was investigating reports that weapons — mostly AK47s — handed to the former SADF for storage or destruction, had disappeared.

The United Nations and the British govern-

ment had asked South Africa to investigate a claim that weapons had been smuggled through Cape Town harbour to Burundi.

There was a possibility that the distribution points of the weapons fell within Group 31's area of responsibility. Some of Group 31's soldiers had already reported to McLoughlin in November 1995 that they had discovered a distribution point for weapons allegedly smuggled from Angola to South Africa. They provided MI with this information.

Both Pfeiffer and Booysen were subsequently charged with conspiring and attempting to make copies of classified and other official documents in March last year which they intended handing over to MI. They are also charged with conspiring to make copies of entries in Group 31's incident book and handing it over to a member of MI. Another charge alleges they made private telephone calls on an official telephone.

Both are also facing charges that they conspired to complain about their unit to a higher authority in the SANDF — MI — instead of directing the complaints to their commanding officer.

At the court-martial last year it was discovered that Group 31's incident book and weapons register requested as evidence had disappeared.

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in private practice also smacked of racism.

They claim the army is paying the legal costs of Captain Dirk Rheede, who is white and based at Military Intelligence in Cape Town, who was charged with attempted murder following an incident which occurred while he was not on duty.

Ironically Rheede's case illustrates that not

only black soldiers are concerned about racism in the SANDF. Rheede is alleged to have shot at a Lieutenant Potjie, a white soldier based at the castle in Cape Town, who is facing charges of bringing the army into disrepute by claiming his commanding officer is racist and a poor manager.

Former members of MK and Apla have also alleged that the SANDF was racist in its allocation of housing units in the Western Cape. However, a commission of inquiry instituted three months ago — consisting of two white officers — cleared the Western Cape command of any wrongdoing.

Black soldiers claim their political leadership has abandoned them and that their appeals to ANC leaders for intervention have been ignored. A Lieutenant Magama, based at 9 South African Infantry Battalion, who allegedly wrote a letter to President Nelson Mandela complaining about alleged racism in the army, has been threatened with a court-martial on the grounds that he should have complained to his commanding officer instead.

"They use this all the time. They expect us to complain to the very people who are unjustly discriminating against us," said a former MK member who is now a lieutenant in the SANDF. The problem is I don't think Joe Modise [Minister of Defence] and Ronnie Kasrils [Deputy Minister of Defence] know the half of what is going on in their army.

"It is very difficult to keep our sanity and remain in the SANDF in the face of constant racial attacks. They are trying to drive us out of the army and they are succeeding."

"Morale is very low among former cadres. It is getting to the stage where we are even too scared to support each other. When one of us is being targeted, the others keep their heads low in the hope that the trouble doesn't spill over."

The Western Cape Command of the SANDF, army headquarters in Pretoria and the Ministry of Defence said they were unable to comment on these allegations before the *M&G*'s deadline.

Invitation to NGOs and other role players to participate in a new water and sanitation development initiative

South Africa's largest water and sanitation NGO, The Mvula Trust, invite all other NGOs and interested organisations in the sector to participate in a new programme supporting water and sanitation initiatives in South Africa.

The Programme, funded by the European Union, supports water and sanitation projects administered by NGOs and other organisations. Activities envisaged to be funded by the Programme include pre-project financing, capacity building, piloting new and innovative approaches to water and sanitation development, and health and hygiene promotion. Projects which could be funded by existing sources will not be considered.

Consultative meetings with interested parties will be held in 11 centres throughout the country from January 23 to March 20 1997 to define the criteria for project funding.

Further details regarding the consultative meetings can be obtained from Virago Conferences at (011) 885-2628.

Information on the Programme can be obtained from Rob Dyer at The Mvula Trust/EU NGO Programme, Box 61301, Bishopsgate, 4008. Or fax enquiries to (031) 301-3255.

Israel condemns planned deal with country on US \$3 billion SA arms for

(204) ST 12/1/97

'terrorism' list Syria

By GYRIL MADLALA
Parliamentary Correspondent

THE cabinet has conditionally approved a R3-billion arms sale to Syria, signalling a clear break with past policies that favoured Israel over the Arab states.

The contract, to supply tank firing control systems to Syria, one of the countries on the US's list of states that sponsor terrorism, had earlier been approved by the multi-party national conventional arms control committee, headed by Professor Kader Asmal.

The proposed sale, which follows earlier decisions to pursue friendly ties with Iran, Cuba and Libya despite US opposition, underlines the government's determination that its foreign policy will not be dictated by foreign powers.

Nevertheless, the cabinet, fearing the move could anger the US, made its support conditional on the approval of

systems to Syria would "raise concerns"

Syria's status as a state supporting terrorism bars it from receiving US military technology. However, unlike in the case of Libya and Iran, the US does not automatically apply sanctions to countries supplying Syria.

A source in the department said there would be serious trouble if the goods to be supplied to Syria contained US technology or components obtained as the result of past smuggling operations, or which the US had since licensed non-Armscor companies to receive.

South Africa's readiness to sell arms to countries like Syria could also complicate the resolution of the 1991 arms smuggling case against Armscor.

Until that matter is resolved, US arms sanctions against South Africa remain in place.

Some influential elements within the US security establishment do not believe that South Africa can be trusted with US technology, given its history of selling illegally obtained US technology to nations the US considers hostile, notably Iraq.

A major arms sale to Syria that could be construed as shifting the balance of power in the Middle East would be extremely controversial and make South Africa a lot of enemies in Washington, the source said.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who was not at the meeting at which the issue was discussed.

The matter will be referred back to the cabinet if, in Mbeki's view, the deal contravenes the US Counter-Terrorism Act, which requires the US to act against countries which provide lethal military equipment to "state sponsors of terrorism".

Ricky Naidoo, Mbeki's spokesman, confirmed that the matter had been referred to the deputy president after a cabinet meeting in December Mbeki was in India at the time.

"He is still considering it, and it will be discussed again by cabinet later this month, when a final decision will be taken," Naidoo said.

Victor Harel, Israel's acting ambassador to South Africa, said yesterday he would take the matter up with the Department of Foreign Affairs this week.

"I am not aware of the details, but in general the Middle East process should be

helped by all friends of the peace process by not selling military equipment to Syria. Any sale of military equipment to Syria is a source of concern to Israel and its security," he said.

Israel, which had long-standing relations with the former government, is involved in a war of words with Syria over the bombing two weeks ago of a bus in Damascus which killed at least 15 people and injured many others. Syria has accused Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency, of planting the bomb.

Sources in the South African government said the arms control committee had been unable to determine whether tank firing control systems fell within the US definition of lethal military equipment. The cabinet had therefore decided to make its approval for the sale conditional on Mbeki's approval, after he had studied the US law.

Asmal declined to comment on his committee's recommendation that the Syrian contract be signed.

"That is not something in the public domain I cannot confirm or deny it," he said.

Paul Holtzhausen, communications manager at Denel, the arms parastatal, referred inquiries to Asmal.

● SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that sources in the US State Department said the sale of tank firing control

AMERICA AND SA SQUARE UP

Arms deal brings back 'bad old days' in diplomacy

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POLITICAL STAFF AND REUTER

South Africa and the United States stood at daggers drawn today over the proposed sale by Armscor of a R3-billion anti-tank missile system to Syria.

The acrimony of the confrontation, which escalated today to include spokesmen for President Mandela and President Bill Clinton, was last seen during the

Washington-Pretoria clashes of the apartheid years.

At the source of the trouble is the South African Cabinet's conditional approval of the deal with Syria and a United States law which would automatically cut off US aid to South Africa - valued at R580-million this year - if the deal were to go ahead.

Under American law, the US government may not give aid to any country which sells weapons to a state listed as

sponsoring terrorism. Syria is listed, along with Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea and the Sudan, as such a country.

As the confrontation grew in fury today, President Nelson Mandela's spokesman accused the US of trying to bully South Africa over the Syrian deal and said Pretoria would not be dictated to by the superpower.

"We detest this kind of behaviour," spokesman Parks Mankahlana said in

response to a US warning that aid to South Africa would be cut if the Armscor deal went ahead.

"We don't understand even why the Americans are so hyped over this thing," Mr Mankahlana said. "We'd rather be spoken to differently, as equals, instead of (Washington) making public threats."

South African officials have said the Cabinet will decide at its meeting on January 22 whether to approve the sale to Syria.

In Washington, the US State Department said yesterday it was deeply concerned about the proposed sale. "It would be extremely serious if these sales actually occurred," it said.

Mr Mankahlana said the United States should not have gone public with its concerns in the way that it did.

"President Clinton and President Mandela are a call away from each other. They phone each other very regularly. It could

have been done (that way)," he said.

"We don't like grandstanding and they should not do that... The Americans are not going to guide us, they are not going to tell us what to do."

Besides direct aid, a range of other US assistance would also be in doubt if the deal was approved - and any US ban on aid to South Africa would be indefinite,

America and SA square up over proposed Syrian arms deal

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meaning that the total sanction could quickly exceed the value of the Syrian contract

The issue has also caused sharp political divisions inside South Africa, with the ANC today coming out in open support of the Armscor deal, but with other parties, including the Democratic Party and the National Party, warning of the severe long-term consequences for the country.

The South African Muslim Party has also come out in full support of the deal, while the Israeli government has expressed its deep concern.

But Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who will review the proposed deal, has said through a spokesman that the matter is still being investigated.

Yesterday in Washington State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said: "This is at the top of our agenda with South Africa now."

"The US hopes that the South African government will not consummate arms sales to a country that supports terrorists."

Mr Burns warned that "both the foreign operations and foreign assistance acts - the law of the US - prohibit certain forms of US assistance to governments which supply lethal equipment to Syria or any other country listed in the US as a state sponsor of terrorism."

In a statement today the ANC called on the government to "reject attempts by the NP and the DP to impose policies adopted by the apartheid state in pursuit of its particular interests."

The statement added "Those policies discriminated against the majority of countries in the Middle East in the interests of the perpetuation of the apartheid system in South Africa. Both the NP and the DP are attempting to reimpose those old policies in order to prevent the conclusion of a just, even-handed and lasting peace in that region."

Restructuring of the SANDF will affect some famous regiments

By **NORMAN CHANDLER**
Defence Correspondent

Some of the country's most famous military units are on the brink of closure, amalgamation, decommissioning or renaming in terms of an order soon to be signed by Defence Minister Joe Modise.

Thousands of personnel in all four branches of the military will be affected by the changes, the largest to have taken place in the South African military establishment since the 1950s.

The development is part of a wide-ranging restructuring of the SANDF, which says it is unable to afford its current structures and to maintain its role in the defence of the country, and that "radical restructuring is unavoidable".

It also says it is "not possible to communicate specifics at this time" and admits that rumours and uncertainty about the changes are prevalent.

It is known, however, that almost 6 000 officers and men from the army, air force, navy and medical service

have opted to take retrenchment packages over the past few months, but about 1 500 were refused because of a fear that the military's management would be irreparably harmed.

At least four generals are among those who have retired or taken retrenchment packages.

They include Major-General Marius Oelshing, former head of the old Ciskei Defence Force, who played a key role in the SANDF transformation process, as well as the officer commanding Western Province Command Major-General Dan Lamprecht, army deputy chief of staff Major-General Bertie Botha, and army deputy chief of staff (operations) Major-General Chris "Swartland" Sertonstein.

Military sources are tight-lipped about the number of units, army groups or territorial commands which face the axe — a direct result of the SANDF integration and rationalisation programme which started in 1994.

The programme will see strengths drop from a high of 134 000 at that

time to about 70 000 in 1999.

A meeting took place in Pretoria yesterday between top military personnel and the Department of Defence to map out further details.

The changes are apparently affecting some of the country's leading "traditional" regiments but they have so far not been identified.

It has been learnt that those affected will come from Pretoria, Grahamstown, KwaZulu Natal, Western Cape and Johannesburg.

It is known that one of Johannesburg's most famous regiments, the Rand Light Infantry, and 2nd Battalion Transvaal Scottish are to be transferred to 7 SA Division as its light infantry component after fears that they would both be closed.

The Witwatersrand and Northern Transvaal army and medical commands in Johannesburg and Pretoria and the Forward Air Force Command Post in Johannesburg are being joined and renamed Gauteng Command. The amalgamation formally takes

effect from April 1

The commanding officer is to be Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, currently Chief of Defence Staff, and strong favourite to take over as chief of the SANDF on the retirement of General Georg Moring.

Gauteng Command will be the first joint command involving the army, air force and medical services, and if it is successful, sources said, the possibility existed for joint commands to be established in other regions as one way of helping in the containment of defence costs over the next few years.

The army's Group 39, based at Queenstown, Eastern Cape, is understood to face certain closure and reattached to it are scheduled to be transferred to other groups based at Umtata and East London.

In other parts of the country, changes in provincial borders resulted in alterations to territorial command borders.

These used to be within the bound-

aries of the four old provinces — with the result that some commando units are no longer operational as they are not required in their new districts.

According to the latest SANDF internal communication bulletin on transformation, the force "is beginning to experience some of the changes, with some units amalgamating or closing, and planning for restructuring being done".

It admits there are many rumours and what it calls "much uncertainty" about the changes, and adds that "certain specific but broad proposals were recently presented to the Council on Defence (consisting of the defence minister and deputy minister, the chief of the SANDF and the secretary for defence) by the defence force's transformation management team, and decisions on some of the options have been made".

The decisions are expected to be made soon after Modise consults this month with the joint parliamentary standing committee on defence.

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White House threatens to cut aid to SA if arms deal with Syria succeeds

Star 14/11/97

(254)

Washington - The United States has threatened to cut aid to South Africa if Pretoria follows through with plans to sell arms to Syria. South Africa is due to receive R564-million in aid from the US this year.

"It would be extremely serious if these sales actually occurred," State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said yesterday. "The United States hopes the South African Government will not consummate arms sales to a

country that supports terrorists," Burns raised the issue of US law. "Both the foreign operations and foreign assistance Acts prohibit certain forms of US assistance to governments which supply lethal equipment to Syria or any other countries listed by the US as state sponsors of terrorism."

"We would certainly analyse any potential sales in the context of our laws," he said. Officials in Johannesburg said on Sunday that South Africa was considering selling weapons systems, including tank-firing systems, worth R3-billion to Syria.

"We have a strongly worded statement here that amounts to saying we think that's a very bad idea," White House spokesman Mike McCurry said. A report in the latest Sunday Times said the South African Cabinet had given conditional approval for the supply of tank-firing systems to the Damascus government, which is listed by the US, along with Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea and Sudan, as a "state sponsor of terrorism."

The Cabinet, fearing the move could anger Washington, "made its support conditional on the approval of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who was not at the meeting at which the issue was discussed," the news report said. Mbeki was studying the matter and was expected to decide by the first Cabinet meeting of the new year on January 22, his spokesman, Ricky Naidoo, said. Israel's acting head of its mission in Pretoria, Victor Harel, met senior officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs yesterday to convey his government's fears that such a sale could seriously hamper peace efforts in the Middle East.

The NP yesterday joined the DP in condemning the arms deal, saying the ANC's handling of the matter was "disturbing and frankly unacceptable". - Reuters, Staff Reporter

Nearly 50 000 defence industry jobs lost — a ⁰²³⁴¹⁵association

(254)

BD 14/1/97

Edward West

NEARLY 50 000 jobs had been lost in the local defence industry over the past six years because of government spending cut-backs and the dearth of manufacturing sector investment, the SA Aerospace, Maritime and Defence Industry Association said yesterday.

Association executive director Julius Kriel said the industry hoped to export half its output by the end of the century in an effort to boost competitiveness. However, this would be attainable only if a number of large contracts, such as sales of Rooivalks, were secured, and barring further declines

in the defence budget.

Over the past few years exports generally had grown well, he said. Overseas sales nearly doubled to R1,2bn last year compared with R614m in 1992. Products consisted mainly of artillery, avionics, fuses and anti-mine technology.

The association predicted exports would grow to R3,9bn in 2000.

Armcor, government's prime arms procurement agency, placed 4 438 contracts with 682 companies to a value of R3,69bn in 1995, with most of the work placed with local industry.

The industry is made up of four major groups, listed Altech, Reunert, Grintek and

government-owned Denel, with more than 1 500 subcontracting companies used. The four major players supplied more than 60% of Armcor's defence purchases.

Total defence industry sales were not known, but association members, which supplied about 94% of the local defence purchases of Armcor, grew their output 33% in the three years to 1995 to more than R6bn.

Kriel said a number of factors had brought uncertainty to the industry.

One was the phasing out of the general export incentives scheme faster than planned. The cost of tendering abroad ran into millions of rands. "To compete overseas some government assistance is necessary."

Mbeki moves to calm storm over mooted R3bn Syrian arms deal

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Deputy President Thabo Mbeki did his best yesterday to calm a growing political storm over the proposed sale of military hardware worth R3bn to Syria, undertaking to investigate all aspects of the deal.

Mbeki's spokesman Ricky Naidoo said yesterday that before a final decision was made several aspects of the deal would be examined, including whether the sale would contravene the US's Anti-Terrorism and Death Penalty Act.

Simon Barber reports from Washington that Section 235 of the Act prohibits US assistance to countries which provide lethal military equipment to countries the US secretary of state has formally determined sponsors international terrorism.

The law permits the US president to grant a waiver to the act and he has submitted a formal finding to the House of Representatives that it is in the US national interest. Other legislation prohibits US manufacture or sale of arms to Syria.

The US embassy in Pretoria indicated that it would comment on the proposal in due course.

Naidoo said Mbeki would make his recommendation known at the next cabinet meeting, due on January 29. The cabinet approved the deal at a meeting on December 4, but made the deal dependent on Mbeki's agreement as he was not present.

West Tower, Sandton Square, Sandton.

ing of the island and its reclamation by all South Africans committed to free

international relations, turning them into a joke. He suggested Mbeki should intervene immediately to save SA any further international embarrassment.

DP defence spokesman Douglas Gibson said Syria was seen by many responsible nations as a potential military aggressor, and had an appalling human rights record, and it was certainly a harbinger for terrorists.

The proposed sale seemed to contradict the guidelines established by the cabinet arms control committee headed by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, he said.

Sapa reports that acting Israeli ambassador Victor Harari warned the deal could have an influence on the Middle East peace process.

The proposed sale came as Israel and the Palestinians were close to signing a peace agreement, and he warned it could upset the balance of power in the troubled Middle East.

Arms magazine Jane's Defence Weekly's SA correspondent Helmut-Roemer Hartman said the system-armor discussion was probably a tank fire control system developed to fit Russian-made T72 tanks.

Essentially, the systems would allow for better sighting on the move and allow the tanks to sight at night, as well as other less significant improvements.

Syria now had about 1 500 T72 tanks, roughly the same number of the same generation tanks as the Israeli army, whose tanks already could sight at night.

Hence, while by no means changing the Middle East balance of power, the sale did have potential political dangers, he said, and could strengthen the impression that SA was maintaining relationships with questionable states.

Comment Page 7

America, SA back away from Syrian arms row

Conciliatory words exchanged

(254)
AUG 15/1997

FOREIGN SERVICE AND POLITICAL STAFF

South Africa and the United States have backed away from their confrontation over the possible sale of a R3-billion weapons system to Syria by a South African company.

Both sides issued conciliatory statements overnight, after a war of words in recent days which were reminiscent of the mutual antagonism of the apartheid era.

In Washington the US said it was prepared to work with the South African government to "amicably and co-operatively" resolve the flare-up.

And in Pretoria's first full official statement on the deal, the Department of Foreign Affairs said a local company "was involved in a process of marketing an electronic tank sighting system in Syria", along with companies from at least three European countries.

The statement pointed out that no contract yet existed, that the Cabinet had not yet made any decision on the matter and that it was expected that any tender for the sale of the weapons system to Syria would be issued between 1999 and 2000.

Asked to comment on the South African

reaction to American warnings that a deal with Syria could jeopardise US aid to Pretoria, US State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said. "No one was putting a gun to anyone's head. We intend to work with the South African government amicably and co-operatively on this."

He was responding to Parks Mankahlana, President Mandela's spokesman, who said "What we find particularly insulting is for someone to hold a gun to our head and tell us what to do."

Mr Burns said there had been ongoing discussions between US and South African officials over the proposed arms sale.

"We are in the process of receiving from the South African government a full description of what may or may not be in the works. And until we receive a full description, we are not going to be able to determine the relevance of this issue to the US law and, frankly, the degree of seriousness of this issue."

"But I do want to repeat again today (Tuesday) what we said yesterday: we do not believe that countries should provide military assistance to state sponsors of terrorism, Syria being clearly one of those states," Mr Burns said.

Foreign Affairs denies R3-bn defence contract with Syria

Star 15/1/97

(254)

The Department of Foreign Affairs has stepped into the war of words with the United States over arms sales to Syria. It stated last night that there was no Cabinet approval in principle for a R3-billion contract.

The proposed contract has led to US warnings that it will stop and if it is finally approved by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

The department's statement said "Contrary to what has been reported publicly, no contract to sell any defence equipment to Syria exists. Neither the National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC) nor the Cabinet has taken any decision that a contract be granted to South African companies to export such defence equipment to Syria.

At least three European countries, a South African company is involved in a process of marketing an electronic tank-sighting system in Syria.

"If, at that point, the South African company was still interested to submit a bid, the NCACC and the Cabinet would decide whether to agree that the South African company should in fact bid for the contract to sell."

It added: "That decision would be based on the guidelines governing export of conventional weapons, the prevailing situation in the Middle East at that time and the Government's firm commitment to support the peace progress in that region."

"In the meantime SA companies are entitled to inform potential customers about their products, as are the European

companies which are currently doing the same thing in Syria.

"On this basis the Cabinet conditionally agreed that the South African company be given contracting approval to enable it to

No decision taken to export arms

market its product in Syria."

Earlier reports said the Cabinet would take a final decision on a proposed arms deal with Syria at its next meeting, scheduled for January 22 in Pretoria.

On Monday night Mbeki's spokesman Ricky Nardoo said the position on the proposed arms sale remained consistent.

He was responding to reports that the US had called on South Africa to cancel the sale, which he called "a very bad idea". Once Mbeki had considered all aspects he would advise the Cabinet accordingly at the next meeting.

The US State Department yesterday informed the South African Government that the US assistance programme could be curtailed if the military hardware sale to Syria went ahead.

President Nelson Mandela's spokesman Parks Mankahlana accused the US of trying to bully the Government by threatening to cut aid to the tune of \$121-million.

"We detest this kind of behaviour," Mankahlana said.

US State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said in Washington yesterday: "We are deeply concerned. It would be extremely serious if these sales actually occurred."

Opposition to the supposed arms sale to Syria intensified yesterday, with the National Party urging Mbeki to veto the deal.

Israel's ambassador to SA, Victor Harel, said the arms deal, which includes firing-control systems to upgrade Syria's Soviet-made T72 tanks, could enhance Syria's military capacity.

It was a move which might lead Israel to improve its own military power.

However, Harel declined to speculate on whether relations with SA might be affected if the Cabinet decided to approve the deal - Sapa, Staff Reporters

SA govt back-pedals over Syrian armaments deal

BD 15/1/97

(254)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Government back-pedalled yesterday from the proposed R3bn sale of defence equipment to Syria, saying any tender for the sale would be issued after 1999 and a final decision by government needed only to be made then.

The foreign affairs department said yesterday that contrary to reports, no contract to sell any defence equipment to Syria existed. An SA company was involved with defence equipment manufacturers from at least three European countries in marketing an electronic tank sighting system in Syria, the department said. "It is expected that any tender for the sale of such equipment would be issued only between the years of 1999 and 2000."

If at that point the SA company was still interested, the National Conventional Arms Control Committee and the cabinet would make a decision.

This decision would be based on the guidelines governing the export of conventional weapons, the prevailing situation in the Middle East at that time and government's firm commitment to support the regional peace process.

"In the meantime, SA companies are as entitled to inform potential customers about their products as are the European companies that are doing the same thing in Syria. On this basis the cabinet provisionally agreed that the SA company be given contracting

approval to enable it to market its product in Syria," the department said.

Earlier in the day, government officials sent out mixed signals on the deal. Some stressed that SA had not yet approved the deal, and one government spokesman even railed against "bullying" by the US government.

The organisations, including the ANC, were reacting to the US state department which expressed "deep concern" yesterday about the deal and said the US might be obliged to suspend aid to SA if the deal went ahead.

Reuter reports that presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana accused the US yesterday of trying to bully SA over the deal, saying "we detest this kind of thing".

"What we find particularly insulting is for someone to hold a gun to our heads and tell us what to do," Mankahlana reportedly said. "We will not be dictated to by the US."

But presidential aide Joel Netshitenzhe stressed later that SA would take all aspects of the deal into account before coming to a final decision, including the position of a broad range of countries other than the US. He did not interpret the US state department's statement to be a threat, it was only drawing attention to existing US law, which SA would in any case take into account when deciding on the deal.

Netshitenzhe agreed that SA's

Continued on Page 2

Syria

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Continued from Page 1

sovereignty was at issue, "but sovereignty does not exist in a vacuum", he said, adding that SA would take many states' views into account.

However, the ANC implicitly and the ANC Youth League explicitly criticised the US's stance, with the league describing the "threat" to withdraw aid as a "bizarre form of blackmail".

The ANC did not comment specifically on the deal, but accused the NP and DP of trying to impose policies adopted by the apartheid state in pursuit of its particular interests. "The ANC reaffirms its approach to the Middle East which recognises the legitimate interests of all countries in the region and the need for peaceful co-ex-

istence.. on the basis of equality."

Josey Ballenger reports that SA markets dipped in early trade yesterday on fears of US action if SA went ahead with the Syrian deal, although some dealers said the conflict was no more than an excuse for a correction following Monday's bullishness.

The R150 government long bond was yielding 15,715% late in the day, against its Monday close of 15,69%, having reached a worst level of 15,84% during the day. The E168 electricity bond weakened to a 15,945% yield, its worst level of the day, from the previous day's 15,81% close.

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange's industrial index also ended down, shedding 10 points to 1450, which helped depress the overall index by seven points to end the day at 6752.

See Page 9

MANDELA REJECTS US WARNINGS ON ARMS DEAL

'We'll sell to whom we want'

JOHANNESBURG: Foreign policy commentators have accused the government of blundering over its proposed arms sales to Syria.

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela, angrily rejecting United States warnings over a proposed arms deal with Syria, said yesterday that South Africa would deal with anyone it wanted to, regardless of outside pressure.

"We will conclude agreements with any country whether they are popular in the West or not. And that is what we are likely to do in this case," he said, one week before the cabinet is due to take a final decision. "The enemies of countries in the West are not our enemies."

But Mandela has come under fire from some foreign policy commentators.

"It was a bad lapse to even think about selling arms to Syria," Mr Steven Friedman of the Centre for Policy Studies said. SA Institute of International

Affairs director Dr Greg Mills said the government had blundered in more than one respect.

It clearly misunderstood the sensitivity of the Middle East region. This was exacerbated by a presidential spokesman's sharp rejection of the negative reaction from the US to reports that South Africa was considering an arms deal with Syria.

The US said on Monday it was extremely concerned that Pretoria planned to sell \$641 million (about R2,9 billion) of arm-enhancing gear for Soviet-made tanks to Syria, which it says backs terrorism.

It threatened to cut off aid — worth \$110m (R514m) this year — if the deal went ahead. But Mandela, in a tough statement that may sour ties further, said such pressure would not work.

The President said it would be immoral to abandon countries that supported him in the anti-apartheid fight "on the advice of countries that were friends of the apartheid regime".

South Africa, like others, would sell weapons to countries even if they did not share the same values.

"The only provision we make is that our arms should not be used to disturb the peace in any part of the world," he added.

Washington's latest public criticism seems to have enraged him. Mandela said South Africa's smaller friends used discreet diplomatic channels to sort out differences. "They don't rush to the mountain tops and start dictating to other countries."

News of the arms deal was leaked by unknown sources to a Sunday newspaper. Mandela said a statement on Tuesday by his foreign ministry, widely seen as a bid to calm the row, was by no means a sign of "backing down".

The ministry had said any deal for what it termed "software" was not likely to be concluded before 1999, and that South Africa was not alone — three European countries were also bidding for the business. It declined to name them.

Foreign policy experts yesterday said South Africa should act responsibly if it wished to be seen as a reliable international partner.

They described the government's foreign policy approach as narrow, shortsighted and not in the interest of the country.

Asked about Mandela's remark yesterday that the cabinet's decision on the issue would be based on South Africa's own interests, Mills said. "Yes, South Africa should look at its own interests, but the government should be fully cognisant of the effects such a sale would have."

This applied not only to bilateral relations with the US, but also to the broader effect of arms sales to Syria. — Sapa

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MANDELA REJECTS US WARNINGS ON ARMS DEAL

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(2514) CT161197

Mandela, Syria denounce US attempts to dictate

Star 16/1/92

(294)

By **MONDRI MANKHANYA**
Political Reporter

President Mandela lashed out at the US yesterday for its attempts to block South Africa's arms sales to Syria, and said South Africa's foreign policy would not be dictated by any other power.

Speaking to the media at his Johannesburg home after meeting the PAC leadership, Mandela said his government's decision on the matter would be determined "purely" by South Africa's interests. He was responding to the American government's threats to cut aid to this country should South Africa proceed with its R3-billion arms sale to Syria.

The president said he would "not bow" to the US demands and South Africa would continue having relations with any country, "whether that country is popular with the West or not."

He stressed that when the cabinet meets (on January 22) to decide on the deal, its deliberations would not be influenced by another country.

"There is no country that will dictate to South Africa what will be decided upon (by the cabinet) will be in the interests of South Africa and South Africa alone.

We will never allow any support or assistance from any country, no matter how powerful it is, to dictate our foreign policy, nor allow any country to violate our sovereignty and undermine our national pride," said Mandela.

He pointed out that South Africa appreciated the aid it received from many countries, but said that did not entitle donor countries to tell SA how to conduct its foreign relations. Furthermore, other countries that had given South Africa support had not tried to tell South Africa what



Mandela will not bow down

to do and had used diplomatic channels whenever disagreements arose. Repeating past sentiments, he said people who expected South Africa to turn its back on allies who had assisted in the fight against apartheid had "no morals".

In its first reaction to the row, Syria yesterday denounced US attempts to prevent South Africa from selling weapons to Damascus, accusing Washington of trying to impose its own law on the international community. "It is really surprising to see the United States exert pressure

(on Pretoria) to prevent Syria from exercising its right to acquire legal defence means while Israel is overflowing with arms," a senior Syrian official said.

The unidentified official, who was quoted by the official SANAN news agency, also accused Washington of having turned a blind eye to the nuclear co-operation between Israel and South Africa's former apartheid government.

"The world still remembers the US silence over the nuclear co-operation between Israel and the former racist regime in South Africa," he said.

The official said his government "rejected US attempts to impose its decisions and law on other countries and to force them to accept its terrorist list, which is politically motivated".

He said the US was making "unfair accusations against Syria with the sole objective of satisfy-

ing Israel, which also calls into question the credibility of the US as the honest sponsor of the (Middle East) peace process."

Meanwhile, the US yesterday held its fire in the face of Mandela's criticism and said its warning against arms sales to Syria applied to any prospective seller, not just Pretoria.

"We've pretty much said what we want to say about this matter," State Department deputy spokesman Glyn Davies said.

"The US would urge any government not to sell arms to countries on the terrorism list," he said.

■ The Star Foreign Service reports from Tel Aviv that South African ambassador to Israel Frank Land was summoned yesterday to Eitan Bentzur, director-general of the Israeli foreign ministry, to hear Israel's concerns about reports that South Africa might sell arms to Syria.

Government at odds over Syrian deal

The controversial Syrian arms deal seems to have been leaked in an attempt to scupper it, reports **Stefans Brümmer**

THE government's handling of the partially approved R3-billion arms deal with Syria has exposed deep divisions in official thinking on the crucial foreign policy area of arms control — and the leak of Cabinet minutes appeared a deliberate attempt to scupper the deal.

Fingers were pointed this week at the Department of Foreign Affairs as the source of the leak as it is one of the few parties, apart from the Cabinet ministers themselves, to have had close enough knowledge of the process to supply the information, first published in the Sunday press.

The department this week stood by an official statement issued on Tuesday which sought to downplay the significance of the conditional "contracting approval" given by Cabinet on December 4 to state-owned arms conglomerate Denel. A representative said there was nothing to add for now.

But a senior foreign affairs official said privately that while he did not agree with the tactic used to try to scupper the deal, the "time-buying" exercise signalled by the statement meant that "the leakage, in my view,



Happier days: Joe Modise with Captain Muissiev of the Russian army
PHOTO HENNER FRANKENFELD

has been successful".

Some foreign affairs officials are known to have been upset with what they regard as an erratic government approach to foreign policy. Said one this week: "Foreign affairs makes an input in such matters. Ours is perhaps more directed to political consequences than other [departments]. We have to accept a decision, but if something goes wrong we have to carry the can."

The Tuesday statement — issued by foreign affairs but understood to have been a "collective effort" in which Deputy President Thabo

states which sell lethal military equipment to the countries, including Syria, which it brands "state sponsors of terrorism".

But the statement appeared to contradict other government commitments, including one by President Nelson Mandela on Wednesday, confirming that the "conditional" nature of the approval would be reconsidered by cabinet "soon" — according to some officials when the Cabinet meets on January 22. The December 4 decision was reportedly made conditional to allow Mbeki, who was in India at the time, the opportunity to study the implications of approval in terms of US law.

The statement also sought to portray the conditional "contracting approval" as a mechanism enabling Denel to market its product in Syria. But experts on South Africa's conventional arms control regime this week pointed out that a contracting permit — which allows South African arms companies to enter contractual negotiations with client states — was the second of three tiers of approval, after the first-tier marketing permit had already been issued.

In practice the final tier of approval, that of the export permit, would not be withheld lightly once the contracting permit had been issued.

For the process to have reached the stage of an application for a contracting permit means that talks between Denel and Syria would have reached an advanced stage. A government off-

cial has been quoted as saying the request from Syria came in May or June last year. The marketing permit would have been given by the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, chaired by Water and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, as early as the middle of last year. This would have allowed Denel to conduct demonstrations of the arms system to Syria.

To some, both the Syrian and the earlier Rwandan deal signal an unannounced shift away from South Africa's widely hailed human rights oriented arms control regime.

When Essop Pahad, deputy minister in Mbeki's office, told SABC television on Tuesday that South Africa "is not a pacifist country", it reinforced that view. Insiders say the committee from time to time finds itself deadlocked between the "doves", including Asmal, and the "hawks", who include Defence Minister Joe Modise, who tends to defend arms industry interests aggressively. The fact that the committee, in response to Denel's Syria application, referred the matter to Cabinet for a decision may signal that it was trying to absolve itself of a difficult decision after internal disagreement.

Laure Nathan, a member of the government-appointed Cameron Commission probe into arms sales, this week slammed the proposed sale as inconsistent with the government's own policy.

(254) MTG 17-23 | 1997

CHARTING DANGEROUS WATERS

Washington warned SA against the controversial, proposed R3bn arms sale to Syria as early as last October, say diplomatic observers. But the warning did not prevent the Cabinet from conditionally approving the envisaged deal at its last meeting in December.

The risk that the deal might scupper US aid to SA — reported to run into “billions of rand” — did cause the Cabinet to add a rider to its assent: it would have to be approved by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who was in India at the time.

The purchase by Syria of tank firing control mechanisms, developed by Armscor for use by Soviet-made T-72 tanks, had been recommended by the arms control committee headed by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal.

But it appears the recommendation was made against the advice of the Department of Foreign Affairs. The department reportedly cautioned that the sale would arouse the wrath of the US, which classifies Hafez al-Assad's Syria as a State that “sponsors terrorism”.

Mbeki, who last year sought to persuade US financiers that investment in SA would be mutually beneficial, will present his decision to Cabinet on January 22 after appraising whether the deal will contravene US antiterrorism law. The US has since publicly expressed its concern at the proposed deal, with spokesmen describing it as “extremely serious” and urging SA not to proceed.

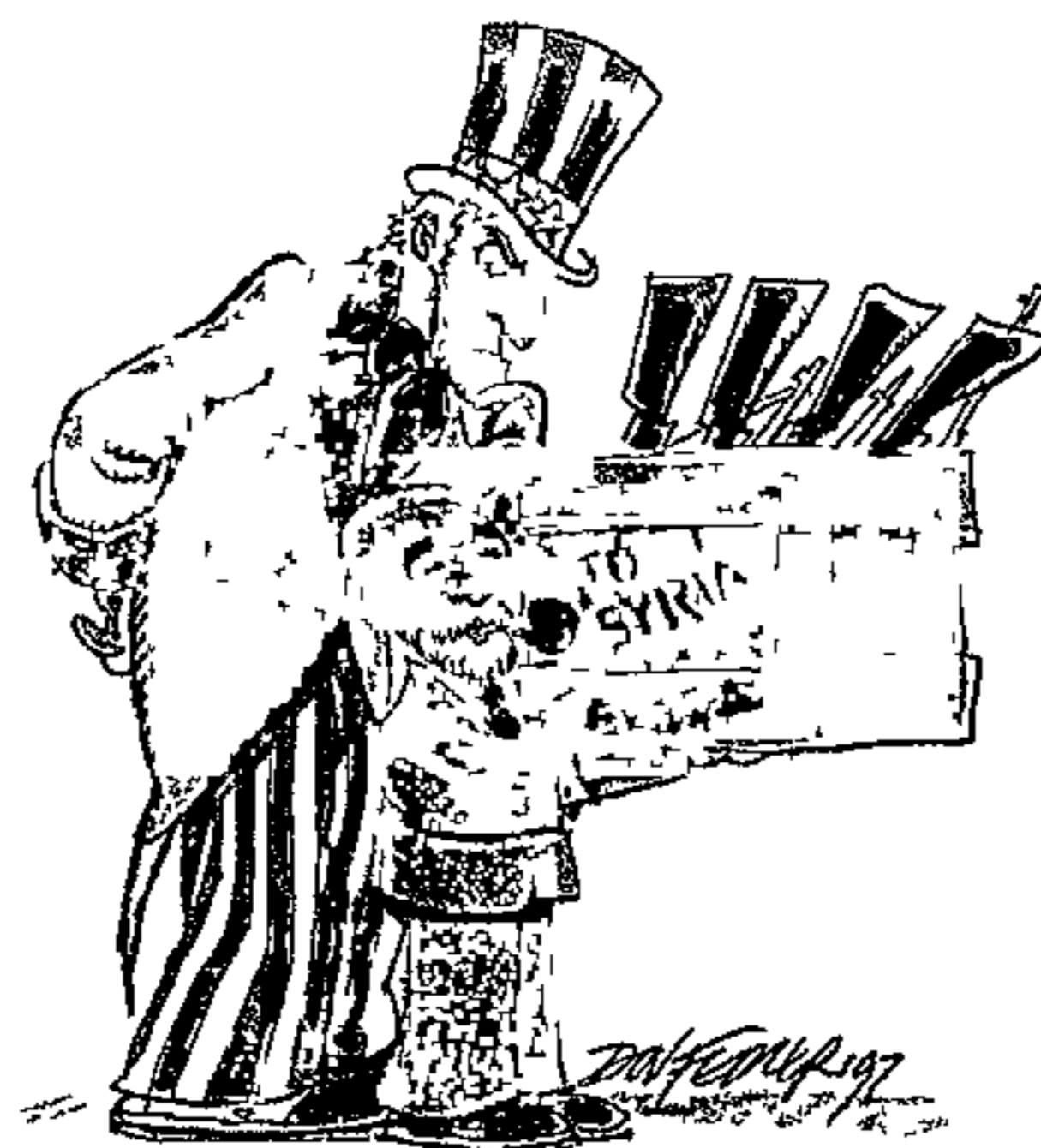
It is not accidental that the debate within the Cabinet has become a national and even international controversy: details of the proposed deal are reported to have been deliberately leaked, initially in the US, to maximise pressure on President Nelson Mandela's government to cancel it. Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, reacted strongly to the US's public entry into the fray, saying “We don't like being shouted at”.

One reason reportedly offered by the pro-deal lobby in Asmal's National Conventional Arms Control Committee, is the need to “balance” support for Israel during the apartheid era, through a deal

with an Arab State. But, as Acting Israeli Ambassador Victor Harel noted, Syria has strained relations with all its neighbours, including Jordan and Lebanon.

The ANC alluded to the “balancing thesis” when it dismissed criticism of the proposed deal by the Democratic and National parties as an attempt to revive Middle East policies associated with white minority rule.

Laure Nathan, a member of the Cameron Committee which inquired into the past sale of weapons by Armscor, offers a different perspective. He is convinced the deal recommended by As-



mal's committee contravenes its own guidelines for the transfer of arms.

The criteria which are supposed to govern the sale of weapons are contained in the White Paper on Defence. One is that SA “shall not transfer arms to countries which systematically violate or suppress human rights and fundamental freedoms”. Another states that the sale of arms must not “contribute to the escalation of regional conflicts, endanger peace by introducing destabilising military capabilities into a region or contribute to regional instability and negatively influence the balance of power”.

Syria, governed under a state of emergency since 1963, restricts political freedom to the ruling Ba'th Party and six

smaller parties allied to it in the National Progressive Front. According to the 1996 *Human Rights Watch Report*, Syria criminalises peaceful dissent and prosecutes, in special tribunals, people who “oppose any of the goals of the revolution”.

The transfer of tank firing control systems to Syria has the capacity to upset the regional balance of power in the Middle East. A well-placed diplomatic observer says Syria has the largest tank force in the Middle East. But the tanks, which include at least 2 000 Russian-built T-72s, are becoming obsolete. The transfer of the laser-directed, target-control system will enhance their offensive capability by improving their accuracy and providing them with night vision. This would put them on a par with Israel's smaller tank force.

The Institute of Defence Policy's Bill Sass notes that Allied tanks with laser-directed cannons and night vision had a marked advantage over Iraq's T-72s during the 1991 Gulf War. “If the Syrians get the conversion kit, it will improve their fighting ability dramatically,” Sass says.

In the Eighties, when SA soldiers faced T-72 tanks in the Angolan war, Armscor had developed a conversion kit to update captured tanks after an “exchange of information” with Israel. It involved fitting a larger turret, sophisticated electronics and a bigger gun on the T-72.

As SA does not have a large fleet of T-72s, it now wants to sell them, says Sass, a retired SA Defence Force brigadier. Countries which had been supplied with T-72s by the Soviet Union during the Cold War, including Syria and Iraq, are potential buyers, he says.

Their interest was heightened because the Russian government of President Boris Yeltsin was no longer supplying the latest weaponry to potential client nations in the quest for world dominance. Hence the proposed deal between SA and Syria, with Iraq lurking as another prospective client and Israel watching anxiously to see whether its technological expertise will modernise the armies of its long-time enemies. ■

FM 17/1/97

(254)

We will cut your aid, top US senator warns SA

But defiant Mbeki rejects criticism of possible weapons deal with Syria

POLITICAL STAFF AND RICH MKROMDO

As the war of words continued over South Africa's moves to sell R3-billion in military equipment to Syria, an influential US politician has urged President Bill Clinton to suspend aid to South Africa should the deal go ahead.

Senator Jesse Helms, a conservative Republican senator from North Carolina, who is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, warned that such a transaction would also seriously hurt relations

between Pretoria and Washington

"The government of South Africa should understand that, not only will US-South African relations suffer if they arm a terrorist nation, but also a significant amount of US foreign aid to South Africa will be cut off," Mr Helms said.

"Syrian acquisition of the state-of-the-art military hardware ruins counter to longstanding US national security interests in the region and represents a significant new threat to Israel."

But in a rebuttal yesterday, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said the new South

Africa had scrapped an apartheid-era pro-Israel bias in the Middle East and would sell arms to Syria if it wanted to

Mr Mbeki suggested the US was being hypocritical in opposing the proposed sale of South African tank-gun aiming gear to Damascus

"We don't follow a policy in the Middle East such as the policy that was followed by the previous regime, which was to form an alliance with Israel and be hostile to the rest of the countries in the region."

The US warned last week that US law prohibited the granting of aid to countries

which sold weapons to "state sponsors of terrorism". Syria is included on this list.

Last week, President Mandela rejected US criticism of South African negotiations with Syria, saying South Africa's enemies were not necessarily the same as Washington's foes

Yesterday Mr Mbeki echoed the sentiment. "We cannot proceed from the position that there is any country that has power of veto over the sovereign decisions of the South African government."

The South African cabinet is due to discuss the Syrian arms deal during its first

regular meeting of the year on Wednesday.

Earlier yesterday, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said South Africa had approved the sale of "non-lethal" military equipment to the Algerian government, which is fighting Islamic fundamentalists

Nicholas Burns, spokesman for the State Department and for outgoing Secretary of State Warren Christopher said the US was prepared to work with South Africa to "amicably and cooperatively" resolve the row.

"No-one was putting a gun to anyone's

head. We intend to work with the South African government amicably and cooperatively on this."

Washington's development aid to South African non-governmental organisations and other groups stood at \$121-million (R562-m) last year. About \$82-million (R380-m) has been earmarked for 1997. In addition, there is government-to-government aid

In 1994, President Clinton promised Mandela \$600-million (R2,7-bn) to help in the development of housing and other social needs

We won't be cowed by US, says Mbeki

APW 20/1/97. (254)

ANC-led Government would not follow policies of former government on Middle East, says Deputy President

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
AND **REUTERS**

The Cabinet will make a decision on Wednesday about selling military hardware to Syria, says Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who took a tough stand against United States criticism of the proposed R3-billion deal when he spoke to the media yesterday.

Speaking after a meeting of the ANC's national executive committee, he said: "We cannot proceed from a position that any country has the power of veto over sovereign decisions taken by Government on any matter."

He added that the ANC-led Government would not follow the former government's policy on the Middle East.

"We do not follow the policy of the previous government which said that we were in alliance with Israel and hostile to the rest of the Middle East. That policy was incorrect.

"We would not take an apartheid position which would automatically exclude Syria,"

Mbeki added. He said the R3-billion deal was still at a very preliminary marketing stage.

It would take two to three years before Denel knew whether it had won the contract.

He also hinted that the United States was being hypocritical in opposing the proposed sale of South African tank-gun aiming gear to Damascus.

The US threatened last week to cut aid to South Africa if the deal, to supply a targeting upgrade for Syria's tanks, went ahead.

Washington accuses Damascus of supporting terrorism. South Africa has said that companies in at least three European countries were also bidding for the Syrian contract.

Local newspapers reported that a US defence contractor was involved in at least one of those bids.

"US equipment is being marketed in Syria for precisely the same thing, and the US government has let that be because they understand precisely what is happening," Mbeki said.

"It may very well be that at a certain point in the process the US government might invoke its own legislation prohibiting the sale of US-manufactured equipment. They may - they haven't (yet) done so," he said.

President Mandela last week rejected US criticism of negotiations with Syria, saying South Africa's enemies were not necessarily the same as Washington's.

The Cabinet is due to discuss the arms deal at its first meeting of the year on Wednesday.

The Government declared after taking office in April 1994 that it would bar arms sales to countries involved in conflict or governments that committed human-rights abuses.

■ Yesterday a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said South Africa had approved the sale of "non-lethal" military equipment to the Algerian government fighting Islamic fundamentalists.

► Election pledges

No quick decision likely on Syria arms deal

(2574) **Stephané Bothma**

PRETORIA — No decision would be taken on the controversial R3bn Syrian arms deal until Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had considered a host of issues, including the technology involved and US legislation, cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel said yesterday.

A decision would be taken at a later cabinet meeting — not necessarily when the cabinet met again in two weeks. "The issue was raised at today's cabinet meeting, but no lengthy discus-

SD 23/11/97
sions took place. Mbeki has not yet concluded consultations about the matter and he told the conference that he wanted to have talks with all important players in the process before a decision was made."

"We are not considering the issue of any export certificate (for tank-gun aiming systems) at this time," Mbeki said. The debacle had exposed a weakness in communication between SA and the US, which would be rectified.

Picture: Page 3

The mother of all battles

(254) CP 26/1/97

Jackie's engaged in a war with inequality

MAJOR General Jackie Sedibe was recently appointed Chief Director of Equal Opportunities in the SANDF. MAPULA SIBANDA visited this extraordinary woman in her glass fortress.

THE SOUTH African National Defence Force headquarters — a massive glass Armiscor building in Pretoria — jumps out at you, military ambush style, after you turn off at the Delmas/Riegel off-ramp from the Pietersburg N1 highway.

This is the new base for Major General Jackie Sedibe — the first woman to hold such a high position in the history of the defence force. She has recently been appointed Chief Director of Equal Opportunities.

Typical of an army fort, surveillance cameras watch your every move with impersonal hostility as you approach.

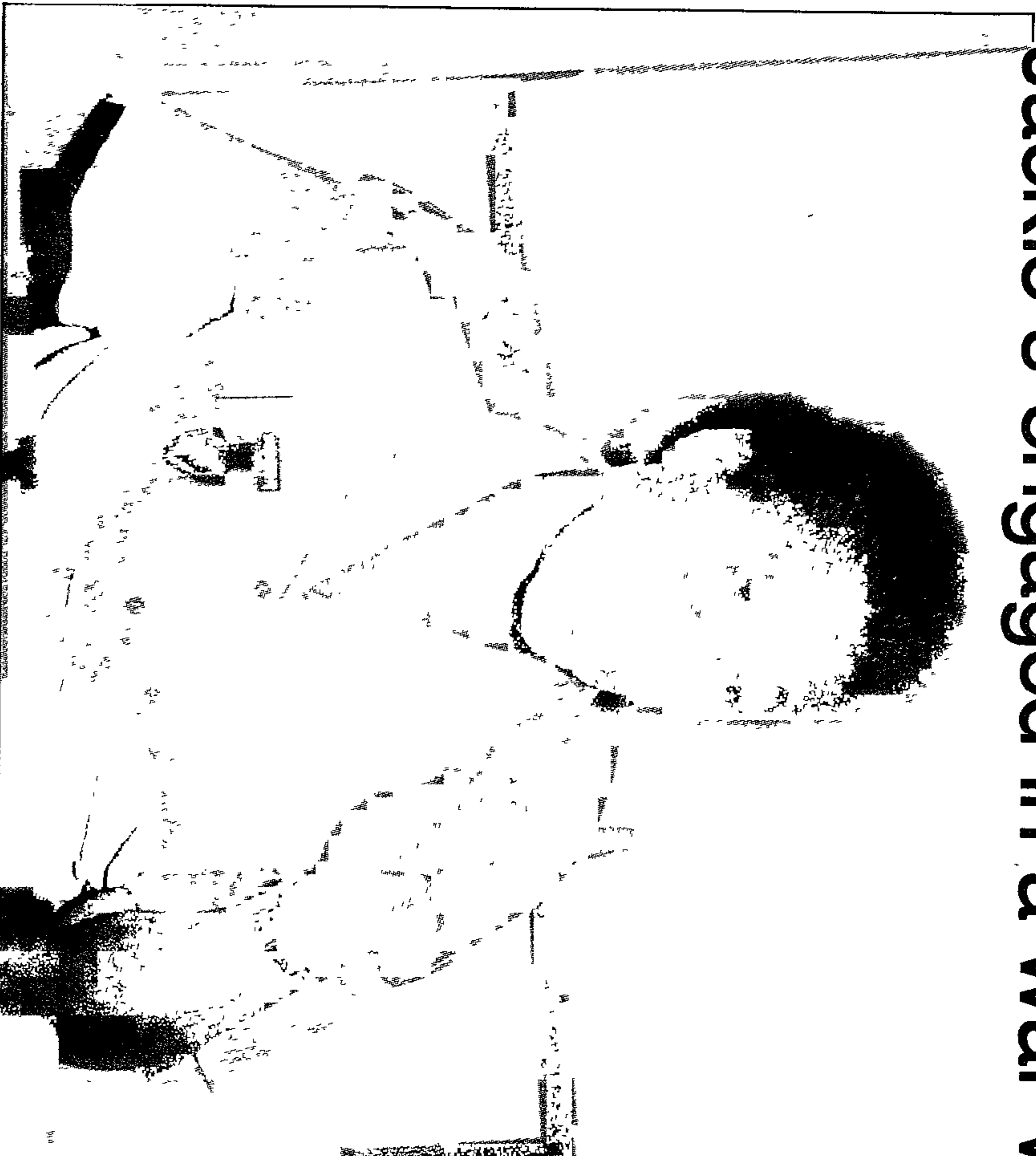
Inside, X-ray baggage check points and access control body search cubicles reinforce the military feel.

As you are wondering about how people can devote their lives to this type of institution, Jackie Sedibe seems to be the right person to answer some of the questions.

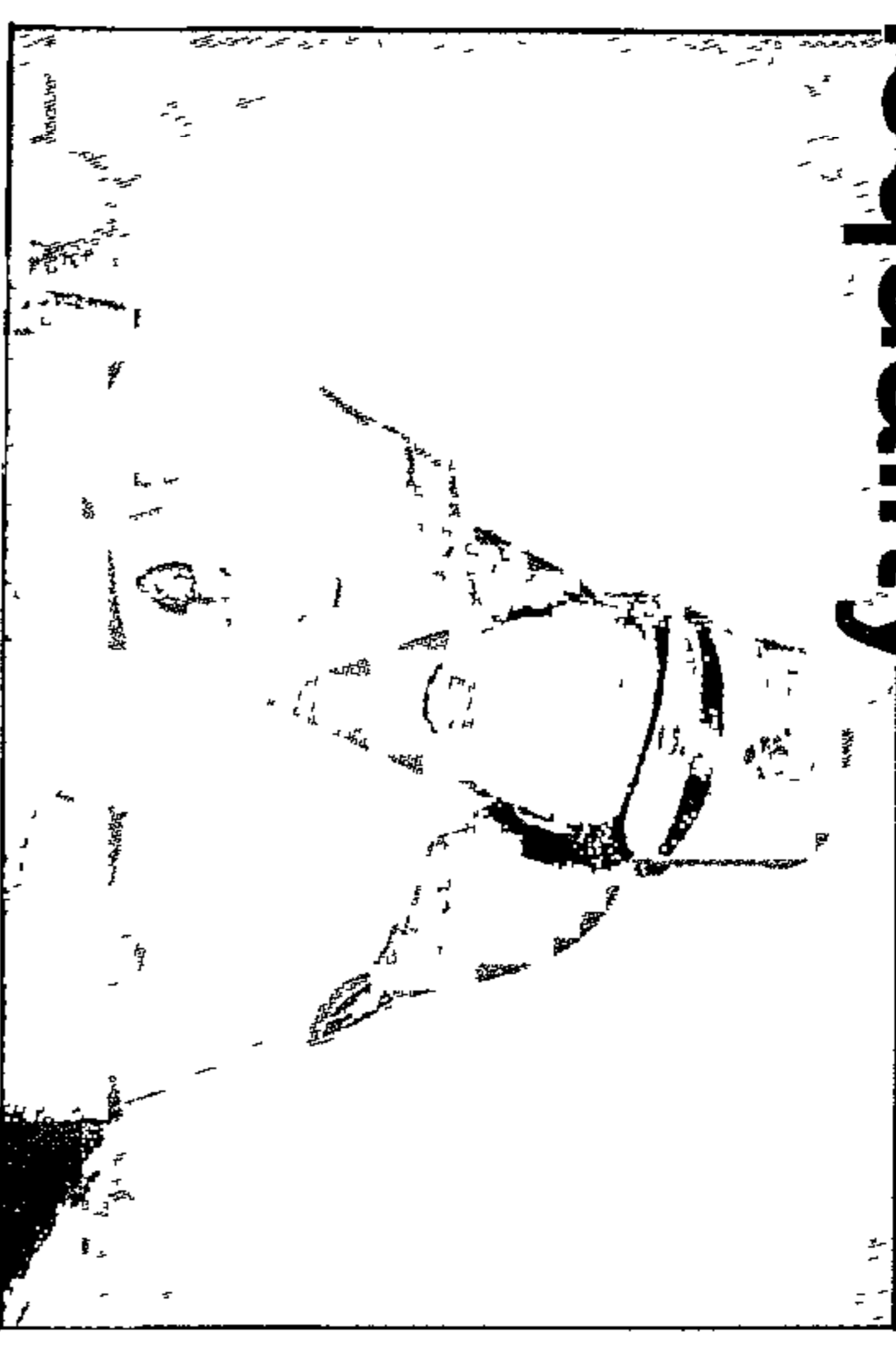
For Sedibe (52), the decision to join the SANDF after serving Umkhonto we Sizwe for more than 20 years was a natural extension of her career.

"I have done military work almost all of my life, and at my age I could not think of anything else to do," says the major general.

There are no thick volumes or files to prepare her for her position, but after almost three decades in the army, Sedibe's experience



MAJOR MUM. The newly appointed Chief Director of Equal Opportunities in the SANDF, Major General Jackie Sedibe (left), knows exactly what she is doing in a world traditionally dominated by men: the first-ever woman major general in the SANDF spent over twenty years of her life serving in MK. But the mother of two hasn't forgotten how to smile, despite the tough times she endured in exile during the apartheid era. And now she hopes to put smiles on a few more faces, by redressing some of the inequalities of the past. **MAPULA SIBANDA**



should be a reliable guide.

Her promotion is supposed to indicate the importance placed on equal opportunities by the new SANDF, and Sedibe — who previously held the same position in the office of the Inspector General — is expected to represent a strong voice for women in the army.

Since joining the SANDF in 1994 as an MK brigadier, Sedibe has also been involved with the Joint Military Co-ordinating Council.

The JMCC was mandated to

address the transformation of the status of women in the army before integration.

Critics who are uninformed about Sedibe's previous military experience, which includes responsibilities such as organising MK's clandestine radio communications and organising recruits from South Africa to Zambia — may link her rise in the SANDF to her marriage to the Minister of Defence, Joe Modise.

But Sedibe's involvement in addressing women's issues in MK,

like writing and editing articles for the *Voice of Women Bulletin* shows how far she has come with this commitment.

Her writing and editing, she explains, was motivated by the need to highlight women's concerns.

"We were just writing from the heart, mainly out of the need to educate both women and men about our rights," says the major general.

From growing up with an uncle who was a staunch ANC supporter in the Sixties, Sedibe learned about

her rights at a very early age.

"Coming from a political family, I understood apartheid and what was happening in our country," she says.

Not liking what she saw and eager to change it, Sedibe's first abortive attempt to skip the court-trial did not deter her a bit.

"I remember travelling to Zeebrugge by public transport with my cousin and a few other youngsters. We missed our pilot (contact person who was supposed to help them cross the border) and had to return

to Johannesburg," she says.

After getting through to Botswana on her second try, Sedibe's travels in exile included countries like Angola, Zimbabwe, the USSR, Botswana and Mozambique.

But most of her adult life was spent in Zambia, where her two daughters, Boipuso (12) and Lesedi (10), were born.

"What I miss most about Zambia is the music; I miss the rhumba," she says.

Back home and challenged to fraternise with the former enemy, Sedibe, like other MK cadres, had the following impression about integration with the SANDF: "We all thought: is this going to work?"

And now as part of the leadership of the SANDF, Sedibe finds herself in a glass house, vulnerable to a riot of stones.

Sporadic incidents of racial tension in the force are reported regularly and MK cadres complain of being deserted by their leadership.

Sedibe says she understands racial problems, which are still prevalent in the force.

"The greatest frustration experienced by MK is dealing with the long bureaucracy."

Sedibe, however, is quick to reassure her constituency.

"In the military we have proper structures for laying a complaint, and once a complaint has been

raised we will deal with it," she asserts.

Her position, as Sedibe found out recently when her former MK-turned-askari cousin's involvement was divulged at the TRC, does not only make her vulnerable in the force.

"September was actually a distant relative, and instead of dealing with his past, the media concentrated on linking his name to a top official," she says with agitation.

Although Glory Sedibe's — alias September's — betrayal was old news to her, Sedibe admits that she felt very betrayed when she first learned about it.

"Although in any revolution even families are likely to get divided, it is still upsetting when you have to deal with it," she said.

For the present though, Sedibe is dealing with the more positive aspects of her life — her family and her job.

"I try to keep regular working hours so that I can spend enough time with my husband and children," she explained.

Conversations with her husband at home, she confirms, always end up revolving around politics.

Although she likes to read, the general says she cannot always make time for this as mothering her two daughters is a like having a full-time job.

And as for her job, Sedibe intends to play a role in redressing the imbalances of the past in the defence force.

Military 'trade union' seeks danger pay for more of country's servicemen

By NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

A trade union which represents military administrative employees yesterday clashed head-on with the South African National Defence Force over the question of danger pay for soldiers.

In terms of the Defence Act and the Defence White Paper, combat troops are not allowed by law to be members of a trade union.

The SA National Defence Union claims that South African Police Service members are now

eligible for danger pay amounting to R200 a month for standard service and R300 a month for special danger allowances. A total of 94 000 are eligible for the former and 33 000 for the latter.

The union says that only 93 personnel were found by the SANDF to be eligible for these benefits, and claims that thousands more should also be paid extra.

The "fundamental human rights of employees in the SANDF are not being respected. These include the right to freedom of association and the right

to fair labour practices, which includes collective bargaining and the right to form and join a trade union," says the union.

According to union spokesman Cor van Niekerk, the SANDF has "no understanding of what it means to be an SANDF employee in today's circumstances. Not only are we expected to help the police with crime fighting but when bad comes to worse, it is to us that the SAPS turn to assist them. The lives of employees are in danger."

The union claims that 70% of army personnel were entitled to

allowances, up to 40% of air force personnel, 25% of navy staff and 15% of personnel from the SA Medical Service.

According to an agreement reached in July between various public-service unions and the Government, payments can be made to anyone engaged in crime prevention duties, maintenance of public order, navy divers, paratroopers, munitions experts or submariners.

A spokesman for the SANDF told The Star yesterday that the allowances were paid to individual members in terms of the criteria

laid down for the payments.

"In terms of the criteria, certain members are paid on a continuous basis while others receive them when they become eligible," he said. "The SANDF cannot comment on the manner of payments applied by other departments, including the SAPS."

The SANDF was also bound by the constitution, the Defence Act and other legislation in this regard. The Government's viewpoint on labour matters pertaining to military uniformed personnel is clearly stated in the Defence White Paper.

(254) Star 28/1/77

Pensions for freedom fighters

From Page 1

ET 29/1/97

Wentzel said the process of adjudication on who qualifies for the pensions is in the hands of a five-member special pensions board, who have sole discretion on who is awarded the pensions

The first pensions are to be paid out later this year, but there are plans to host a symbolic pension payout by President Nelson Mandela in Pretoria on March 21.

Wentzel said the Special Pensions Board would begin reviewing the first applications next month

The head of communications in the Special Pensions Department, Mr Samuel Jooste, said the Minister of Finance had set aside R450 million for this year's initial pension payouts

This figure will be revised each year by the Minister of Finance who will present it to Parliament in his annual budget speech "The pension budget will definitely drop after this year's initial lump sum payouts," Jooste said.

Wary of public criticism on the amount spent on the pensions, Wentzel, himself a former Robben Island prisoner, said the pension payouts could never make up for sacrifices people had made in the struggle for a democratic country.

"Many people sacrificed their jobs and their income, or went into exile, to fight against apartheid," he said "The government can never compensate for that, but have awarded the pensions just as a means to give them something in return."

SA ARMS INDUSTRY

SA should export peace, not weapons

(254) CT(BR) 29/1/97

TERRY CRAWFORD-BROWNE

What has South Africa done to deserve its foreign affairs department? Two years ago it misadvised President Nelson Mandela to ask President Bill Clinton to intervene in the US court case against Armscor to have charges dropped. The very suggestion was political dynamite and, inevitably, was rebuffed.

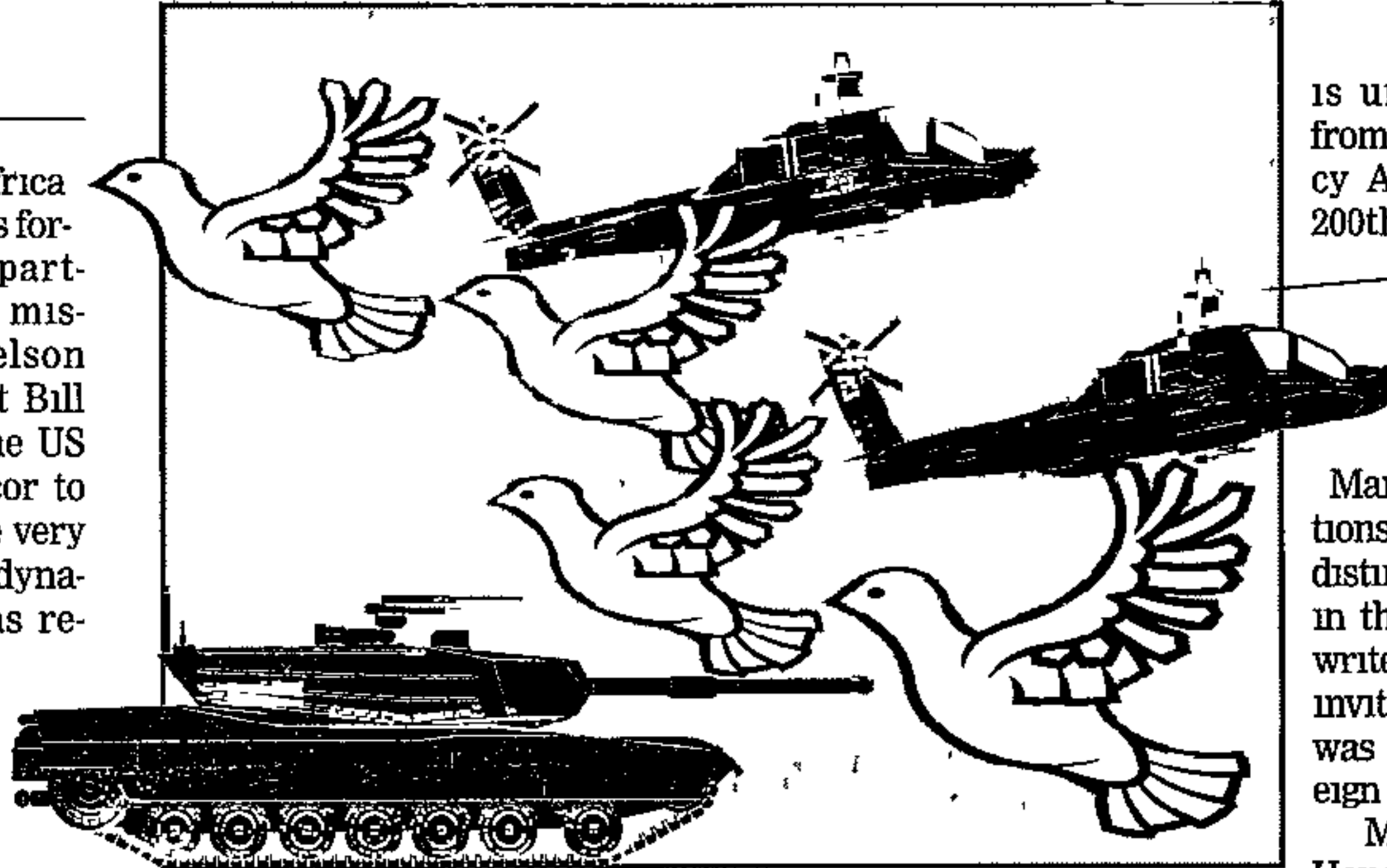
As a lawyer, Mandela should have known better. Would he have countenanced such blatant interference in South Africa's judicial processes?

The issue related to Denel's sale of 91 Rooivalk attack helicopters to the British Army. Mandela was prevailed on to spew out to the Americans that the Rooivalk deal would create 8 000 jobs and earn R11 billion in foreign exchange.

The premise that the armaments industry may be immoral, but creates jobs and earns foreign exchange needs to be discredited. In both South Africa and elsewhere, it is heavily subsidised by taxpayers. At least R2 billion was thrown away on the Rooivalk project, described as "Mossgas with rotary blades".

In Britain the yearly subsidy for armaments exports amounts to £12 500 a job. In the US the subsidies on weapons' exports worth \$12 billion in 1995 amounted to \$7,6 billion, that is 63 percent. South Africa's trade and industry department estimates that general manufacturing, as opposed to the arms industry in South Africa, is at least three times more efficient in terms of job creation relative to capital employed.

The armaments industry is capital, rather than labour intensive. Taxpayer subsidies divert public resources away from social priorities such as education,



housing and health services.

The debacle over the proposed sale of weaponry to Syria again raises questions about South Africa's foreign affairs department. The thought of throwing mud in Uncle Sam's eye as the basis of our foreign policy is childish.

Moreover, Syria still owes Russia about \$11 billion for weapons delivered some years ago. Putting the issue of destabilising the Middle East aside, what guarantees are there that South Africa will receive payment for the R3 billion arms contract?

Unfortunately, a weird brew of apartheid-era bureaucrats and far-left ANC ideologues is rapidly dragging our democracy into disrepute. They believe in the outmoded notion that a militarily strong country is an influential country.

They are still mesmerised by the "total onslaught" and byzantine obsessions that South Africa, equipped with nuclear weapons, was a regional superpower. They remain oblivious to the fact that South Africa's economy amounts to 0,4 percent of world output — or that our international importance rates as half of that of Belgium.

Njongonkulu Ndungane, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape

Town, has strongly objected to exports of weaponry to Rwanda and Syria and declared that the government stop arms sales altogether.

South Africa, he says, should export its experience in finding peaceful solutions to seemingly intractable problems. South Africa is the foremost example that arms are not solutions. Arms exports are as much a moral issue as racism and human rights abuses.

Unfortunately, the world prestige that followed the country's transition to democracy has been squandered. The promotion of human rights was an issue on which this country had something to contribute to the international community. It could have given this country influence and significance far beyond its small military or economic standing.

To illustrate the chaos in our foreign affairs department, the diocese of Cape Town — as part of the worldwide Anglican Communion — has special relationships with the dioceses of Washington and Honduras.

This writer, as a representative of the archbishop, was privileged last July to have a meeting with the Honduran President Carlos Reina.

Honduras, like South Africa,

is undergoing a transition from dictatorship to democracy. April this year marks the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the Garifuna community as escaped slaves.

As a mark of respect, Reina invited Mandela to attend the celebrations. The Garifunas remain a distinct people of African origin in the Caribbean region. This writer personally conveyed the invitation to Thuynhuys, which was then forwarded to the foreign affairs department.

Months later, the Bishop of Honduras is embarrassed and the Garifuna leaders are angry. Reina's letter and accompanying correspondence, I am informed after several inquiries, are still lying unanswered in Rusty Evans's in-tray. This is an appalling combination of incompetence and bad manners.

It is a lost opportunity in Central America, a region of the world with which South Africa in the past has had little contact. In addition to the invitation to visit Honduras, Reina had also heard that South Africa has one of the world's most advanced mine-clearance technologies.

The borders between Honduras and Nicaragua are strewn with an estimated 100 000 landmines, placed there by the US-sponsored Contra rebels. Reina had requested South African assistance in removing them.

It is evident, sadly, that Alfred Nzo, the foreign minister, and his minions would rather destabilise already turbulent areas in the Middle East with subsidised armaments than contribute towards world peace.

□ Terry Crawford-Browne is the chairman of the South African affiliate of Economists Allied for Arms Reduction and served as the Anglican Church's representative at the Cameron commission of inquiry into Armscor.

SOLE DISCRETION FOR FIVE-MEMBER BOARD

R450m payout for freedom fighters

Identity crisis for Province

DALE SPANGLER

A "KOSÉ by any other name" - but the Western Province rugby team are struggling for an identity and need help from their fans.

"The Mountain Goats" and "Striped Jerseys" never stuck so they're desperately trying to find a name and a symbol for the team.

Captain Harry Viljoen has suggested "the Dolphins", a friendly creature of the gully, the speed and grace which look like a dolphin's. A more "sporty" name, a natural enemy of Sharks (the symbol of Currie Cup champions, Natal) which keep well stem of them.

There are a few strong, friendly names which could be adopted as the principal for the team and secondarily many dinosaur rugby officials will want an animal symbol of aggression and raw power, like the leopard, to characterise their heroes. The players weren't much help over the weekend when asked for their input. Wing Simon Berridge joked that they should be called "the Province Poodles" and curly prop Tommy Laubscher couldn't resist suggesting "the Province Clubhangers".

So while Natal (Sharks), Transvaal (Golden Lions) and Northern Transvaal (Blue Bulls) all have a crocodile identity, WP, in a region renowned for wine, culture and Table Mountain, remain nameless.

The team's emblem is the Disa, a flower which should be called "Flower Power". Perhaps "the Barons" or "the Whins" (or the Wine) just may tickle your fancy.

What do the team's fans think WP should be called?

Phone the Cape Times today between 10am and noon on 88-4716 and give us your views



ALL ABOARD If you pop down to Newlands to see WP practise you may think they've lost their marbles Besides seeing Chester Williams in full flight, you'll find players "aquadiving" and punching tackle bags with mitts ● See Page 27 PICTURE: ANNE LAMING

A FIVE-MEMBER special pensions board will have sole discretion over who will receive payouts in terms of the new Special Pensions Act. LINDIZ VAN ZILLA reports

CT 29/1/97 (574)

THOUSANDS of former liberation movement members and political activists are to receive pension grants in recognition of years of sacrifice and hardship - a process that will cost the government R450 million this year alone.

The primary requirement for qualification for the special pensions is that the person must have been over 35 years of age when the pension scheme came into operation on December 1 last year.

The pension payouts are projected to run for a 50-year period and will be overseen by a five-member special pensions board that will have sole discretion on who will receive pensions.

The Special Pensions Act, which was promulgated on October 30 last year and signed by President Nelson Mandela, provides for several categories of freedom fighters and activists who qualify for the pension payouts.

A person must have been active in a banned organisation for at least five years, or been imprisoned or in exile for the same period, or restricted to a specific area for five years, or have been disabled as a result of their participation in the freedom struggle.

Those known to have applied for the pensions include veteran ANC stalwarts Mr Walter Sisulu, outgoing Eastern Cape Premier Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism Dr Pallo Jordan.

The widows of several prominent anti-apartheid activists, among them Black Consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko, PAC leader Mr Zeph Mchopeng and former Housing Minister Mr Joe Slovo, are also on the list of applicants.

The pension beneficiaries have been cast into two age brackets - those between 35-45 and those between 45-65.

Those in the younger bracket will receive a minimum annual pension payout of R6 000 and a maximum of R24 000, depending on the years of service. These so-called dormant members won't receive their money until they reach 60.

However, there is a clause that permits people to take their pensions at age 50, but this comes with a three per cent penalty.



CO-ORDINATOR: Mr Trevor Wentzels

Those in the upper bracket will receive pension payouts ranging from R12 000 to R30 000 a year, once again depending on the number of years of service.

A super-bracket for struggle veterans who are 65 and older and have more than 25 years of active service behind them provides for a total amount of R84 000 a year (R7 000 a month).

Apart from the monthly pension payments, a formula has also been devised to provide beneficiaries with lump sum payouts. This amount is backdated from the time a person's pension application is

Who qualifies for payouts

PROVISIONS set down in the Special Pensions Act for former liberation movement members and political activists include:

- Only those over 35 qualify.
- Five years in prison, or 10 years membership of the organisation in 67-68.
- Active during 1960-68.
- The 35-45 age group get a R6 000 to R24 000 lump sum and R12 000 to R30 000 monthly pension.
- The 45-65 age group get a R12 000 to R30 000 monthly pension.
- Super-bracket of 65 and over get a lump sum of R84 000 and a monthly pension of R7 000.

approved to April 1, 1995.

The project, expected to run over a 50-year period, is set to cost the taxpayer billions of rand in pension payouts.

The national co-ordinator of the Department of Finance's Special Pensions Unit, Mr Trevor Wentzels, said more than 17 000 applications for the special pensions have been received.

Provision had been made, however, for an estimated 20-25 000 applications, he said. The deadline for submission of all applications is December 1 this year

OTam to Page 2

PREGNANT? BREASTFEEDING? YOUR SMOKING CAN HARM YOUR BABY

12 mg tar 1.1 mg nicotine Av. per Government agreed method

SO MILD SO SMOOTH SO SATISFYING

SA and America bury the hatchet on Armscor case

Deal opens US door to defence industry

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Pretoria - South Africa and the United States have agreed to settle the long-standing Armscor sanctions-busting case which has strained relations between the two countries since the late 1980s.

The settlement - expected to be signed by US Vice-President Al Gore and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki at a meeting in March - will open the way for the South African defence industry to seek contracts to supply the US military and to facilitate technology transfers, to license military technology by South African companies, and forge closer military links.

A Philadelphia judge, Jan Dubois, was yesterday checking an agreement reached between the two sides which will formally end criminal and civil legal proceedings involving Armscor, Fuchs Electronics and the Denel subsidiary Kentron.

Judge Dubois was to have ratified the agreement in late December, but fell ill and returned to his chambers for the first time this year on Monday.

The three are to pay a total of \$12,5-million (about R57-million) in a complicated

agreement under which the money will remain in South Africa in trust with the Government. The fine imposed on Armscor totals R4,5-million, Kentron's R2,5-million and that on Fuchs - now a subsidiary of the Reunert group - R50,25-million. The US originally wanted a R100-million fine imposed on this company.

The figures were confirmed yesterday by sources close to the formalisation of the agreement. No formal statement has as yet been made by the Government or by the three organisations involved.

The money will be used to strengthen the national arms export control system, which has been severely damaged by the recent disclosure that South Africa was considering supplying the Tiger tank fire control system to Syria, provoking a huge outcry from the Americans. Discussions are planned between South Africa and the US over this proposed deal.

South Africa is said to have "reluctantly" agreed to comply with a judicial order which allows the US to monitor, for a period of three to four years, arms imports from the US to ensure that the imports complied with American law. This means that no US arms may be re-exported to

countries such as Iran and Syria, classed by the US as supporting state terrorism.

A South African, so far unnamed, is to do the monitoring so that sovereignty is not affected.

The agreement also provides for seven Armscor officials indicted by a 1991 Philadelphia grand jury for sanctions-busting to give evidence if needed against Robert Ivy, an American citizen who was working for Kentron at the time.

South Africa has lost out heavily in terms of military hardware sales to the US and its allies over the past few years as a result of the case.

Britain and the Netherlands both declined to purchase the Rooivalk attack helicopter and chose instead the American-built Apache. There have also been limited links between South Africa and the US in military co-operation and selective arms deals.

South African military officers have undergone training in peacekeeping procedures at a US army college, and the Chief of the Navy, Vice-Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson, and other senior officers, are known to have attended important conferences there.

(254)

ARG 30/1/97

Arms debate revisited

(254) Sowetan 30/1/97

IN THE FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY, most states are guided by what their leaders believe to be in the national interest. Although moral considerations are sometimes factored into the decision-making process, national interest usually takes precedence.

The apartheid regime certainly had no qualms about the morality of either its domestic or foreign policy, and was more than willing to sell armaments to any country.

In a few days time, South Africa's new Constitution comes into force. Within the constructs of our fledgling new order, we can take considerable pride in having a Constitution that is liberal, democratic and based on fundamental human rights.

However, in our foreign policy, disturbing trends are beginning to crystallise. While it is understandable that South Africa owes a debt of gratitude to those states that supported the freedom movements, it is simultaneously inexcusable to invoke this past support as a reason to remain forever uncritical.

This much is acknowledged in the National Arms Control Committee's own guidelines, which assert that South Africa should, among other factors, take into account the human rights record of any prospective purchaser of South African-produced weapons.

Current furore

The current furore over the proposed arms deal with Syria has been blurred by the United States' over-assertive and very public opposition.

The real debate should revolve around the morality of selling weapons to a country whose human rights record has been consistently lambasted by widely respected human rights organisations, including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

The Syrian constitution provides for institutions of democratic government, including elections and a putatively independent legislature. The reality is rather different.

Unbridled and unchecked power is concentrated in the hands of president Hafiz al-Asad. The country has been under a state of emergency since 1963.

The abuse of human rights has effectively been institutionalised and is apparent in most walks of life.

Detention without trial is widespread and Human Rights Watch has documented evidence of torture in detention.

Reported methods of torture include electric shocks, suspending detainees from the ceiling in the process of interrogation and the use of a chair that bends backwards to asphyxiate the victim or fracture the spine.

Under the auspices of our own Truth and Reconciliation Commission, South Africans



have been made painfully aware of the extent to which the apartheid state employed similar tactics.

Surely then we should not be selling arms to a country that tortures its own dissidents – people who also are fighting for their basic rights.

Although the Syrian judiciary is supposedly independent, most "political trials" are heard in two specially created courts that try cases categorised as being national security and economic security cases.

These courts are clearly not independent, operate under the conditions of the state of emergency and are subject to the control and interference of the ruling Ba'ath Party.

Although the Syrian constitution officially grants people the right to freely express their opinion in speech and in writing, very few Syrians are prepared to take risks that accompany the exercising of that right.

The regime in Damascus is completely intolerant of any written criticism of Asad. The dissemination of information is closely controlled by the state.

Indeed, the right to even question the legitimacy of the ruling party is severely proscribed in a law that prohibits the publishing of "false information" or of material that opposes the "goal of the revolution".

In the past, the state has demonstrated its intent by imprisoning journalists who failed to observe these Press restrictions.

The right to assemble peacefully is also severely curtailed. Syrian citizens are not allowed to hold political meetings without permission from the ministry of the interior and the authorities expressly do not allow the establishment of truly independent political parties.

In this regard, the only parties that are allowed to operate are those which are members of the so-called National Progressive Front, which unsurprisingly is under the domination of the Ba'athists.

Indeed, the constitution explicitly decrees that the ruling Ba'ath Party is "guaranteed a majority in all government and popular associations such as women's groups".

The constitution formally provides for the

The recent furore over the proposed arms sale to Syria brings into focus South Africa's hesitant foreign policy. With a well documented human rights abuse record, Syria need not be our customer, writes **Larry Benjamin...**

right of association. However, in practice, workers are denied the right to establish trade unions that are independent of the government.

All unions are compelled to be affiliated to the General Federation of Trade Unions, again under the total control of the ruling party.

Syria's abysmal human rights record should also be evaluated alongside a sustained record of regional destabilisation. Syria is in virtual occupation of Lebanon, where it maintains more than 30 000 troops and exercises *de facto* control over the government of Rafiq Hariri.

Syria has also set up a host of training camps in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, which are used by groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Largely isolated

Syria is also largely isolated in the Middle East and its relations with Jordan, Egypt, Turkey, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia have been strained by allegations by all these states that Syria is sponsoring terrorism and political violence in the region.

Therefore, in determining whether or not we should sell arms to Damascus, it is worth remembering that it is not only the United States that has levelled such accusations against the Syrian leadership.

South Africa should not take on the mantle of human rights watchdog for the international community.

Neither can we afford to base our foreign policy on moral considerations alone.

To do so would be self-righteous and would win us few friends.

At the same time, we should not embrace those states whose political systems show patent disregard of international norms.

The morality of forging diplomatic relations or engaging in trade with such regimes may be debatable, but the selling of weapons to such countries is patently immoral and a violation of those ideals that lie at the bedrock of our own Constitution.

(The writer is lecturer in Wits University's Department of International Relations.)

SA arms trigger a new US power battle

WASHINGTON'S ambassador to Pretoria, James Joseph, insisted last week that, "at the moment" anyway, the ruckus over SA potentially selling arms to Syria had become a "nonissue". He was being a little optimistic.

Senator Jesse Helms, chairman of the senate foreign relations committee, and congressman Sonny Callahan, who controls the subfield of the almighty house appropriations committee responsible for the nonmilitary US foreign affairs budget, have put a "hold" on a chunk of SA's \$75m aid allotment for the current year.

Nominally, they are seeking assurances from the Clinton administration that SA's proposed sale of "tank firing mechanisms" to Syria will never go ahead, at least while it remains the law of the land that countries that make such sales should be denied US aid. Chances are the "hold" will not last very long, and if it does, the amount of aid in question — less than \$5m — is neither large enough nor destined to be used in such a way that SA would feel it Most is destined for the US agency for international development's "tertiary exchange linkages programme" or TTELP, whose main purpose is to channel funding to struggling "historically black" colleges in the US so that they may undertake joint projects with their SA counterparts.

Neither Helms nor Callahan have publicised their action, which is in any event an informal one. Strictly speaking, they do not have the power to block expenditure of funds already appropriated by the full congress. In this instance, USAid decided it wanted to shift allocations within its approved budget to increase the kitty for TTELP and other educational initiatives in SA. It is allowed to do that so long as it notifies the relevant committees in advance and so long as the proposed changes do not contradict the original budget law (in which case new law would have to be adopted).

There is, however, a sort of gentlemen's agreement between the executive and legislature that the chairmen of the notified committees may hold up the changes until any questions they may have are answered. Helms and Callahan have a lot of questions about the mooted Syrian deal. The questions, posed to the state department and the intelligence community, are technically germane since if the deal went ahead, all aid to SA would be threatened under the 1996 Anti-terrorism Act.

Helms is famous for using such tactics. But just because he does this kind of thing a lot, it would be unwise to dismiss the significance of his action in this case, especially since he has a powerful house member in his corner.

What we are seeing here is the first real crack in the dam of bipartisan approval that has hitherto shielded President Nelson Mandela's government from anything worse than the occasional mutter about its attachments to Libya, Cuba and Iran. The political dynamics in Washington, as ambassador Franklin Sonn might appreciate if he was ever here, are starting to turn dangerous for SA.

Vice-President Al Gore is the odds-on favourite to win the Democratic nomination to succeed President Bill Clinton, which means that for the next four years, Republicans will be working hard to develop a case against his going all the way to the White House. That is politics, at least as practised in a multiparty democracy (which may be a little unfamiliar in SA). Among other things, Republicans will want to show that Gore cannot be trusted with foreign policy, an area in which he plays a larger role than any vice-president before him.

The proposal to sell SA arms to Syria could become an important factor in US strategising for the next presidential election, writes Simon Barber in Washington

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Gore's relationship with SA against him among important constituencies such as the Israel lobby, not to mention the great unwashed masses who wonder why their taxes are sent to any foreign country unchosen by God.

Gore himself has not been blind to this. It was interesting, for example, that the strong language the administration used to criticise the proposed sale came not from the professional diplomats at the state department — they favoured a softer touch — but from the intensely political White House with Gore and a lot of folks whose careers are tied to his work. Not to be outdone (and he seldom is), Helms issued an even tougher

statement, couched as a letter to the president, explicitly warning that the sale, if it went ahead, would pose a significant threat to Israel. Artfully, Helms also inserted a reference to the pending resolution of Armscor's 1991 indictment for violating US arms export controls.

Settlement should be deferred, he argued, until SA had pledged not to sell arms to Syria. It was "unthinkable that the administration would reward the SA arms industry with significant financial benefits while the government of SA is contemplating a major arms sale" to a country that "continues to support and shelter more than six of the most vicious terror

groups in the world"

Note the formulation carefully. Helms was introducing the novel idea that the Armscor settlement, which the US had to extract from Pretoria like blood from a stone, was really a ruse to support SA's merchants of death. And by calling such a ruse "unthinkable", inviting readers to believe such thoughts were actually hatching in the administration's mind.

Next came the "hold" and with it requests for intelligence briefings plus firm assurances that SA would not sell arms to Syria or any other "terrorist" nation. Such assurances are not yet giveable. Not even Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has been able to give them, presumably for fear of seeming to back down to US demands.

The administration has to respond to the "hold". Not to do so would be to admit that it does not trust Pretoria, not far from the truth but also not a great signal on the eve of Gore's trip to SA for the third commission round. At the same time, however, in responding, it will create a record the Republicans can, and most assuredly will, use to make Gore look very bad if SA-made arms start showing up in the wrong hands.

Is SA worth that much to Gore that he would let himself be embarrassed by it? Unlikely. Politicians with serious presidential aspirations know when to cut their losses and they do not forget who caused them grief. So it would be wise to avoid dumping Gore into the trap Helms is laying for him.

With memories of 1994 receding, and the personification of those memories, Mandela, giving way on centre stage to mere mortals, the time is fast approaching when the US body politic will view SA as just another African country, to be befriended or spurned according to its willingness to see things America's way.

The foregoing is, of course, all written from a Eurocentric perspective. By all means, therefore, ignore it.

Sell arms to whomever and make Jesse Helms a happy man



US Vice-President Al Gore and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki

Armcor outlines its aims to boost blacks and women

BY NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

(254) Haw 7/2/97

National arms procurement organisation Armcor is rapidly changing its policy in favour of organisations and people who were previously disadvantaged

This was made clear in Pretoria yesterday when executive chairman Ron Haywood told representatives of the local defence industry that empowerment and ensuring representation of communities previously excluded would feature among its future goals

"We are taking concrete steps to bring together traditional contractors and potential contractors, particularly from the small and micro-enterprise sector"

Haywood said Armcor had been competitive in both the international and local marketplace, but at the expense of developing human potential

"We have been found guilty of what is regarded as the most serious of all oversights not paying sufficient attention to the development of our human resources. Physical and intellectual resources must be transformed better, quicker and cheaper into products and services"

Haywood said Armcor's affir-

mative action programme required 70% of all appointments on an annual basis to be drawn from black people and that 30% of its senior staff should be women. A quarterly audit was undertaken to ensure this was being adhered to

Because there was not a surplus of black or female scientists, engineers and technicians, Armcor had developed a "talent pool" which would help the organisation and the

“
Guilty of the most serious oversight
”

industry in general to become more representative of the country

He urged defence industry firms, of which there are about 800 who subcontract to Armcor on various projects, to embrace economic empowerment

This would help to make South Africa more competitive on world markets, as the country was currently low in the "competitive league"

Defence chief Meiring stripped of financial powers in big clean-out

B0 12/12/97

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — A major clean-out of the SA National Defence Force's (SANDF) top structures, which will see SANDF chief Georg Meiring stripped of his financial powers and other senior officers retrenched or retired, was announced by Deputy Defence Minister Ronne Kasrils yesterday.

The first stage is expected to have reduced the defence force's total manpower by 20% when the transformation is completed.

Affirmative action would be used in new appointments to the reorganised structures to allow for "fresh talent to reach the top".

The reorganisation and transformation could create sufficient savings for the multibillion-rand purchase of submarines and corvettes for the navy.

Addressing a news conference, Kasrils said the reorganisation of the defence force's top structures, which would see the chief of the defence force lose his "accounting officer" status was an integral part of the transformation.

The headquarters functions of each of the five arms of service — army, air force, navy and medical services — are to be collapsed into one administrative body to be known as the joint operations centre of the defence ministry.

The civilian defence secretary Pierre Steyn, who will take control of finances, staffing and other matters, will be on the same level as Meiring and will effectively become the defence minister's policy adviser.

Meiring will act as the minister's military adviser.

An immediate saving of about R300m is expected. The basic shift in power will take place on April 1 and the changes would need to be legalised by amendments to the exchange, defence and public service acts.

Where previously defence functions were carried out at defence headquarters level and duplicated in the respective services, all these separate administrations have now been amalgamated into one top-level administrative structure," Kasrils said.

He could not put a figure on how

many retrenchments were involved in the SANDF's transformation because much still depended on the defence review. He said Defence Minister Joe Modise would ensure that all those retrenched got a fair deal. Kasrils said, however, that there could be as many as 10 000 defence force members who would want severance packages.

He said that the defence force complement was about 98 000 and the reduction could be as high as 20%.

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onto comments made just before the news briefing started and which were

the year as a whole, the demand was estimated below the R10bn in 1995

there would be

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Defence

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Asked whether the reduction in defence force spending on administration would allow for the purchase of four submarines and possibly four corvettes, Kasrils said that "creating a leaner, more cost-efficient SANDF" would assist in acquiring items which could not previously be acquired.

A defence review briefing to the parliamentary committee last year said the purchase of the vessels would be made easier if savings resulted from

reorganisation of the defence force, Meiring said that the exercise was aimed at "achieving a better ratio between the sharp end and the support end of the defence force".

He said that "the fighting soldier" would be the least affected.

Meiring said that he did not see any operational difficulties for the defence chief by removing his accounting function. "We think we have solved all the potential negative aspects," he said.

The new order will mean that the defence force chief will have to gain access to funds for equipment and materials through the civilian secretary for defence.

Sweeping defence force changes on the way

(254) Star 15/2/97

Cape Town - Defence Minister Joe Modise has announced "sweeping changes" in the South African defence establishment, starting with a reshuffle of the top echelons

One of the significant tasks of the military, Modise said yesterday, would be to bolster the police in the fight against crime

His deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, added that despite manpower reductions and radical transformations, military troops had engaged in numerous operations in 1996 in support of police action

"I am committed to optimising this support and to raising the national defence force's profile in the fight against crime," Modise said. He added that the "structural streamlining" of his ministry "eliminates duplication of administrative functions, increases efficiency and, above all, cuts costs"

The new structure should produce savings of R300-million in the first year alone, he estimated

Kasrils said plans to cut the defence force by 20% were now ready to be implemented

The aim was to cut the current, 98 000-strong force by a further 20%, Kasrils said, adding that nearly half this number had left the force voluntarily, either by resigning or accepting severance packages

Responsibility

The reform had started from the top and would move down the hierarchy, Modise said

One notable change is that financial responsibility for the department has been taken from the chief of the defence force - currently General Georg Meiring - and turned over to a civilian secretary for defence. The civilian position is currently held by

retired general Pierre Steyn

Modise said a defence review to be submitted to Parliament in May as a guide to "weigh up defence needs and decide what is the most appropriate and affordable budget" would be one of his ministry's most important undertakings this year

The review, Modise said, would be the main instrument dealing with the biggest problem as far as funding was concerned, that of obsolete equipment

Modise and Kasrils both complained of the increasingly poor means at the disposal of the SA Navy, despite requests from neighbouring countries for naval



JOE MODISE: Soldiers to help police fight crime

assistance in protecting their territorial waters and economic exclusion zones, notably against poachers.

Modise also said SA troops would be intensively trained this year to assume eventual peacekeeping duties in Africa

Kasrils added that two battalions already had "sufficiently profession-

al" capability to conduct logistic, transport, communications and medical support in a peacekeeping operation

President Nelson Mandela said last week he was prepared to commit troops to such operations on condition that they be African-led and operate under the United Nations - AFP

Contentious issue of corvettes under spotlight

CT 17/2/97

(254)

THE joint standing committee on defence is expected to discuss the purchase of corvettes and submarines during its meeting on Wednesday. There is extensive pressure on the committee to decide whether to give its support to the purchase of this naval hardware. However Tony Yengeni, who chairs the committee, has clearly stated that he is resisting the pressure to rush into a decision.

The pressure is coming from within and without. At a meeting a few weeks ago, Commodore Howell of the navy gave a hard-sell presentation to the committee on the need for corvettes and submarines. He argued that the submarines were an unmissable bargain, even though, according to the navy's own schedule, the replacement of the current fleet of submarines is only due for consideration in 1998. He emphasised the need for an immediate decision as, he said, three other countries were interested in the submarines and one (apparently Chile) had already put in an offer.

From within the joint standing committee, NP members (particularly Senator Koornhof) called for the committee to make a decision within the week.

Absurdly though, an immediate decision will pre-empt the completion of a lengthy defence review process, conducted by the Defence Secretariat which is intended to detail what a future defence

force should look like. The question which obviously arises is how the committee can make a decision of this magnitude before a clear policy has been finalised. Buying corvettes and submarines can be likened to buying furniture before knowing the size or situation of your new premises.

An argument in favour of corvettes, often put forward by Senator Wiley (NP), is that corvettes can be used to help patrol our coastline, thereby discouraging poaching, smuggling and other illegal activities. One of the questions being looked at by the defence review, however, is whether the size of the military should be determined primarily on perceived future defence needs or whether ancillary/ peacetime tasks should be taken into account. One would expect this question to be resolved before corvettes are bought that could also be used for coastguard activities.

While things such as policing, coastguard activities and rescue operations are all welcome uses of defence force resources, does one design a future military around these needs? If the need is to police poachers, then the best means must be found to do that, which may well not be corvettes.

When Koornhof called for the joint standing committee to make an immediate decision on these issues, Yengeni initially seemed to agree. At a later meeting,

however, he took a much more deliberative approach.

"I reject the notion that we are unnecessarily procrastinating," he said in a recent interview. "These are very sensitive matters and we do not want to be seen to be justifying expensive military equipment from abroad without being sensitive to local socio-economic matters. We want to make that jump when we are certain that the money spent will come back in the form of jobs, technological transfers and in the form of all sort of benefits for the country."

One of the reasons for this approach may have been that the ANC had not appeared to have reached consensus on these issues. When asked about whether the matter would go to a full caucus meeting for a decision, Yengeni said that consensus would be sought among the ANC members of the joint standing committee. He expected, however, that ANC members of the standing committee would consult their parliamentary colleagues, thus widening the consensus.

If the joint standing committee does come out this week in support of the naval hardware, it will not be the end of the process. Their decision, however, is likely to be very influential. The cabinet has so far adopted a position that the decision (at least on corvettes) should be put on hold until after the defence review process has been completed.

'SA sticking to nuclear-free treaties'

(254) Star 17/2/97
By NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

South Africa can in theory still produce nuclear weapons but this would not be contemplated unless the country was forced to do so because of a full-scale war.

The country is, instead, actively taking part in international negotiations involving 61 countries to find methods to detect undeclared nuclear activities.

Former president FW de Klerk announced in 1990 that a stockpile of six nuclear weapons, as well as one partially manufactured weapon, had been dismantled and destroyed as part of the country's commitment to peaceful co-existence. South Africa was the first country in the world to publicly announce it had ended a nuclear bomb programme.

Atomic Energy Commission chief executive Dr WE Stumpf told The Star at the weekend that the United States' claim that South Africa still had a nuclear capability - and was ranked internationally as part of the "nuclear club" - was "technically true (but) it could also apply to many other countries, such as Germany and Japan, that have an advanced industrial capability and an enrich-

ment capability."

However, he said, "South Africa is a signatory to two international treaties that prohibit South Africa ever going down that road again - the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as well as the Pelindaba Treaty, the African nuclear weapons-free zone treaty.

"Both allow signatories to withdraw from the treaties only if their supreme interests are threatened. This means in case of a total and

Could pull out only in time of total war

full-scale war against South Africa."

Stumpf said recent events in Iraq and North Korea had shown that the world, and particularly the United States, would not allow any country to break the NPT or to withdraw from the treaty under a perceived threat.

Asked whether the AEC or Armscor had any remaining technical expertise on nuclear weapons design, Stumpf said the "answer to this question is a very

clear negative, as practically all of those key people have long since left the two organisations."

He added that "it is, of course, true that such an expertise could in theory be established once more" but ruled it out in the light of international treaties and the close involvement of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) with the AEC.

"The establishment of such an expertise would be useless and, in my mind, totally unethical and also a waste of scarce resources," Stumpf added.

South Africa had played a major role in the development of a safeguards protocol by the IAEA following the nuclear crisis in Iraq over the past few years. South Africa had been among other states which had voluntarily taken part in field trials to establish the feasibility of new, powerful safeguard measures, including the sampling of the environment.

The protocol means that countries now have to provide nuclear inspectors with unrestricted access and substantially more information on nuclear fuel cycle-related activities and provide additional access to facilities so that the IAEA can detect previously undeclared nuclear activities.

Debate rages over jobs in arms industry

Stephané Bothma

(254)
BD 18/2/97

THE R1bn SA Air Force contract for the purchase of 12 Rooivalk helicopters would create up to 4 000 jobs in the defence industry, Denel MD Johan Alberts said yesterday.

Celebrating the first public appearance of the preproduction combat helicopter, Alberts said expected export orders could increase the number of jobs created by the manufacture of the Rooivalk to 6 000.

The Rooivalk's debut was met with controversy when a small number of Ceasefire Campaign supporters staged a protest outside the gates of Denel Aviation's Kempton Park plant.

A campaign spokesman said the development of the helicopter had already cost the country R1,2bn in research and development.

"It is obvious the purchase of 12 attack helicopters at a price of at least R876m is a waste of resources which the country cannot afford," she said.

She rejected the argument that the arms industry could be a major source of jobs, claiming it was a high-technology, subsidised industry as opposed to a labour-intensive production process.

However, Alberts said Denel worked on creating at least 25 new jobs for every R1m in sales, but said defence sales also created spin-offs to about 150 defence subcontractors.

The Rooivalk has been extensively marketed in the Middle East and Malaysia, but to date no orders have been received.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports Defence Minister Joe Modise said he was positive sales of the Rooivalk could provide more employment and generate foreign exchange.



The new pre-production model of the Rooivalk attack helicopter, seen overflying the Rooikat armoured fighting vehicle, is unveiled in Johannesburg yesterday at Denel Aircraft Corporation. SA hopes for significant overseas sales of the aircraft, which competes with the US Apache helicopter.

Picture AP

No thanks for two men who face task of shaking up SA's military

BY NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

Deep in the heart of South Africa's military establishment a group of people are wrestling with a difficult task transforming the bureaucratic Department of Defence and top-heavy South African National Defence Force (SANDF) into a 21st century organisation befitting a democratic nation.

It is a thankless task because what they are actually doing is retrenching friends and colleagues, rationalising posts and commands, and restructuring and redesigning one of Africa's elite forces so that it does not lose its feared sharp edge.

For General Georg Meiring, chief of the SANDF and a man who easily bridged the change over from the old apartheid-era SA Defence Force to the

democratic SANDF in May 1994, it is his worst nightmare come true.

For retired general Pierre Steyn, who is from April 1 bureaucratic head of the new dispensation (he is both accounting officer and head of department), the accelerated move towards transformation is just as traumatic, for it is up to him to make it work.

The two men work together at "Battle Station Galactica" - the irreverent name given by military people to the glass-fronted Department of Defence (DoD) and SANDF headquarters building in Pretoria.

Although there have been whispers of an uncomfortable alliance, both men are generally seen as capable of lifting themselves above any differences which may exist and getting on with turning the military into a civilian-controlled organisation and one which will never shrink its duties in the defence of the sovereign state.

Defence Minister Joe Modise is clear as to how he wants to see the evolution of the new defence force.

He told the joint parliamentary committees on defence. "By transformation, I mean fundamental reorganisation of the DoD, starting with restructuring the upper levels. The key objectives are consolidation of civil control over defence, attainment of broad representivity, and delivery of accountable, affordable defence."

"This represents the beginning of the structural transformation - starting at the top - from where we will progressively work down, with further savings accruing in the process."

Modise then outlined what most people (particularly whites who have for years held down their military jobs along with all the perks this involves) have known would eventually happen but preferred not to think about until the fateful day dawned.

"Rationalisation means new opportunities for fresh talent to reach top positions. This will be assisted by accelerated affirmative action and gender sensitive programmes."

The statement has sent shockwaves through the defence establishment because suddenly thousands of administrators

The era of secure tenure of jobs is over

trative staff, ranging from generals down, have found themselves wondering whether their names would be placed on a retrenchment list irrespective of whether they want it or not.

Some 6 000 of all ranks were late last year offered the opportunity "to

take the package" but now a further 15 000 to 20 000 are also destined to leave and there will be more as the process gets under way.

The statements imply that from now on the Minister of Defence would no longer be a rubber stamp for decisions taken at defence headquarters, a situation which evolved as a white-led South Africa fought border wars in Angola and South West Africa (Namibia) in the 1980s.

The military is also losing its pre-eminent authority role to civilians and the new-look force will be adhering to more modern thinking about the roles and functions of the soldier.

While the most important change is the transfer of the head of department and accounting officer roles from the incumbent SANDF chief to the Defence Secretary, internal structures - in particular those at headquarters and by implication at territorial commands

and in individual units - will also undergo a radical re-organisation.

A total of 18 reorganised divisions or sections will be established at headquarters. Those include policy and planning, financial management, external communications, arms expert, logistics policy and support, defence intelligence, joint training, acquisitions, and the offices of the chiefs of the armed services such as the army, air force, navy, medical services, and the new appointment of chief of joint operations. Traditional separate headquarters for each of the arms of service are being phased out.

It is through this particular re-organisation process that the biggest shocks, and affecting the bulk of the people involved, can be expected.

Modise said "The new head office will be integrated in that the manage-

ment of the department and its military forces will be co-located in the same headquarters, often with shared staffs."

That means wholesale reduction (initially 20% of the 98 000 strong personnel) through all arms of service.

As the situation stands at present, each service maintains its own staffing for particular needs, but with the streamlining these will all go.

While the end of duplication of functions and multiplication of expenses is the ideal, top defence sources agree there may still have to be some duplication over a limited period because of the range of activities undertaken by particular services.

They make it clear, however, that although this could be construed as being a lifeline for some, once teething troubles have been ironed out, the era of secure tenure of jobs will be over once and for all.

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SA committed to international principles in new defence force policy

(254)

Wynndham Hartley
CAPE TOWN — The old apartheid tactic of cross-border raids will be forbidden in new defence force policy, outlined in the Defence Review, which acknowledges the international principle of strictly defensive military action only.

Parliament's joint standing committee on defence yesterday debated whether or not the chapter of the

Defence Review dealing with the posture of the military forces in SA should contain a provision which would allow pre-emptive strikes.

Committee chairman Tony Yengeni asked the defence department to explain its position on pre-emptive strikes because the committee was divided on the issue.

Defence consultant Laurie Nathan told the committee that the constitution committed SA to abide

by international law and the United Nations (UN) charter which prohibited the use of force in any form, but a defensive situation.

Any military action aimed at self-defence could not be undertaken until "an attack has occurred", Nathan said, and if the state initiated an attack, even if designed as a pre-emptive measure, it would be seen as a contravention of the UN charter.

Brig Len le Roux told the com-

mittee that the council for defence wanted any reference to pre-emptive strikes removed from the review because the defence force was already bound to international law.

An incredulous Yengeni asked representatives to explain to him at what stage, when it was obvious that a country was mobilising an attack, could defensive action be taken. Nathan said "when is an attack an attack" was part of the current

debate. It was acknowledged that the nation under threat did not have to wait for the attack to reach its territory before offering a response.

Nathan said the only two countries that had ever insisted they had a right to pre-emptive strikes were SA and the old Southern Rhodesia.

Apartheid SA's habit of attacking political opponents in foreign countries contributed to sanctions before the democratic transition.

Govt may limit ports of entry amid fears of increase in illegal arms

Wynndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The cabinet is to decide soon on proposals to limit international access to SA through 25 airports and a host of border posts amid national intelligence fears of a flood of illegal weapons from Angola.

National crime prevention strategy manager Bernie Fanaroff told Parliament's justice and security committees yesterday that of the 35 airports that currently received international traffic, only three were fully

staffed with police and customs control. Drug dealers could simply land at other airports and drive off in their taxis with their suitcases unchecked, he said. For this reason international access to SA airports should be cut back to 10 airports which were fully staffed by police and customs officials.

The need to end the free and easy access to SA without going through formal controls was vital in the control of cross-border crime, such as drug trafficking, vehicle theft and arms smuggling, Fanaroff said. There was also a

potential for huge flows of illegal weapons to begin entering SA soon from Angola as a result of the peace process there.

Deputy National Intelligence Minister Joe Ntshona confirmed that the national intelligence agency had played a role in developing the recommendations to cabinet with reports on the extent of illegal goods coming through the country's borders. There was a potential for weapons smuggling from Angola and this would exacerbate the existing problem of weapons being

smuggled from Mozambique.

The agency had recommended that the number of border posts processing commercial traffic be reduced to 17. All the others would allow pedestrian and recreational traffic but all commercial vehicles would be turned back and directed to entry points that would have all the necessary facilities.

Those involved with the national crime prevention strategy were designing a model of what was needed at border posts in terms of police, customs and other manpower.

Ports

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During the apartheid era, border control was more efficient because it was controlled by the security police intent on catching members of the liberation movements trying to enter SA.

A special team was tracking weapons stolen from the security force, and another was studying the firearms register to ensure licences were held only by those entitled to them.

Fanaroff also said the national crime prevention strategy was concentrating on the management and structural issues needed to eradicate corruption from the criminal justice system. It was not enough to simply apprehend those in the police and the

courts guilty of corruption. Unless there was a corresponding change in management and structure, corruption would continue to flourish.

He explained that if rogue police were selling or losing dockets it was not enough to punish them. A management structure that strictly controlled the taking of statements and the preparation of dockets was the only way to remedy the situation.

The blockages in the system from police investigation, to court appearances and prison terms were being addressed as a matter of urgency. There were 14 projects costing R1,2bn designed to clear these blockages and ensure that departments were working together. Part of the process was to improve the management of the courts as a means of reducing the time untried people spent in prison.

Fanaroff said between 40% and 70% of cars stolen in SA were exported through border posts. While the largest source of illegal weapons in SA was stolen domestic weapons, large numbers were being smuggled into the country. "Improving border control will make many crimes more difficult."

Since 1990, the control of borders and entry points had "collapsed", he said, and now there were about 13 committees trying to deal with the prob-

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DEADLY STOCKPILE TO BE DESTROYED

Ban slapped on landmines

THE GOVERNMENT'S decision to ban anti-personnel landmines has been welcomed by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Political Writer **BARRY STREEK** reports.

A COMPLETE ban on anti-personnel landmines, except a small number for training in demining, was announced yesterday by the government

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said the cabinet had decided on "a total prohibition on the use, development, production and stockpiling of anti-personnel mines — with immediate effect"

The SANDF would destroy its stockpile of 160 000 mines, but would retain "a very limited and verifiable number" for training staff in demining techniques

The decision was taken at the cabinet meeting on Wednesday

Modise told a news conference it had also been decided to impose a ban on the manufacture of so-called "smart mines", which self-destruct after a defined period

South Africa had also stopped making anti-vehicle mines, although these could still be used for defensive purposes

These steps follow a 1996 prohibition on exporting landmines

"The cabinet's decision reflects our determination to help rid the world of the problem of anti-personnel mines

"Each month these mines kill or maim some 2 000 victims around the world — the vast majority of whom are civilians "

In Angola the number of amputations from mine blasts was one of the highest in the world

The government endorsed the conviction of the International Committee of the Red Cross that limited military use of the mines was far outweighed by the "appalling humanitarian conse-



ANNOUNCED DECISION
Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise

quences" of their use in conflict. The Red Cross welcomed the government's decision yesterday, and said it hoped the decision would promote similar initiatives throughout Southern Africa and lead to a region free of landmines. It would also build momentum towards the signing in December

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of a treaty prohibiting anti-personnel mines worldwide

Modise said "This grave international problem can only be addressed by concerted international action to restrict the availability and use of landmines, and to alleviate the suffering they cause "

The government would resolutely seek a complete ban and would do everything possible to encourage other governments and international institutions to comply. Some countries, including Scandinavian nations and Canada, had already banned the mines but others, such as Britain, France and the US, were resisting

Destruction of the stockpile in depots countrywide would begin immediately

Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils said each mine, worth about R30, would have to be dismantled by hand and this was a laborious process. They could not be blown up all at once

infringe human rights or act aggressively against neighbours

But Modise made it clear the committee simply investigates and advises and final decisions are taken by the Cabinet "Like anybody else," he said, "we are looking for markets around the world"

Modise condemned critics of the leaked Syrian deal SA was involved in two-way military transactions with Israel, he said, and few gave that much publicity "No thought is given to the Palestinians and their suffering"

His departure from his prepared text reveals him as a hawk in such matters "No matter what (the critics say), we will sell arms"

In short, whatever moral standards Asmal's committee tries to apply to arms sales, other criteria such as foreign earnings will influence the decision

Modise has been moving to increase ministerial authority over the military forces He has released an

extensive document on restructuring and sizing down the SA National Defence Force As has been widely reported, control of the armed forces will be removed from the military — in the form of SANDF chief Gen Georg Meiring — and vested in the civilian post of Secretary of Defence (Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn), who will control the purse strings

Meiring signed a five-year contract with the defence force in 1993 and has retained his position despite a recommendation by Steyn — first made to the then President F W de Klerk — that Meiring and other senior military officers be investigated for alleged involvement in covert operations

Meiring has said the secret chemical weapons programme was purely defensive and the incoming government was briefed to this effect But with the trial of Wouter Basson promising fresh revelations about the programme, Modise is cold about Meiring "It is too soon to say whether he has been misleading us"

Other points made by the Minister are

- The reorganisation of defence management — bringing all the armed wings as well as the medical corps under civilian control — will mean savings of R300m this year,

- The integration of the former defence

force, homeland armies and nonstatutory forces (Apla and MK) is being pursued vigorously and there are now 11 black generals, including the chiefs of four of the nine provincial commands Candidates for promotion will be favoured if they show a "commitment to transformation,"

- The full-time staff of the SANDF stands at 98 000 and the goal is to cut this by 20% "I am now ready to speed up the process and achieve sweeping change where necessary," Modise promised,

- Two battalions are ready for peacekeeping in Africa and this year will see further preparations for this purpose Officers are being trained in international law on conflict and its resolution and "some" are in Bosnia to gain first-hand experience, and

- The main problem facing the defence force is that of obsolete equipment Mozambique and Tanzania have asked SA to help de-

fend their coastlines but this could not be done It is, therefore, no surprise that Iranian submarines were using Mozambican facilities A wide-ranging defence review — aimed at evaluating the force's requirements into the next century — will be complete by May

The overall direction of the defence force under Modise and his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, is becoming clear

The cogent policy aim would appear to be a capacity to intervene in Africa, under political control — and, indeed, some form of international mandate — primarily for humanitarian or peacekeeping purposes Modise implied he would like to see an enhanced naval capacity to prevent illegal fishing in SA's territorial waters but financial constraints would probably intervene

While active personnel will be reduced — with the navy fading in importance as its ships rust away — the Cabinet will be asked to authorise an appropriate equipment upgrade over the next decade

Controls, including financial ones, are being tightened so that authority vests in the Minister and his civilian apparatus — with parliamentary oversight almost an afterthought In that respect, the new defence force is keeping its powder as dry as the old *Peter Wilhelm*



Joe Modise

THE ARMED FORCES

MODISE THE HAWK (254)

Defence Minister Joe Modise has indicated parliament has little influence on arms export policy

This emerged when he lost his temper over questions on policy inconsistencies at a media briefing last week

Until now, recent revelations of arms deals or proposals involving Syria and China have been downplayed by government spokesmen

It is widely assumed the National Conventional Arms Control Committee chaired by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal can veto deals with countries that

Matanzima tipped to head SANDF

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Correspondent

MAJOR General "TT" Matanzima has been tipped to replace General Georg Meiring as head of the defence force as part of a new, stepped-up transformation programme in the military

Matanzima, a former commander of the disbanded Transkei Defence Force and one of four black SANDF provincial commanders, was appointed head of Eastern Cape Command in 1994

He spent a year at Britain's royal military college in 1995 to prepare him for a career at the highest level

Former SANDF chief of staff and Umkhonto weSizwe leader, Siphwe Nyanda, who was appointed head of Gauteng Command last month, is also said to be a close

contender for the top post

A former Umkhonto weSizwe guerrilla, Lambert Molo, is also in the running

Speculation that Meiring could leave his post early was rife in government circles this week after he secretly met President Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys in the early hours of Tuesday morning

But Meiring, whose contract expires at the end of next year, denied talk that Mandela may have suggested that he consider making way for a new chief

He told the Sunday Times in Pretoria on Friday "It was a normal meeting I gave him an account of what we are doing He expressed his commitment to the forces and his satisfaction It was on my request that we met"

Meiring said the meeting had taken place early in the morning

ST 23/2/97
because "this was the only time he (Mandela) could fit it in"

He said he was not considering leaving before his contract expired — "unless they fire me"

Mandela's office declined to comment on the meeting

Meiring's authority in the SANDF has been steadily eroded as Defence Minister Joe Modise has pressed ahead with transformation plans In April, Meiring will have his responsibilities as head of department shifted to Defence Secretary Pierre Steyn

This follows the government's decision to move financial control from his office to the secretariat

This has increased tensions between Meiring and Steyn, who are supposed to enjoy equal status under Modise

The tension worsened after the recent publication of the Steyn re-

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port to then President F W de Klerk, which led to the firing of a number of generals

Military sources said Meiring was spending less and less time at his Armscor headquarters, which he shared with Steyn and Modise

Meiring was recently snubbed by parliamentary Speaker Frene Ginwala, who refused to allow him to occupy his traditional seat to the right of the Speaker's chair at the opening of Parliament

Ginwala is said to have got backing for her decision from Mandela himself following an incident last year in which presidential aide Jakes Gerwel crossed swords with Meiring over seating at the opening ceremony.

The Deputy Minister of Defence, Ronnie Kasrils said 18 new appointments would soon be made to the restructured SANDF

Anger at decision to employ sacked scientist Basson

RAW 24/2/97

(254)

Modise and deputy Kasrils must appear before parliamentary committee to explain 'an abuse of power' – says DP

STAFF REPORTERS

The National Party has reacted with indignation to the revelation that the apartheid era military scientist it dismissed during a purge of senior officers in 1992 was re-employed – and at a more senior rank – by the post-apartheid defence force.

The NP defence spokesman Gerhard Koornhof said last night it was another blunder and his party, "together with thousands of law-abiding citizens, is becoming disillusioned with the present Government's actions".

And the DP defence-spokesman Douglas Gibson declared he would insist that Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils must appear before the parliamentary committee on defence to explain what could only be described as "an abuse of power".

Kasrils said last night the decision to take back into the army Wouter Basson – a chemical warfare expert who is now facing criminal charges of being a drug dealer – was taken "in the national interest" when the NP was still in the Government of National Unity and it had been party to the decision.

NP leader FW de Klerk is expected to respond today to Kasrils' claim that he was consulted on the decision in his then capacity as deputy president.

Basson was one of 23 senior officers dismissed from the military in 1992 after the Steyn Report implicated them in criminal activities and dirty tricks by Military Intelligence.

Basson was arrested last month on charges of dealing in the rave drug Ecstasy while working as chief cardiologist at 1 Military Hospital outside Pretoria, where he now heads the SANDF heart transplant programme.

Gibson said: "The ANC quite correctly adopts a high moral stance about the ghastly goings-on which took place under the NP's rule. To discover that the ANC is just as bad will come as a shock to many South Africans," Gibson said.

Kasrils said the decision to re-employ Basson was taken because of fears that he might disclose secrets to other countries as a free agent.

"By reappointing him to the SANDF we were able to bring Basson, who was the leading scientist in the apartheid era charged with developing the country's

chemical biological programme, under a greater degree of control," Kasrils said.

"His court appearance widely publicised the fact that he was re-employed by the SANDF and this is by no means a big secret as implied by the newspaper report."

Furthermore, Kasrils said, the appointment was not made in contravention of the public service regulations as implied by the report. Approval had been obtained from the office of the Public Service Commission.

The Sunday Times newspaper reported that Defence Secretary Pierre Steyn, the man who had recommended Basson's dismissal in 1992, said he had been "horried" to learn that Basson was back on the military payroll and had lodged a strong protest with Surgeon-General Njål Knobel.

Basson, the kingpin behind the chemical warfare-based Project Coast in the 1980s, claimed in court two weeks ago that his re-appointment had been the result of intervention by the Cabinet and the state president.

Jakes Gerwel, director-general in the president's office, denied that either the president or the Cabinet had been involved in Basson's reappointment.

'SA cannot be arms trader, peacemaker'

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL WRITER

ET 27/2/97 (254)

SOUTH AFRICA cannot be both peacemaker and arms trader at the same time, the Black Sash said yesterday

"These activities are mutually exclusive," it said in an open letter, sent yesterday to Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise

"We have to choose the one or the other, and we are afraid that your department is leading us to choose the war-like path," said the letter, signed by Black Sash Trust chairwoman Ms Sheena Duncan

"The Black Sash commends the government's decision to ban the manufacture, export and sale of all anti-personnel landmines and announced determination to destroy existing stockpiles

"This will go some way to taking us back to that moral high ground we claimed when we abandoned our nuclear weapons programme

"It is, however, a matter for regret that the landmine decision has been so long delayed.

"We note from press reports that South Africa will be one of

the foremost arms trading countries displaying our weapons at the next arms trade exhibition in Dubai

"We have also noted the unveiling of the Rooivalk attack helicopter, which does not seem to have peace-keeping usefulness, and we are exceedingly disturbed by recent reports of on-going Defence Department support of research into chemical weapons

"We urge your department to be more transparent and to open the issue of our arms trade to public debate

"The fact that our customers do not like publicity (as you said recently) makes it even more imperative that we have open discussion as to whether the people of this country are prepared to do business with people who want to remain anonymous, who secretly deal in death

"We urge you to lead your department in the ways of peace and negotiations and not to abandon the great promises of our transition

"The arms trade has no place in that," the letter said

Gas masks in every province

SA's chemical warfare programme 'defensive'

BEDA JAFFER
IN CORRESPONDENT

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils says he will consider allowing the media to inspect the country's chemical and biological warfare programme in an attempt to prove at South Africa has the means to protect all citizens from possible attack.

Masks, special suits and filters were part of gear deposited in every province to at the disposal of the public should there be a threat of a chemical attack similar to that took place in Tokyo's subway.

"We have to protect the public at large the event of a natural or man-made disaster," said Mr Kasrils.

Last night he confirmed that both American and British experts had visited a country to inspect whether the programme met international non-proliferation

treaty agreements. "They were satisfied that the programme we had was defensive," he said.

While South Africa was signatory to a host of international agreements which provided for controls over this programme, he did not clearly spell out what controls the Government had in place to ensure that this programme would not be used for evil ends.

He could not confirm that this programme had originally been developed for defensive purposes, although the head of the programme, Lieutenant-General DP Knobel of the South African National Defence Force, yesterday insisted that a defensive capability had been the mandate of the previous government as well.

The two men, together with the head of the president's office, Jakes Gerwel, faced the media yesterday to try to explain why Mr Kasrils had authorised the re-appointment of chemical warfare expert, Dr

Wouter Basson, who faces charges of manufacturing the drug Ecstasy. Both Professor Gerwel and General Knobel said Dr Basson was retired by former state president FW de Klerk in 1992. He officially left the Defence Force in March 1993. He was

'We have to protect the public in the event of a natural or man-made disaster'

placed on the Permanent Force Reserve with effect from April 1 1993 to March 31 1994 as a retired brigadier.

From April 1 1994 to September 30 1995 he was placed on the Citizen Force Reserve

and called up as a consultant. On October 1 1995 he was employed as a specialist medical consultant with the approval of the Public Service Commission.

At the time of his retirement his annual salary was R116 013. His present salary is R148 559 annually. He was presently on full-paid leave but Defence Minister Joe Modise had issued instructions that he not be defended on trial with Defence Force funds. But "in the state bureaucracy this is easier said than done", Mr Kasrils said.

General Knobel said he had recommended the re-employment of Dr Basson because this was the only way in which some control could be exerted over the man.

"We were concerned that he was travelling to foreign countries and had the capability of trading information," said General Knobel. Mr Kasrils said the Steyn report, which had implicated Dr Basson, had been referred to the attorney-general at the

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time, who had said it was not possible to prosecute him because of a lack of evidence. The Government then decided to keep Dr Basson employed as a cardiology specialist.

General Knobel said South Africa's "state of the art" equipment to ward off a chemical warfare attack had been developed by the old government by "robbing, stealing and breaking international law". "We did it at the time when South Africa was isolated but definitely did not do it for offensive reasons," said General Knobel.

However, Mr Kasrils said he was not convinced that the programme had been developed for defensive capability only, but was waiting for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to provide evidence to confirm or deny this.

He insisted the "state of the art" equipment constituted a valuable state asset and would now be placed at the disposal of all South Africans for their protection.



Ronnie Kasrils biting the bullet over Basson

Lessons learnt from smuggling cispuite

DURING the 1980s, it was common knowledge that SA was refusing to let the arms embargo get in the way of military procurement and sales. From time to time, smugglers would be caught, as often as not in sting operations. It was not until 1991, with time running out on the regime which was the reason for the embargo, that US authorities decided to throw the book at Armscor itself.

At the time, no one imagined the grief this would cause in US relations with post-apartheid SA (post-apartheid SA was not even then a readily imagined concept), let alone that it would take until last Thursday to settle the matter. Nonetheless, it may be said in hindsight that the process was useful, even if it cost SA millions of dollars in fines and loss of potential arms sales, not to mention fees to US lawyers who told the client what it wanted to hear, knowing that this would help to maximise their gross billable hours by deferring a settlement.

There is, to be cynical about it, a certain crude legitimacy to a country's seeking to evade sanctions imposed on it by others. By its own lights, the country is doing nothing wrong. However, there is also an inherent problem in all such activities they entail doing business with people who are axiomatically crooked and greedy, that is to say, who must be willing to break the laws of their own lands. That is how Armscor and its SA co-defendants got caught.

Their US partner was James Guern, whose company — International Signal and Control — was based in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Guern was found out after he sold ISC to British defence firm, Ferranti, for a fraudulently overvalued price based on fictitious contracts.

Investigators then discovered that much of ISC's real business involved joint ventures with and procurement for Armscor, mostly orchestrated by ISC executive Robert Ivy, a US citizen who was

previously group technical manager for Armscor guidance system and missile subsidiary Kentron.

With the exception of Ivy, whose trial is scheduled to start at the end of the month, and one James Russel, now a fugitive in SA, all the Americans indicted in the case — there were 10 all told — have either pleaded, or been found, guilty. Guern is serving a 15-year term. The rest await sentencing.

Resolving the charges against the South Africans, as everyone knows, has been rather more complex. But now the deal is done, it may be said that this was a worthwhile exercise. The Philadelphia case ultimately forced a serious negotiation on some very touchy issues which, if left unaddressed, could have festered indefinitely.

Assume, for the sake of argument, that Armscor and its confederates had not been caught and indicted. After the lifting of the international arms embargo in 1994, Denel, Armscor's manufacturing arm, would have presumably come to the US seeking, among other things, the missile systems and avionics it needed to make the Rooivalk helicopter internationally competitive. Legally, there would have been

The Armscor settlement in the US courts, though costly, was a constructive one for SA, writes Simon Barber from Washington (2/74)

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try to be historically corrupt and untrustworthy. There would have been a big public flap over arms sales to SA, notwithstanding the prestige of Nelson Mandela.

President Bill Clinton would have been in the awkward position of being free to override the antis. His Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, backed by a US industry desperate to develop foreign markets to make up for declining defence budgets at home, would have persuaded him to approve

nothing to stop the state department's defence trade controls office from granting the necessary export licences.

However, there would have been a hell of a fight within the bureaucracy, complete with leaks to politicians and the press, to block the licences. The antis would have been able to produce a wealth of intelligence data, including bits of shells fired at Americans by Iraq in the Gulf War, showing the SA arms indus-

the licences. Splendid, you say. Not so. That is because if Clinton were to have permitted arms sales to SA over the objections of his own bureaucrats, SA's warm relations with countries like Libya and Cuba would immediately have begun to have serious traction here as fodder for the president's opponents.

As for the SA cabinet's readiness to sell arms to Syria, the reaction on Capitol Hill would have made the front page of every newspaper in the country. That would have made Clinton quite upset with SA.

Like any politician, he doesn't like to look foolish — let alone over a country which most of the electorate think is a quadrant of a dreadful continent rather than a sovereign state. In sum, SA is probably fortunate that the indictments against Armscor et al saved the administration from decorations Clinton might come to regret.

As for the settlement, the fines may look steep to a country whose currency is as weak as the rand. In the US, \$12.5m is peanuts, while R56m is a lot of houses, school rooms and health care in SA.

Yet even in SA, it is nothing compared to the billions that have been squandered by government

over the years, and not even much of a tax on the profits Denel stands to make now that it is finally able to do legitimate business with the big US companies.

Besides, of that \$12.5m, only \$1.5m will, technically, be coming from the public hide. The remaining \$11m was assessed against Fuchs Electronics, formerly a unit of Barlows, now of Reunert, which was hit hardest as it was a private firm and therefore broke US law out its own volition rather than in furtherance of state policy.

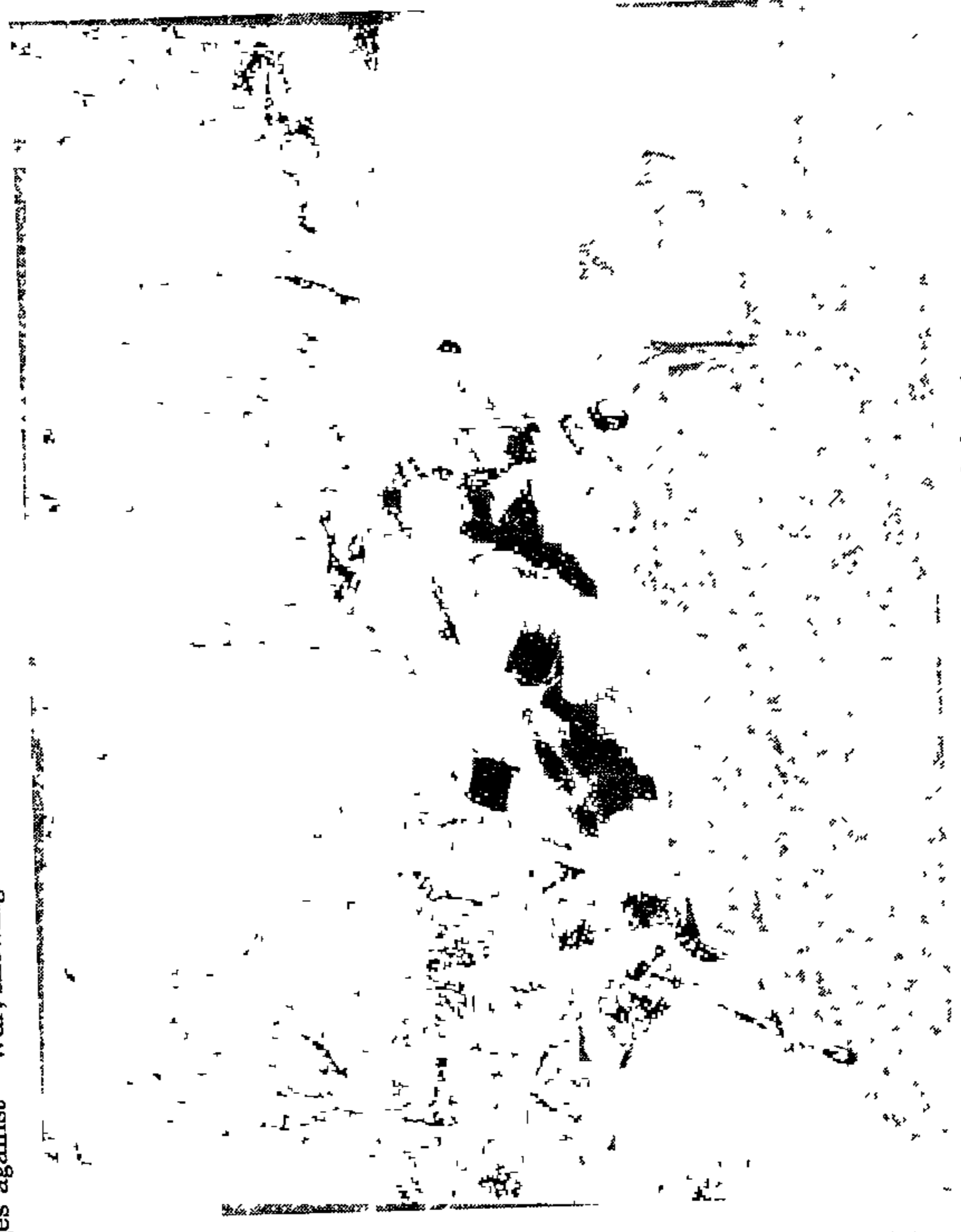
Questions should be asked in Parliament to ensure that Reunert shareholders and not taxpayers are taking the hit. That is all the more so since an unindicted Fuchs executive, Anthony Ellingworth, is identified in the settlement documents as having enriched himself personally in the course of his company's smuggling activities, while indicted Armscor employees like William Metel erkamp simply did their jobs.

In return for the money, whenever it may come from, and an agreement to shop Ivy, government has obtained closure to Armscor's past and with it a piece of paper, signed by Clinton's ambassador plenipotentiary James Joseph and Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad, effectively stating that SA is special and should not therefore have to endure the same denial of access to US weapons technology as other convicted violators of the Arms Export Control Act.

Access should be restored within weeks rather than years, and better still, there won't be a state department plod rifling through records of past activities.

All the plods will be looking is compliance with whatever licences may now be given, and even then have to work through an SA ombudsman whose well-being is dependent on government.

Maybe all this could have been obtained at a lower price tag. Yet now that the dust has settled, the deal announced last Thursday was a good one.



The SA-built Rooivalk combat helicopter

Making SANDF women-friendly

(254) Sewetan 7/3/97

Meaningfull change still has to happen in the army

By Sharon Chetty

ONE OF THE remaining bastions of machismo and male chauvinism – the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) – is being challenged to change its policy on women's advancement

Now that the integration of former Umkhonto we Sizwe, Azanian People's Liberation Army, paramilitary units and homeland armies into SANDF is nearing completion, the next big issue is being tackled how women can advance through the ranks and play a more meaningful part in the force

This weekend personnel from all ranks and divisions will take part in a groundbreaking conference and, by the end of the deliberations, will give clear direction on what policies need to be adopted by the SANDF

Since integration in 1994 the culture of the military has changed significantly. And in keeping with the provisions of the Constitution and aims of the Government to promote gender equality, the SANDF is obliged to address the issue

International conventions

The Government is also a signatory to numerous international conventions outlawing sexism and committing it to working against all forms of discrimination, which adds to the obligation

And it is not just a numbers game, although the figures are stark: there are 8 608 women as opposed to 67 576 men. Although women make up almost 10 percent of the male component, there are very few in senior ranks

The highest-ranking woman is Major-General Jackie Sedibe, who served in the exiled MK for decades. She is the wife of Defence Minister Joe Modise

Colonel Pinky Calmeyer (52) joined the army in the '70s and although she has progressed through the ranks through academic prowess and hard work, she is anxious that policy be put in place to ensure greater equity for future generations

In addition to its misguided role in maintaining apartheid and destabilising neighbouring countries, all the stereotypes associated with men in the military applied to the former South African Defence Force (SADF)

Real change

Calmeyer says there was a "real change" in attitude in 1994 when integration started. "Things became more visible and transparent and women's places became more defined"

"What contributed a lot to the change was that, for the first time, we had people of different cultures here. Before that the army was very Afrikaans and authoritarian"

Calmeyer lists crude discrimination as a big problem in the defence force which, like in most areas of South African society, she says made women "cheap labour" in the past

Women did not qualify for housing allowances as the assumption was that they would marry and benefit from their husband's allowances. When they died, their pensions died with them and only their portion of the pension was paid to survivors, and women were not entitled to include their husbands and children



Challenging male domination ... Colonel Pinky Calmeyer and Lieutenant-Colonel Ellen Molekane.

PIC SHARON CHETTY

on their medical aid schemes

Despite entrenched sexism in the SANDF, Calmeyer says her senior rank commands respect and she has encountered very few problems

"Military discipline dictates that a soldier respects and obeys a senior rank and the uniform, no matter the gender"

Her colleague, Lieutenant-Colonel Ellen Molekane (43), may have trained in MK, where sexism was politically incorrect and went against the African National Congress' philosophy, but she still had to live with the fact that while MK women were treated as "equals" as far as the work was concerned, progress to leadership positions was rare

"In 1985 at the ANC's Kabwe conference, it was one of the issues we fought for and we've continued the fight to get women moved beyond the middle level"

She was among the ANC women who lobbied for the 30 percent parliamentary representation of women because, she says, "those men can talk about nonsexism but it's hard for them to implement it"

Molekane says the problems of a sexist society are reflected in the national defence force. She emphasises that gender equality has to be taught to soldiers, "just as they're being taught sensitivity to civilians and a respect for human rights"

Although a uniformed officer, she was seconded to the defence secretariat to work in the chief directorate on planning programmes and the budget for the whole organisation

It is a strategic position as she is

able to lobby for and assess the spending on women's advancement

Molekane says that it is imperative that space be created for women to take up more key positions in the "middle" of the defence force

"If women want to be involved in combat, then they must have the environment that allows them that"

"At present most women are confined to support services and the periphery of the SANDF. When there are budget cuts, the first to go will be the women"

Both Molekane and Calmeyer are adamant that future policy on women's advancement must "be clear and unambiguous". They are keen that there be proportional representation for women at senior levels

Accept defence force

"We have to accept the defence force will always be male-oriented and male-dominated but we have to see that women are given the chance and space to progress," said Calmeyer

While the SANDF is unique in many ways and a direct comparison cannot be made to any other defence force, Molekane says that "we're not worse off than most others and certainly better off than the Europeans"

Interestingly, Calmeyer points out that since integration there is probably the most cohesion and cooperation among women in the SANDF, irrespective of their backgrounds

"Maybe it's because we know we're always the underdogs"

The conference is scheduled to coincide with International Women's Day tomorrow

Every second woman soldier is sexually harassed, survey shows

Stephen Lauder

EVERY second female soldier and civilian in the defence department has been sexually harassed at work, a survey presented to a weekend conference on women in the military shows.

Delegates representing 17 885 female employees of the department were told 49% of women in civilian and military defence jobs said they had been subjected to sexist remarks or verbal insults by their male colleagues.

A quarter of those interviewed in the survey by the psychological services of the SA National Defence Force's (SANDF's) medical services said they had encountered offensive printed matter in the workplace, while 25% said of offensive gestures had been used when they were addressed.

The conference, which was sponsored by the defence department — which includes the SANDF, the civilian defence secretary and the defence ministry — called for the introduction of a policy outlawing sexual harassment within the military.

As a result, the military code of ethics, which currently did not specifically refer to sexual harass-

ment as an infringement, would be reviewed, Maj-Gen Jackie Sedibe said yesterday. It could be expected that offensive actions of the kind uncovered by the survey would be declared an offence under the code.

The survey results on harassment reflected realities across SA society. The challenge was to find ways of allowing women to function at the highest levels of the military.

Delegates had been asked to assist in formulating policies and mechanisms to overcome the legacy of gender discrimination which had ensured that few women attained senior rank in the defence department. Besides problems with harassment, the conference had identified continuing discrimination in recruitment, training, and promotion.

There was also discrimination resulting from public service rules which did not allow women to include husbands and families on their medical insurance, and the issue would be addressed in talks with the relevant minister.

Women generals from the US and Zimbabwe and representatives of a number of nongovernmental organisations attended

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the conference which was timed to coincide with international women's day.

The discussions would flow into the defence review process aimed at formulating a new policy on the future size and role of the SANDF, a member of parliament's defence joint standing committee Zou Kotta said. Some of the conference suggestions aimed at removing obstacles to the progress of women within the military could require enabling legislation.

The survey also showed younger women felt there were fewer obstacles to achieving the highest ranks in the SANDF, while older women were less optimistic because promotion depended on passing courses often held far from home and required long absences from families.

Sedibe said women were permitted to serve in combat units, and accounted for 11.43% of the 77 382 uniformed SANDF personnel. More than half were noncommissioned officers, with a further 25% serving at officer level.

It was learned separately talks were under way on the participation of women in SA peacekeeping units should they be deployed outside the country.



A conference on the role of women in SAs defence department was held in Kempton Park at the weekend. Attending the conference were Maj-Gen Jackie Sedibe, left, and MP Zou Kotta.

Picture GARTH LUMLEY

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TUESDAY
MARCH 11, 1997 ★

SA's arms exports set for treble boost

OWN CORRESPONDENT

CT 11/3/97

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PRETORIA President Nelson Mandela may be on the brink of pulling off the sale of the century for the South African defence industry.

He confirmed last night that an order from Malaysia — believed to be worth R2,2-billion — for South African-manufactured Rooivalk attack helicopters, was definitely on the cards. If it goes through, the order will treble the worth of the country's arms exports.

The proposal has been discussed and an announcement can be expected soon, Mandela said at Waterkloof air force base, Pretoria, on his return from a visit to Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines. The proposal will be considered (by the government) as long as those weapons are for defensive purposes only.

If the sale goes through it means Mandela has successfully beaten off counter-bids from Britain, France, the US, Italy and Russia for the sale of at least 20 state-of-the-art attack helicopters to the Malaysian defence force. South Africa already has an agreement with Malaysia for marketing and part-manufacturing Rooivalk in south-east Asia and the Middle East.

The sale would be the first foreign acquisition of Rooivalks and even if the deal is not completed, the possibility is a major boost for the defence industry, coming on the heels of the world's largest defence show, Index '97, which opens in Abu Dhabi on Sunday. South Africa will be displaying a variety of armaments. But the manner in which the Rooivalk deal has been handled has shaken the confidence of the manufacturer Denel, which yesterday reported there was no sale of the helicopters although it did not rule out the possibility of selling the helicopters.

Denel chief executive officer, Mr Johan Alberts said reports of the Mandela initiative had come "as a surprise". He said that although such a sale may be in the offing, "I have not yet had a chance to talk to the president".

Meanwhile, talks began in Pretoria yesterday between South Africa and Britain on a possible multi-billion rand deal involving corvettes and submarines for the South African navy, and jet trainers and front-line jet fighters for the air force.

South Africa is insisting that major offset trade arrangements be part of any deal involving corvettes and submarines in particular, and it is understood this is being extended to the aircraft as well.

Britain's proposals apparently includes the South African manufacture of certain components, joint ventures involving the defence industry and private sector, and specific black empowerment deals. Huge employment opportunities form part of the negotiations.

An Armscor spokesman said the British proposal, which still has no price tag, was one of numerous proposals from other countries since 1994.

Super salesman Madiba makes a R2,2b deal

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Sowetan 11/3/97

Attack helicopter sales will be major boost
for SA's defence industry

Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela may be on the brink of pulling off the sale of the century for the South African defence industry

He confirmed last night that an order – believed to be worth R2,2 billion – from Malaysia for South African-manufactured Rooivalk attack helicopters was definitely on the cards. If it goes through, the order will treble the worth of the country's arms exports.

"The proposal has been discussed and an announcement can be expected soon," he said at Waterkloof Air Force Base, near Pretoria, on his return from a visit to Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines.

"The proposal will be considered (by the Government) as long as those weapons are for defensive purposes only. I know that Malaysia has no intention of flexing its muscles in regard to other countries."

If the sale goes through, it means Mandela has successfully beaten off counter-bids from Britain, France, the United States, Italy and Russia for the sale of at least 20 state-of-the-art attack helicopters to the Malaysian defence force.

South Africa already has an agreement with Malaysia for marketing and part-manufacturing Rooivalk in south-east Asia and the Middle East. The sale would be the first foreign acquisition of Rooivalks and even that possibility is a major boost for the defence industry, coming on the eve of the world's largest defence show, IDEX '97, which opens in Abu Dhabi on Sunday.

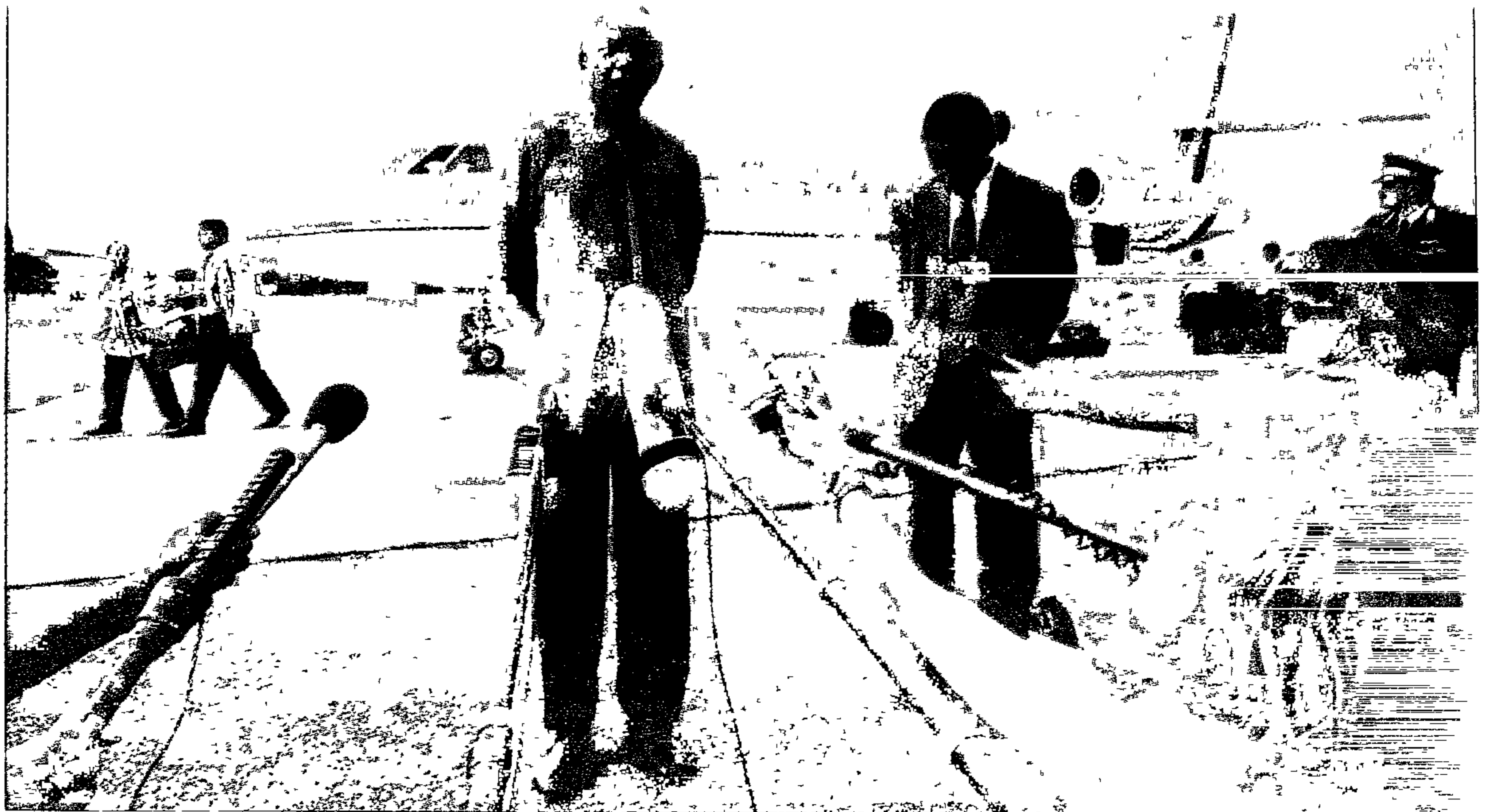
South Africa will be displaying a wide variety of armaments at the show.

Mandela stressed the long-standing friendly relationship between South Africa and Malaysia by saying "Malaysia is our friend, a friendship that has lasted from before the general elections that we had here."

Asked about his trip, he said it had been "very successful indeed."

"What is of direct interest to us are the agreements that have been signed. Agreements on trade, on shipping, on banking, on hotels, between South Africa and Malaysia."

He added that south-east Asia was one of the fastest growing areas in the world. "They have gone through similar experiences as we have done and they have been able to recover from all the problems created by the colonial era."



Exciting prospects ... President Nelson Mandela tells the press about the arms deal with Malaysia. He had just stepped off the official presidential aircraft at Waterkloof air force base, Pretoria, after returning from a successful 11-day visit to south-east Asia.

Arms exports on brink of trebling

Mandela near to clinching R2,2-billion Malaysian order for Rooivalk helicopters

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Star 11/3/97

By **NORMAN CHANDLER**
Defence Correspondent

President Mandela's talks in Malaysia could lead to "the sale of the century", worth R2,2-billion, which would treble the value of the country's armaments exports

The president confirmed yesterday on his return from south-east Asia that Malaysia could order Rooivalk attack helicopters

"The proposal has been discussed and an announcement can be expected soon," he said at Waterkloof Air force base, Pretoria, after state visits to Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines

"The proposal will be considered as long as the weapons are

for defensive purposes only. I know that Malaysia has no intention of flexing its muscles in regard to other countries," the president said

It would be the first foreign sale for Rooivalks, and just that possibility is a major boost for the defence industry, coming on the eve of the world's largest defence show, IDEX '97, which opens in Abu Dhabi on Sunday. South Africa will be displaying a wide variety of armaments at the show

The SAAF has ordered 12 Rooivalks, which are in production.

Chief executive officer of Rooivalks' manufacturer Denel, Johan Alberts, said in Pretoria that the Mandela initiative had come as

a surprise

He said it would be the first time that an armaments sale had taken place as a result of politicians "clinching a deal", and explained that it often took months and years before agreements were reached.

"It is not like selling soft drinks," he added.

Meanwhile, talks began in Pretoria yesterday between South Africa and Britain on a possible multibillion-rand deal involving corvettes and submarines for the navy, and jet trainers and fighters for the air force.

Britain is offering a package which would see the navy acquiring four light frigates especially designed for South African coastal conditions, and four Upholder-

class submarines currently mothballed by the Royal Navy, 60 Hawk 100 jet trainers to replace the air force's ageing Impalas, and a squadron of Swedish-built and British-marketed Gripen jet fighters as a future replacement for the 20-year-old French-built Mirage and Cheetah upgrades that are in service

South Africa is insisting on major offset-trade arrangements to be part of any deal involving the corvettes and submarines and it is understood this is being extended to the aircraft as well

Britain has apparently put on the table proposals including technology transfers, manufacturing in South Africa of certain components, joint ventures involving the

defence industry as well as the private sector, and specific black-empowerment deals

Huge employment opportunities form part of the negotiations

The departments of defence and of trade and industry, as well as Armscor, the South African procurement agency, are representing the country in the negotiations

An Armscor spokesman said the British proposal was one of a number from a variety of countries since 1994, and only when the defence review was finalised would it be in a position to determine precisely what South Africa's equipment and weaponry requirements were for the future

No price tag has been placed on the package

Top brass shuffle launches Defence revamp aimed at saving R300-million

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Pretoria - With the appointment of 28 officers to key positions, the Department of Defence has begun a transformation process aimed at saving taxpayers R300-million.

Announcing the appointments yesterday, Defence Minister Joe Modise said the new incumbents' task would be to manage the process of reorganising the divisions for which they would be responsible.

The new incumbents include Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, who will fill the newly created post of Deputy Chief of the SANDF, Major-General Davidson Masuku, who will take over as Surgeon-General from Lieutenant-General Niel Knobel on December 1 this year, and Brigadier Moreti Motau, who becomes the Deputy Chief of Defence Intelligence.

Other appointments include Major-General Lebeko Ramano (Deputy Chief of

the Army), Mamatho Netsianda (Deputy Secretary for Defence), Lieutenant-General Lambert Moloi (Chief of the Service Corps) and Brigadier Sandi Syake (Chief of Foreign Relations).

Lieutenant-General Reginald Otto, Lieutenant-General William Hechter and Vice-Admiral Robert Simpson Anderson retained their positions as chiefs of the army, air force and navy respectively.

Mr Modise said the process was intended to result in a re-organised Ministry of Defence by April 1 next year.

This streamlining of the top administrative levels, through the creation of 20 new or reorganised divisions, is expected to produce a saving of about R300-million.

Other structural changes and consequent savings will follow as we re-organise the SANDF from the top down.

"My vision is for a transformed defence establishment, in which everybody is a proud member, regardless of race, gender,

and background," Mr Modise said.

The new culture could be achieved only by creating the right spirit among all members of the new Ministry of Defence and the armed forces.

"This will be done through the inculcation of new values and appropriate training, including civic education curricula, equal opportunities and affirmative action programmes, the development of gender consciousness and the banishment of all forms of racial discrimination."

Mr Modise said 1997 marked the third year since the national elections. "I believe I have been moving in a measured and patient way."

He said he expected those he had appointed to show the fullest commitment to the type of transformation needed by the defence force and the country.

"I need individuals with the loyalty, drive and determination to make transformation a reality," he said.

AR 12/3197

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Reality vs morality?

(254) benetton 12/3/97

LONDON— IT HAS BEEN a surprise for many to find out that South Africa is among those nations ready to take their chances with world opinion by trying to sell arms to nations with dubious human rights records

Many observers have noted the changes in South African foreign policy from the heady days of 1994 when the ANC came to power after the country's first democratic elections, to the kind of expedient political realism the same Government has had to show in a hard world in recent months

For those who enthusiastically backed the boycotts against the former apartheid regime, the new South Africa's readiness to sell arms to countries with poor human rights records — China, Syria and others — is disappointing

Many of these campaigners are now lending their weight to a new global campaign for a worldwide code of conduct on conventional arms sales — one that could eventually bar arms sales to countries with poor human rights records

Aside from the loss of moral authority personally suffered by President Nelson Mandela, South Africa's newest dips into the murky world of arms trading has had some hard effects

Recently a Johannesburg newspaper revealed that South African-made arms sold to Uganda had ended up in the hands of Sudanese rebels, jeopardising Mandela's efforts to broker peace in war-torn Sudan

Attempts to sell R80 million worth of light weapons and armoured personnel carriers to Rwanda collapsed under international pressure in November

And last month United States pressure forced South Africa to review a R2 500 million deal to supply tank gunsights to Syria

"(South Africa's) reputation has proved to be a declining asset," noted Professor Jack Spence, outgoing director of studies at London's Royal Institute of International Affairs "The euphoria surrounding the events of April-May 1994 have largely dissipated"

But such a shift in international perceptions will be welcomed by Armscor and Denel, the state-owned weapons marketing and export licensing company and its privatised manufacturing subsidiary

The South African arms industry was built up during the long years of international isolation under a United Nations embargo

In 1963 the country imported nearly three-quarters of its weapons from abroad, mostly from Britain Twenty years later it was making almost all its own weapons

But domestic military expenditure has been halved since the late 1980s The industry, which employed 160 000 at its peak, now provides

Recently concerns have been raised over the ANC's willingness to sell arms to countries with poor human rights records, **Darius Bazargan** explains...



President Nelson Mandela has lost some moral authority because of his Government's readiness to sell arms to countries with poor human rights records.

work for around 50 000 people

Armscor now hopes to boost its exports to over R2 billion a year, equivalent to two percent of the global arms market In 1994 weapons constituted South Africa's second biggest source of export earnings worth R1,03 billion

Strong Challenge

Its marketing teams have pushed hard, they put up a strong challenge to the mighty European and US manufacturers when trying to sell its Rooivalk attack helicopter to Britain Its 155mm G5 and G6 artillery systems are considered world class

To assist the process, Armscor has opened offices in Paris, Moscow, Tel Aviv, Kuala Lumpur, Beijing and New York

The problem is that most of Armscor's potential customers are not democratic countries but developing states with questionable human rights records

Initially the ANC-led Government took a strict line

In 1995, to Denel's fury, the South African Government cancelled a deal with Turkey worth R1,2 billion, citing that country's human rights abuses against its Kurdish minority

But by 1996 it had changed enough to be willing to confront the US and Israel by pressing on with a deal to upgrade the fire-control systems of Syria's fleet of Soviet-era T-72 tanks The deal has reportedly been postponed but not cancelled

Earlier this month another South African firm, Reutech Radar Systems, confirmed that Beijing had sent a delegation to their plant in May 1996, although no deals had been finalised

"If anything, since the end of the embargo, the South Africans need defence exports more than ever," said Carol Reed, editor of *Jane's Defence Weekly*

"I don't think Armscor is becoming more or less hard-nosed in its export drive, it's just under more scrutiny than before Now transparency is an issue"

Mandela says the ANC has an obligation towards countries that supported it during its long years of exile and opposition to apartheid

"The enemies of the West are not my enemies," he famously stated last year in response to the furore surrounding a scheme to store Iranian oil

But when it comes to the arms trade, economic realism rather than non-alignment is more likely to be the motivating factor

"I think it's very difficult to square the circle of arms selling and morality Once you involve yourself in the arms trade, you find yourself having to make compromises," Jack Spence told *Sapa-IPS*

"The South Africans are at least trying to look at each arms deal as carefully as they can and are weighing up the human rights dimensions against profitability

All the help

"But I think there are those both within the Cabinet and in Armscor who argue that everybody else sells weapons everywhere, (and so) 'why should we not, when we need all the help we can get to develop our economy to raise the standards of living for the black majority'"

"This is not about morality," said Reed "Every country with a defence industry is obliged to protect it and abide by international norms governing arms sales But there is a moral obligation to protect jobs in the arms industry and South Africa has as much right to export weapons as any other country" — *Sapa-IPS*

All is not lost for the defence force, in spite of sustaining its eighth consecutive cut

Stephen Laufer

THE defence budget has been cut for the eighth consecutive year, making no specific provision for the acquisition of new corvettes, but Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's reference to the defence review process appears to leave the door open for a positive cabinet decision on capital investment later in the year.

The budget allocates R9,679bn to the armed forces, a cut of 6.5% against last year. The figure is equal to 1.5% of projected gross domestic product (GDP) in the coming year, down from 4.5% of GDP in the war year of 1989/90.

Besides the corvettes, other big ticket items such as the replacement of the air force's ageing Impala jets are likely to be on hold until the defence review has more specifically defined capital expenditure requirements and possibilities.

Personnel reductions and the rescheduling of acquisition projects had allowed defence's share of total government spending to be adjusted downwards, Manuel said.

The defence review was expected to define the roles, tasks, functions, and force design of the SA National Defence Force for the future. Manuel praised the defence force for the substantial restructuring it had undertaken and for the seriousness with which it had approached government's efforts to reprioritise spending in favour of social development.

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said last night that it was no longer possible to see the defence force as profligate and this had strengthened the military's case in arguing for necessary expenditure within the context of the defence review.

Substantial portions of the review would be complete and useable as a guiding mechanism in time for Defence Minister Joe Modise's budget debate in late May.

This year's budget would allow the defence force to find sufficient initial funding to get the corvette project started later in the year, should cabinet decide to go ahead with the acquisition. Major projects could be initiated later in the year, Kasrils said.

Parliamentary defence committee chairman Tony Yengeni said that the battle for new ships for the navy had not yet been lost.

As African National Congress members, the majority of committee members had to understand, accept and support Manuel's budget with its shift in emphasis towards socio-economic priorities.

Yengeni said that he was happy with progress on the defence review and that the committee had completed its discussions on the future design of the force on Tuesday.

The whole process could be completed within the next two months, he said.

While allocations to the special defence account, which allows for weapons and equipment procurement, was cut from R1,854bn to R1,533bn, the navy and the army received modest increases, connected in large part to personnel costs.

The army's share of the cake rises from R3,542bn to R3,746bn, the navy's from R714m to R793m. Medical services take a hefty cut from R1,026bn to R798m, with the air force seeing its allocation cut from R2,021bn to R1,921bn.

While allocations to the special defence account, which allows for weapons and equipment procurement, was cut from R1,854bn to R1,533bn, the navy and the army received modest increases, connected in large part to personnel costs.

Step left or fall out

By DESMOND BLOW

Rightwing commandos told to step into line

CP 16/3/97

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DEPUTY MINISTER of Defence Ronnie Kasrils this week warned rightwing-controlled commandos throughout the country that the Defence Force would not tolerate any commando that refused to accept the transformation of the SANDF.

He said commandos like the Walkerstrom Commando, who are alleged to have abused their role by ill-treating farm workers suspected of crimes, were not wanted in the part-time forces.

In an exclusive interview with City Press at the Defence Ministry in Cape Town, Kasrils said the commando system must change and be representative of the whole South African population and that black commanders would be appointed to take charge of many commandos.

He said some notable commandos were already representative of all races.

City Press is aware that rightwingers have influence in some commandos in rural areas and leaders left by the previous government appear to be unaware of this or are unwilling to do anything about it.

It is believed that the Walkerstrom Commando in Mpumalanga

is not the only commando that has taken the law into its own hands.

But the restructuring of the Defence Department and the 28 appointments of top personnel announced by Minister of Defence Joe Modise this week has put the defence force firmly in control of the ANC government for the first time since the April 1994 elections.

Kasrils has pushed for a speeding up of reform, which the old defence force guard resisted. They managed to convince President Nelson Mandela in the run-up to the 1994 elections that if the SADF made drastic changes there could be trouble with the rightwing within the SADF.

City Press also understands that Lieutenant General Pierre Steyn, who was given the task of executing the transformation, had heavy clashes with the Chief of the Defence Force Georg Mering, who resisted the changes.

Although only 14 of the 28 appointments are black and former MK and Apla officers, at least half of the white appointments are committed to the transformation of the forces, so the ANC has virtually 75 percent of the power in the SANDF.

Also the chief of the SANDF, Georg Mering, is to retire next year and will be replaced by his newly appointed deputy, Lieutenant General Siphwe "Gebuza" Nyanda, the



BE WARNED Deputy defence minister, Ronnie Kasrils said rightwing commandos must toe the line - or else

present general officer commanding the Gauteng command

A new officer will have to replace Nyanda as GOC Gauteng

Pierre Steyn will also retire as Secretary for Defence and will be succeeded by Mamatho Netislanda, who has been made Deputy Secretary of Defence.

Major General Duai Gcqbhe has been appointed Deputy Chaplain General and will become Chaplain General next year when Major General JHJ de Witt retires. He was Chaplain General of the ANC forces between 1985 and 1990.

A woman also features in the reformation. Advocate EJZ Kuzwayo has been appointed Deputy Chief of

Defence Legal Services. She has no ANC background.

Ian Deetlefs, who was a colonel in the part-time forces, has been promoted to brigadier and made chairman of the part-time forces.

Kasrils says that Deetlefs has a most positive attitude to transformation.

He said that Deetlefs would shortly launch a massive recruitment drive for part-time soldiers.

In the Eastern Cape General TT Matanzima has already recruited 4 000 young blacks in the Transkei and Ciskei, 34 percent of whom are women.

The appointments this week have been a slap in the face of the old regime.

Had the Nationalist government been overturned in a bloody revolution the defence force hierarchy would have been thrown out, and the winning generals appointed. But as the changes came about through negotiations, there was no immediate change, and those in charge attempted to retain the power.

The restructuring of the defence force is not only to bring about reformation, but also to decrease its size and to make it more efficient.

In February Modise announced changes, including the transfer of the head of department role and accounting office function to the Sec-

retary of Defence to strengthen civil control and the creation of an integrated civilian/military headquarters structure to end duplication of functions and save expenses.

The Secretary for Defence and the Chief of the National Defence Force will now operate at the same level under the Minister's direction - as his departmental policy and military advisers respectively.

The SANDF had five divisions, Operations, Intelligence, Finance, Personnel, Logistics and a Secretariat under Lieutenant General Pierre Steyn.

The streamlining of these divisions is expected to save the Defence Force about R300 million.

Kasrils said the plan was expected to take a year to complete.

He said there had been changes in the last year in the nine provincial commands and that black officers in command had been appointed in some. There are also black chiefs of staff in four provinces.

"These officers are at the top level. We will now work from the top down, making further changes and appointments, followed by promotions.

"We will need to ensure there is greater representation of former MK, Apla and TBVC officers at senior level in the forces," said Kasrils. "They deserve the recognition and have been doing extremely well in the training courses, proving they have the ability."

'for sake of peace'

Star 19/3/97

Defence Minister Modise hopes furore over mooted sale will now be laid to rest

Syria tank deal spiked

By **NORMAN CHANDLER**
Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

South Africa wanted peace to prevail in the Middle East and had thus decided not to continue with a proposed multi-billion-rand order for sophisticated tank sight systems for Syria's main battle tanks, Defence Minister Joe Modise said yesterday.

The country would, however, continue to market aggressively products from its defence industry throughout the Middle East and south-east Asia, Modise said here at the world's largest defence show, Idex.

Modise, who said he was pleased with the response to South African defence industry products at Idex, said he wanted the Syria proposal "to be laid to rest".

"Our people went to Syria in order to market the tank sight and they were provided with a marketing permit in terms of South African legislation," he said, confirming for the first time that the first of the three-tier permit system operated by a special cabinet committee had in fact been invoked.

"But we did not tender, as no documentation was received from Syria."

Referring to US pressure which was placed on the Mandela government over the proposed Syria deal, Modise said: "The world made a noise about this proposal and we are not happy about the interference in our internal affairs for, after all, we do not tell others what to do."

"We comply with all UN instructions in regard to arms sales because we understand the yard-

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sticks and, yes, we want to be friends with everybody"

He added that "peace is to the advantage of everyone in the Middle East and I hope now that the Syria question can be laid to rest".

The US urged Pretoria to distance itself from the Syrian deal, claiming that the Middle East nation was a state which supported terrorism, but the American advice was harshly criticised by President Mandela, placing a strain on relations with Washington which now appears to have been resolved.

South Africa, which earns more than R1-billion in foreign currency from its defence industry annually, is seeking to double its share of the international market.

Modise said that even though R1-billion was a small figure, it "commands respect in a new world order which has witnessed budgets being slashed".

He believed non-military solutions in place of confrontation would continue to be undertaken in the name of "peacekeeping, defending sovereignty and dealing with humanitarian concerns such as the horrific landmine legacy".

In terms of deterrents, Modise said that South Africa had become the first country in the world to combine a projectile and rocket into one artillery projectile suitable for the G6 artillery piece, and which can be fired over 50km.

South African de-mining technology, specifically the Chitoby mine detection system and the Jyala anti-landmine armoured personnel carrier, were two products Britain, France and the United States had already bought or were likely to, he added.

A Defence Review is under way in parliament to determine the size, materiel requirements and role of the SANDF. Results are expected to be tabled soon, just before the Defence vote.

But with its Budget allocation (excluding conditions-of-service improvements) cut to R9,7bn (R11,3bn in 1996-1997), the SANDF is hard-pressed to meet the demands placed on it and become efficient. If the Review recommends that the military needs new equipment — submarines, corvettes, strike aircraft — funds will almost certainly be scant.

The reality is that the decline of the Defence Force could mean it is unable, as the regional strongman, to help its neighbours or deal with an attack on SA's borders.

Brigadier Bill Sass of the Institute for Security Studies — a Midrand-based advisory group — says R1,2bn of last year's Defence allocation went on policing functions. Taking such crossover costs into account, he estimates the Police vote may be running at about 50% above that of Defence — a situation probably not seen since before World War 2.

Sass says that at 1,6% of GDP, Defence expenditure is below the 2% that the World Bank and IMF regard as acceptable for budgeting purposes.

In last week's Budget Review it was stated the reduction in Defence spending effected "a decrease of 6,5% from the 1996-1997 Budget allocation, continuing an adjustment trend which has reduced the Defence Budget from 4,5% of GDP in 1989-1990" to its current level.

The "several arms of the Defence Force have adjusted downwards in their share of total government spending over the past six years, achieved in part by personnel reductions and the rescheduling of acquisition projects." Given Sass's view, "rescheduling" could simply mean "postponing indefinitely."

The cuts are still not enough for some Terry Crawford-Browne of the Western Cape Coalition for Defence Alternatives — a nongovernmental organisation that co-operates with other bodies like the Black Sash and the Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace — says that "at 5,1% of total government expenditure, (Defence) spending remains excessive given

both the poverty of our people and the absence of a conventional military threat to SA and the region."

The coalition argues that "the real threats to SA's security are internal and nonmilitary — poverty, underdevelopment, unemployment, illiteracy, inadequate access to basic services like water and health, and rising levels of crime and violence."

"The maintenance of a sophisticated Defence Force, armed with expensive and offensive equipment, cannot protect us from these threats and sends the wrong signals to our neighbours."

These views are shared by many in the ANC — but not by the military establishment nor, according to two HSRC studies (1994 and 1996), by the public. They reflect competition for resources between social upliftment and traditional

military preparedness. Since government has signalled its indifference to big military spending, it must be asked what will happen if the Defence Review results in a request for such spending.

Government will soon have to make up its mind whether to take the Defence Force seriously — or allow it to wither away on the assumption that there will be no need for it. That decision, once made, will be difficult to reverse.

Peter Wilhelm



Joe Modise

DEFENCE

TRIMMING BACK

FM 21/3/97

Defence Minister Joe Modise is having to live with a rising level of financial discomfort. The armed forces are augmenting police functions and preparing for African peacekeeping duties. But policy dictates that the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) must become nonracial at all command tiers, while its military hardware is becoming obsolescent.

FRAUD RUNS INTO MILLIONS

SANDEF 'ghosts'



BOGUS soldiers who joined the army during the integration process are still on the Defence Force payroll. **HENRY LUDSKI** reports.

As many as 200 SA National Defence Force soldiers are possibly not the people they claim to be. A military board of inquiry is now investigating cases of fraud running into millions of rands.

They are also trying to unravel how the suspected impostors managed to get into the army in the first place.

The bogus soldiers — still on the Defence Force payroll — are understood to have slipped into the army using the codenames and identities of former liberation army fighters.

The Defence Force debacle mirrors recent revelations that many "ghost" civil servants continue to be paid and promoted.

The problem in the SANDEF, which started with only a few cases when the investigation began a year ago, first came to light when the real uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) members pitched up. The Defence Force then effectively sat with cases of two people claiming the same identity.

"As the investigation proceeded, many more such cases have come to light," said Brigadier Louis Rheeder, the person responsible for the integration and demobilisation programmes.

Rheeder expects the inquiry to be completed by the middle of this year, by which time more cases of fraud could be uncovered.

He was reluctant to be drawn on the total cost to the taxpayer, but indicated that it was a "spectacular amount". Using a conservative estimate of R100 000 for the salary and training of one bogus soldier for one year, puts the total cost to the taxpayer over a one-year period at about R20 million. The inquiry itself will prove costly.

Previous attempts by the Cape Times to obtain details about the integration of bogus soldiers proved fruitless. Officials had said the matter was "sub judice".

Rheeder denied that similar problems had been experienced with the payout of demobilisation packages to people pretending to be either MK or Apla operatives.

By March 5 this year 3 767 former members of liberation armies — referred to as non-statutory forces (NSF) — had taken advantage of demobilisation packages of between R12 000 and R40 000. About 1 000 more packages are being finalised.

A total of 16 703 non-statutory force members whose names were drawn from the officially verified Certified Personnel Register (CPR) have been integrated into the SANDEF. About 1 000 NSF members have either resigned, been discharged or

have deserted.

The compilation of the register, which is continually being updated, has itself been a controversial process. A great deal of dissatisfaction still exists over lengthy delays in the processing of applications.

The integration of liberation armies, which began with major intakes at the Wallmansthal, De Brug and Hoedspruit army bases in April 1994, has been beset with problems almost from the very first day.

These have centred around disputes and dissatisfaction over the allocation of ranks, discipline, standards, resignations, desertions, and racial and ideological tensions.

A potentially explosive issue is the persistent cry from NSF members that the reins of power are still in the hands of the old SA Defence Force. Many also argue that they have been forsaken by their political leaders.

Rheeder's response is "Give us (the Defence Force) six to seven years to sort out these problems."

He argues that because of the top-down approach in the Defence Force, it could be a while still before the changes presently taking place in the upper echelons of the SANDEF filtered down to base level.

But Rheeder himself won't be there to witness the final transformation. At the end of April, after 32 years and two months in the army, he departs with a generous severance package. He hands over to Brigadier Solly Shoke, one of a new generation of Defence Force leaders.

A radical restructuring of the top structures of the SANDEF has effectively whittled away the considerable influence wielded by apartheid generals under the command of General Georg Meiring.

But officials argue that it may be a while yet before the changes are reflected on the ground.

(204) ET 24/3/97

Draw salaries

Soldiers to study international law

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Ordinary soldiers in the SA National Defence Force are to be taught detailed implications of international law governing armed conflict, including what is an illegal command which must be disobeyed

This emerged yesterday when an SANDF delegation tabled a report on a civic education programme for all soldiers before the parliamentary defence joint standing committee. The massive report covers education in basic democracy and also the detail of what constitutes a war crime in terms of international law

This is intended to create an informed background to the military training of SA soldiers to equip them for the 21st century

Chapter 4 of the report, which

(254) was introduced to the committee by Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils, warns that all orders to commit a war crime are unlawful and should be disobeyed. Those who obey such orders and those who issue them are guilty of war crimes and face prosecution in terms of international and domestic law

"All soldiers must be aware of their responsibility to report war crimes. Normally the report should be made to the next superior in the chain of command, but can also be made to a chaplain, the military police or a legal officer," the report says

SA is a signatory to a number of international conventions and protocols governing armed conflict. Primary issues are the avoidance of unnecessary harm to civilians, and the immunity from at-

DD 25/3/97
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tack granted to medical personnel, the wounded and those who have surrendered. Soldiers will be taught also that culturally valuable places which have no military significance are protected from attack. They will be told not to dress in the uniform of the enemy or in civilian clothes, or to masquerade as a civilian in order to launch a military attack

In the section covering domestic crises, soldiers will be taught that authority over them rests with the legally elected executive and that "the armed forces have no constitutional or legal mandate to judge government's performance or to usurp government's functions. The question of whether government's performance is good or bad is not a question that soldiers individually or collectively may ask"

Shake-up in defence sets good example

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FROM Shaka's impis and the Boer commandos to the Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and the SA defence force (SADF), the military has always had a special role in defining national cultures, traditions and boundaries in SA.

In war and peace inside the country and beyond its borders, the right to membership of the military and the duty to serve defined identity, belonging and exclusivity for Zulus, Afrikaners, the oppressed, and those who saw themselves as the guardians of a way of life.

What then is to be made of the latest shake-up in SA's defence ministry, perhaps the most radical since Union brought Boer and colonial forces together?

Besides shifting the accounting function — and with it control of the purse strings — from the chief of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) to the civilian secretary for defence, the reorganisation has seen appointments to a new united top management structure for the integrated ministry. The appointments leave white former SADF officers in almost all key command positions, but include black former guerrillas as their deputies in several key areas.

Most of the deputies — among them Lt-Gen Siphwe Nyanda as deputy chief of the SANDF, army deputy chief Maj-Gen Gilbert Ramano, and the designated head of medical services, Maj-Gen Themba Masuku — are expected to fill the top slots within the next 12 to 18 months.

There have been grumbles, resignations, early retirements on all sides in the run-up to the restructuring. For some, Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils have dragged their heels over reform and the advancement of black officers. For others they have been moving too quickly, fixing a machine that was not broken. Both groups may have missed the point, at least in part.

With the reforms in defence force, ministry and secretariat an-

nounced earlier this month has come a strong indication that SA's military may once again be emerging as a pacesetter in redefining the nation, this time at the focal point of all its complexity, diversity and ambiguity.

No less importantly, it could serve as a standard for other departments as they grapple with affirmative action and efficiency, searching for organisational models which make the public service more representative as its productivity is improved.

Modise and Kasrils have enjoyed several advantages over many cabinet colleagues as they have geared up for change. The mutual suspicion between former opponents whose job was to kill each other was more clearly defined and easier to locate and confront than the diffuse mistrust which coloured the early interaction between newcomers and old-timers in other departments.

With clearly defined requirements on training and time-at-rank, the military is also able more accurately than other government departments to plan for and signal to its senior staff an ordered succession. As a big department with more than 100 000 employees, it also has more room to manoeuvre in making appointments and promotions.

Early negotiations on integration, and co-operation in the pre-election transitional executive council gave officers and policy-makers from SADF and guerrilla armies an opportunity to feel out the other side. As understanding grew, so did — for many at senior levels at least — respect for the professionalism of the other side.

Unlike the rest of the public service, where affirmative action

has all too often meant the advance of conservative former homelands bureaucrats, the military process has integrated a sizeable and clearly defined group of men and women who became soldiers because of their commitment to democracy and human rights in SA. It is noticeable in this connection that former homeland officers are not among the 13 newcomers named to senior military and civilian positions in the defence ministry.

While the new chiefs would justifiably deny that they are party-political appointees, there can be little doubt that their promotions signal the advent of a military hierarchy more in tune with the aspirations of the majority of the population — not a bad thing in a time of declining defence budgets.

But for all of the indications that the shake-up takes the military into a new era, it has not met with undivided rejoicing. The frustrations have been many for the men and women who spent years in exile, as they have watched their leaders woo former enemies in an effort to ensure that they would not become active adversaries of the new SA.

"One of our biggest challenges has been to maintain the confidence of the former nonstatutory members," Kasrils said, referring to erstwhile guerrillas. "One sympathised with them, feeling pressure to change, coming up against die-hards, receiving lucrative job offers outside the military. One could only call on them to keep cool and disciplined and hope now they are seeing change happen."

Indeed, most senior white officers unable to come to terms with an integrated military have opted for the generous retrenchment

packages designed to hasten the sunset for the old guard. But many black SA National Defence Force officers previously in MK argue that the new integrated civilian-military defence ministry structure leaves too much power in the hands of their old SADF advisers. A superficial analysis shows they may have a point.

The chief of the SANDF and of all the arms of service are still former SADF officers, as are the chiefs of intelligence, finance, personnel policy and support, joint training, the chaplaincy, legal services, command and management information systems, joint logistics policy and support, joint operations, and of the part-time forces. Given the absence of any real military threat to SA, some former guerrillas argue,

why not make a clean sweep and allow the newcomers to find their feet in top command positions, even if that entails a temporary slippage of standards?

Some of their most senior former comrades in arms take issue with that view. Despite many years of experience as MK's chief of health, Masuku deliberately opted to delay taking charge as surgeon-general and the first black chief of an arm of service by several months in order to allow for an ordered handover by his predecessor, Lt Gen Neil Knobel.

Similarly, other former guerrillas have expressed support for Modise's cautious approach. "I'd rather not be left

SA's military establishment has quietly undergone one of the most radical shake-ups in its history, reports special writer **Stephen Laufer**

20 25/3/94

with chaos by a wholesale change of the guard," said one general due for very senior command soon.

Others point to the strong presence of former guerrillas in the defence ministry's top civilian echelons, strengthening the hand of the reformers in policy and planning. But looking for candidates for top command, Modise and Kasrils have faced a problem familiar to their colleagues in other ministries. Black talent is in short supply because able former guerrillas and the few black ex-SADF officers have many choices in the private and parastatal sectors.

Kasrils quotes the example of a former MK man who entered the SANDF as a colonel aged 39. "He would have had to attend staff courses and progress through the

ranks before promotion to top positions, which would have taken years even if he had been put on a fast track as planned." Instead, the man took a senior security job with a parastatal at a salary above that of the chief of the army.

And so the talent pool — small to start with because only 14 000 out of an expected 34 000 members of the nonstatutory forces opted for integration — drains away, perhaps forcing the ministry to rely more heavily on former SADF officers than it might otherwise. But does it matter? No, argues Kasrils, because it is a mistake to view all former SADF officers through the same lens. "There are many decent-minded officers who have learned a great deal in the past three years and are committed to transformation."

Modise and Kasrils' acceptance of white officers as equal participants in the transformation process sends an important national building signal. It says that transformation may be less about swapping white faces for black ones than about learning to run a leaner, more efficient military able to tailor its coat to budgets defined by socioeconomic priorities.

With the need to manage up to 500 000 conscripts gone and defence spending down from 4,5% of gross domestic product in 1989 to 1,5% in the next budget year, the real test of loyalty to the new SA will come not on the battlefield, but in the willingness to lead a defence force whose tasks are defined by SA's commitment to domestic economic and social progress, human rights, regional co-operation, and participation in international peacekeeping efforts.

It is a challenge reflected in the new defence ministry structures which remove costly command levels and make clear the primacy of democratically elected policy makers. It is a challenge which could well be taken up by the rest of the public service.



MODISE

□ Simon Barber's column will be published tomorrow

Dissatisfaction among ex-cadres in SANDF

ET 26/3/97

(254)

INTEGRATION into the SANDF is taking place too slowly for former MK and Apla members and many are unhappy that they are not being awarded ranks commensurate with their training. **HENRY LUDSKI** reports.

FORMER liberation army fighter and now a major in the new SA National Defence Force (SANDF) Mthunzi Qunza considers himself among the "fortunate few"

In saying this, however, Qunza does so not in the context of how he has benefited from the restructuring of the defence force, but to spotlight the less fortuitous position of his uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) peers

Three years after being among the first MK members to sign up with the SANDF and taking part in Project Genesis — an operation marking the start of the integration of statutory and non-statutory forces (NSF) — Qunza has a host of reservations and criticisms about the process so far

"If I were to be completely honest, I would say that there was a lot of dissatisfaction among members of the non-statutory forces"

Qunza had military training in Angola, Mozambique and Cuba before joining underground ANC structures in the Eastern Cape in 1986

He served four years

and 600 have been discharged, of whom about 400 deserted

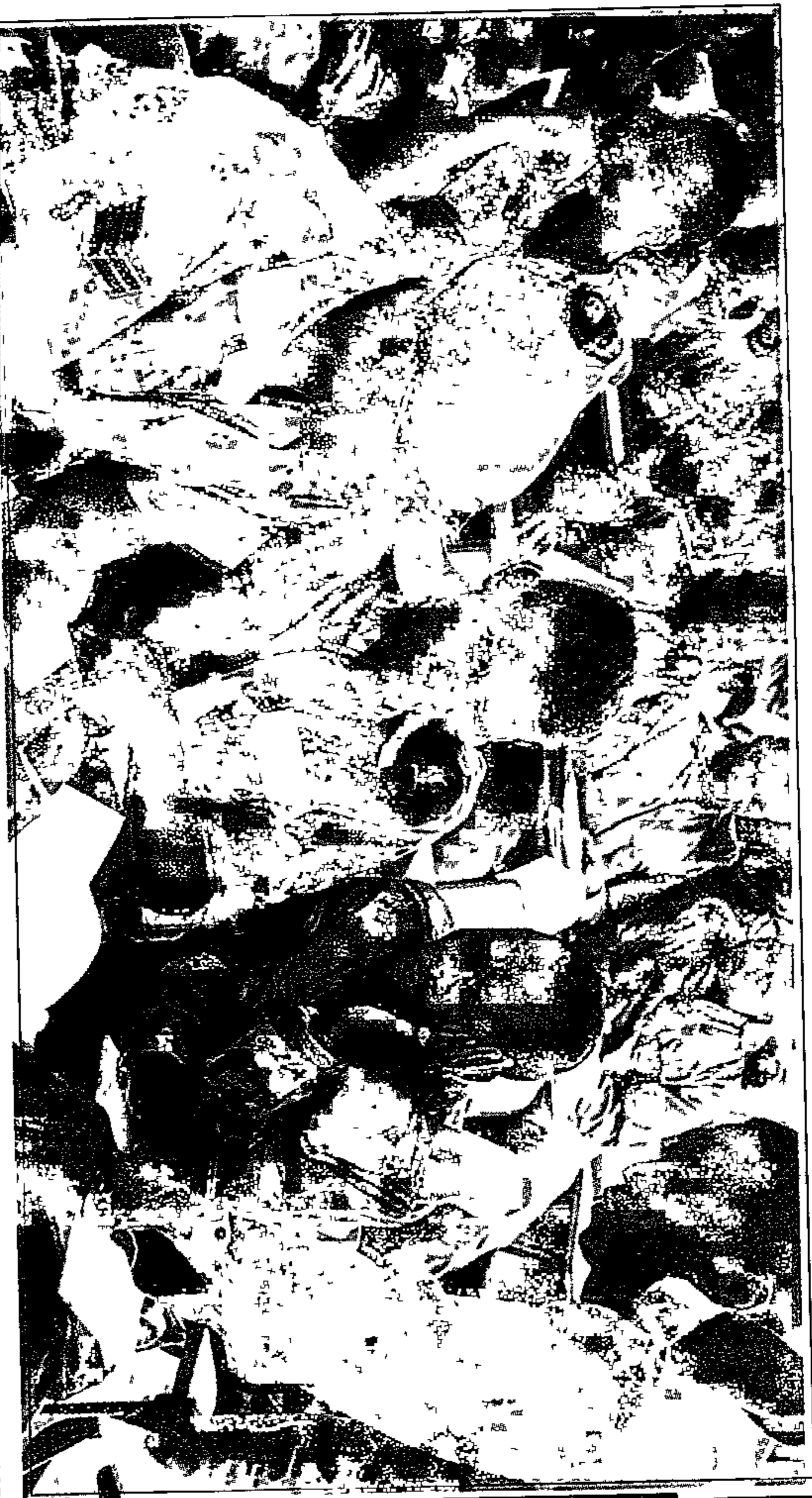
After several months at the Infantry School, Qunza longs only to be back at his Group 8 headquarters in East London, where he is an integration officer

"At Group 8 I feel more involved in the integration process," says Qunza. He believes integration has proceeded more smoothly at the Eastern Cape command

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise, in referring to the problems in the SANDF, has said integration is an "endeavour of such a large scale" that tensions are only to be expected

"Although we have overcome many of the mutual problems, we are not saying that problems no longer exist"

Commenting on the resignations of NSF members, Modise said it needed to be borne in mind that although factors such as racism might have been involved in "creating the frustrations that cause them to leave", there were also others at play. These were weariness with military life and discipline in the



FORWARD MARCH: Former liberation army members undergo training to bring them up to "international standards"

PICTURE: ALAN TAYLOR

seven-year sentence for terrorism

One of about 300 former MK and Apla cadres given the rank of major, Qumza is among more than 1 000 former MK and Apla members who have had integration bridging training at the Infantry School in Oudtshoorn since 1994

Using the example of an MK colleague whom he knew only as Mazwi, Qumza touched on one of the first contentious issues raised by the integration — the allocation of ranks

"Mazwi, a colleague who trained with me outside the country and who started before me, is not even a corporal but just an ordinary trooper"

As it nears completion of the first phase of the integration process, the SANDF is still confronted with the problem of the allocation of ranks to former liberation army members who have had hugely disparate levels of formal and informal training in foreign countries

As part of the SANDF's goal of ensuring that all members are "properly trained to comply with international standards of competency", non-statutory forces, in many cases, have been allocated ranks that require them to complete a specified schedule of training

Integration and training has been overseen by the independent British Military Advisory and Training Team

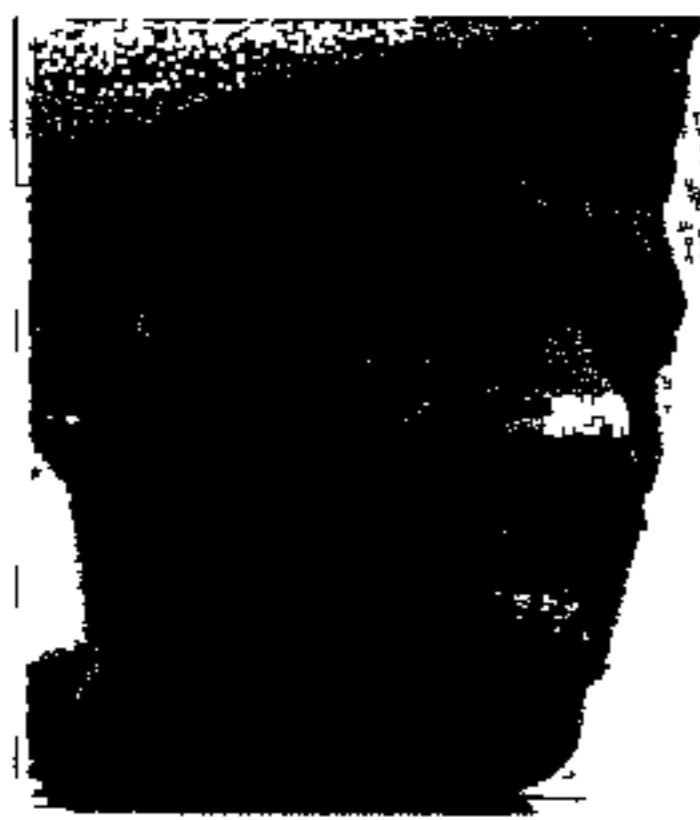
Another problem raised by Qumza, who is among about 160 NSF members completing a six-month junior leader training programme at the Infantry School, relates to what he says is the diminished status of the NSFs in the SANDF

He says this has fuelled the argument among a particularly disgruntled group of former MK members that the SANDF is still largely in the hands of members of the former SA Defence Force

"In my opinion, the show is still largely being run by the old SADF members," says Qumza. The Infantry School illustrates this, he argues — the top command structure primarily comprises members of the old SADF

The unhappy state of affairs has been reflected in a spate of resignations among the non-statutory forces, Qumza says

About 400 NSF members have resigned



The show is still largely run by the old SADF members
— Mthunzi Qumza

lucrative offers from the private and public sectors

"We have outlawed the practice of racism in the military," Modise said

"But, as with any prejudice, it takes a conscious mind shift to change ingrained attitudes and individual racists will, no doubt, remain."

Brigadier Louis Rheeder, responsible for integration in the SANDF, said that in spite of the initial disputes over the allocation of ranks, difficulties had been experienced

with only about two percent of the intake of 17 000 NSF members

Now that the initial stage of integration was near completion, efforts were being made to speed up training

Transformation of the SANDF had to be seen in its broadest context and, given the enormity of the transition, problems were to be expected, Rheeder said

"There are a lot of ingredients to this recipe, but we just have to make sure that it works"

Rheeder said black officers from the non-statutory forces were only now beginning to "surface" and it would not be long before they were promoted

Major-General Jackie Sedibe, the highest-ranking woman in the SANDF, said she understood the non-statutory force members' frustration with the slow pace of the process

Sedibe is responsible for formulation of equal opportunities

The problems could not be resolved overnight, she said

"It's not going to be a case of clicking your fingers and it's gone. It's going to take a long and concerted effort"

Sedibe, who expects the SANDF's affirmative action policy to have been finalised by the end of May, said that the initiative would have to include a thorough audit of the defence force's human resources

This would show up the areas that needed immediate attention and the kind of programmes that were required, Sedibe said

The SANDF is engaged in an exhaustive defence review that is expected to guide it into the next century

Crucial aspects are the question of human resources and the force's final design

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'Dismissed' staff cost SANDEF R68m (254)

POLITICAL STAFF

ET 27/3/97

THE SA National Defence Force paid out R68,3 million in the 1995/6 financial year to former navy personnel who had been prematurely dismissed, the auditor-general has disclosed.

It was also revealed that the public enterprises department settled a claim of R15m made by Rustenburg Platinum Mines, arising as a consequence of Eskom defaulting on a contract with the mining company.

The auditor-general's report on the national government's accounts for 1995/6 was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The report gives details of all items classified as "remissions, refunds, payments of grace or favour and gifts".

The SANDF paid out a further R6,7m in respect of claims for unfair dismissal, assaults by defence force members, and settlements resulting from a shooting incident in Sebokeng.

In addition, R238 000 was paid to the families of youths killed during a raid in Umtata in October 1993.

A R635 556 debt owed to the environmental affairs department, which had overpaid some of its officials, was waived.

The police also paid out R749 617 in settlement of various claims, but this figure could not be verified, the auditor-general said.

Under gifts, it was disclosed the police had paid out R1,219m to various institutions, while the SANDF paid an estimated R742 647 to the Russian Air Force for free fuel and accommodation during an international air show.

The agriculture department donated R321 729 to two farming communities for the establishment of radio stations.

Gifts made by the health department were not adequately accounted for and their value could not be verified, the auditor-general said. — Sapa

The world is an oyster for the SA arms

Star 14/4/97

By NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

There is no greater arena in which to drive home the message that South Africa is indeed a key player in the world armaments market than at international defence exhibitions

The door has been shoved wide open by potential buyers from countries as diverse as Russia and the United States, Britain and China, and Qatar and Morocco

Although the country is estimated to have only a 0,3% share of the international market, the local industry is sufficiently big enough for friend and foe to jostle to see our products

As Johan Alberts, the chief executive of Denel – the biggest defence company in the country – says "It is not like selling sweets across the counter. It takes time to sell a tank"

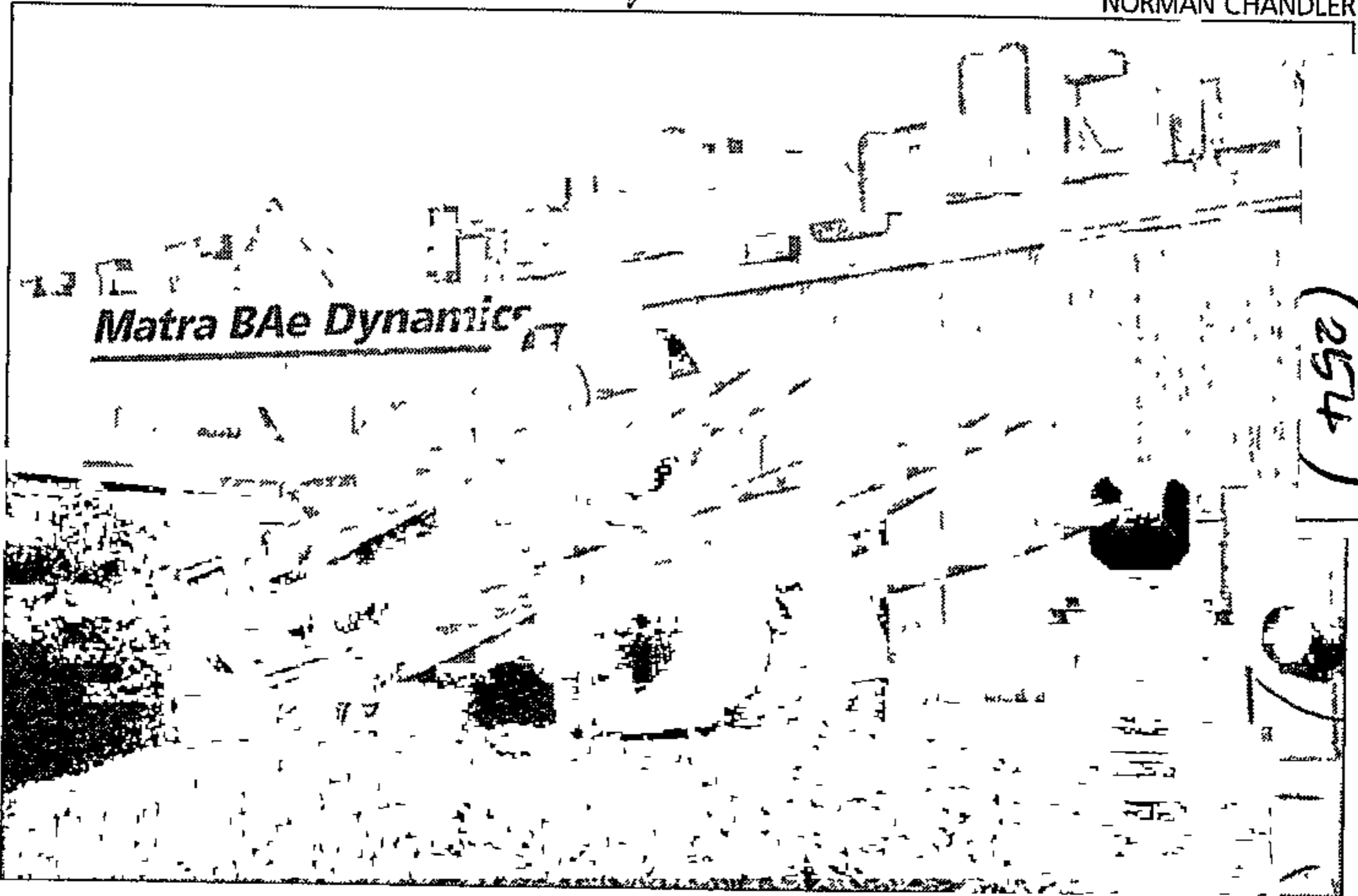
One estimate is that, from the time requirement is finalised to the delivery of the item, five to seven years may well have passed

IDEX 97, in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), attracted everyone who is anyone in the competitive world armaments market, in particular the Middle-East and South-East Asian countries which are upgrading their military forces at a greater rate than ever before

They were also not slow in talking about evaluating particular equipment, such as the Eurofighter 2000 advanced combat fighter for the UAE or fast patrol boats required by countries such as Oman

In Simon's Town to mark the South African Navy's 75th anniversary, the naval equipment exhibition also attracted huge attention from foreign visitors – and in particular a gun which can be fitted to naval ships

It is understood that IDEX for instance was the starting point for \$75-billion (more than R300-billion) to be spent on defence equip-



Arms bazaar . this battery of British-made missiles drew a lot of attention among similar weapons from Russia and other countries on display at the recent IDEX defence exhibition in the United Arab Emirates.

ment programmes by the Arab states alone between 1997 and 2002. UAE started the ball rolling by placing orders totalling \$42-million (about R180-million) with Norway and two UAE organisations

South Africa's national pavilion was a magnet for companies investigating the possibility of joint ventures to manufacture and market equipment which had the advantage of being battle-tested and therefore holding an unassailable position on the arms buyer's shopping list

Defence Minister Joe Modise made it clear at both exhibitions that the country wanted joint ventures which would help in the provision of employment and wealth, and that this was a criterion on which any potential purchase would be based

But if there was one lesson to be learnt from IDEX, in particular, it is that, if you sell something, make sure the back-up service is constantly available

The Italians learnt that to their cost, waking up one morning to read newspaper headlines to the effect that UAE had put on hold more than \$280-million in orders because of faulty service relating to a rocket sale. By implication, the whole Italian defence industry was at fault and this was quickly noted by the Italians as amounting to virtually the kiss of death for their military goods in the Arab world until this was corrected

Ron Haywood, executive chairman of Armscor, the national procurement agency, described the UAE decision as a terrible blow (to

Italy) but pointed out the lesson to be learnt from it.

Modise, who has earned the tag of "No 2 super salesman" (the No 1 spot remains with President Mandela, Modise acknowledged, and more so as the president had succeeded in selling the Rooivalk attack helicopter to Malaysia) was also quick to drum home the message about service and maintenance of products

"If you cannot provide the back-up, don't try this or any other market place," was his warning

And it is not only on service that care has to be taken. Countries which provide offset trade obligations linked to arms sales will also meet their nemesis in the Arabian or any other desert if they do not fulfil obligations. As an example, Saudi Arabia took the opportunity to disclose at IDEX that over the

industry

(2574)

2711

past 10 years, the United States defence contractors had realised only 16% of offset obligations totalling R8-billion, the British 8% out of R10-billion, and the French 6% from R3-billion

The message was clear: play the game or we go somewhere else

Offsets, an internationally recognised form of payment, are industrial benefits linked to the sales of arms to a foreign buyer and can take many forms such as the purchase of food, hotel construction, forest management services, or the upgrade of fishing fleets.

In South Africa's case, Britain and Spain are two countries which have put together impressive offset proposals in their bids to sell Pretoria new corvettes and supply submarines or aircraft

There can be no doubt that whoever gets the contract will be closely monitored by the department of trade and industry as well as by the defence department.

The cut-throat arms industry is one of those which requires a lot of care and attention and this is particularly evident at big exhibitions because of the diversity of equipment available and the manner in which competing nations get down to brass tacks

The exhibitions are not places for the "doves" – those who challenge the need for armaments in an allegedly peaceful world – to take on the "hawks", but one thing is clear: the Russians, Australians, Chinese, British, French, Canadians, Italians, Americans, Pakistanis, Indians, Malaysians, et al, are all potential buyers and sellers, and that has not been lost on the South Africans

The country intends to double its share of the world market by the turn of the century, but will have to work hard to do so.

Denel gets lift from Eurocopter

MILITARY EXPORTS

By DON ROBERTSON

THE SA-developed Rooivalk attack helicopter will now be marketed to the world's military forces following a joint co-operation agreement between Denel Aviation and the Franco-German Eurocopter group

Eurocopter, the world's leading helicopter exporter, is 60% owned by French-based Aerospatiale and 40% by the German Daimler-Benz Aerospace

Also to be marketed in terms of the new accord is the Denel-developed Oryx medium transport helicopter. In turn, Eurocopter will offer its EC635 light utility, twin-engined military helicopter to the SA Air Force

The agreement also provides for engineering exchanges, joint procurement and development, and other co-operation between the two groups

It will boost Denel's aerospace and defence technology and reinforce its position in international markets

The signing of the accord by Denel chief executive Johan Alberts and Eurocopter president Jean-Francois Bigay strengthens an alliance between the two groups which goes back many decades. It was suspended for a while, but renegotiated in 1995

The agreement has the blessing of both governments, but the accord was industry-driven



Picture RAYMOND PRESTON

HIGH FLIERS . . . the Rooivalk is key to the accord signed by Denel's Johan Alberts and Eurocopter's Jean-Francois Bigay

Said Bigay "I had total support from the French authorities and had contact with the SA Defence Minister who assured us of government support in an indus-

try which requires considerable capital for development"

Alberts received similar assistance. He said Denel would need government authority for

cards
ST(BT) 27/4/97

helicopter exports

The link between the two groups will have financial implications, but Alberts said he was not able to give details

"Rather, we will now be able to support each other through joint purchases of components and allied equipment and this should help us to beat our competitors," he said

Bigay confirmed the benefits of joint purchasing, saying in the past buyers looked at either price or technology "Today they make a compromise between the two," he said

Eurocopter produces a similar attack helicopter, the Tiger, but the Rooivalk, which Bigay says is "world competitive", is about four times as large

"The Rooivalk will be targeted by those wishing to buy a heavy machine, while the Tiger will be sold to those with who require a smaller machine. There will be occasions when we will market the two together," he said

Alberts said marketing initiatives would initially target the Middle East and Asia, "but there will be markets where we will co-market our products as Eurocopter has considerable expertise in this area"

He said to date 12 Rooivalk helicopters had been sold to the SA Air Force

The purchase of additional aircraft by Malaysia was on the cards

Foreign Ministry plans laws to end mercenary activities

By JOVIAL RANTAO
Political Correspondent

Cape Town - Legislation aimed at stopping the activities of South African mercenaries in foreign lands is to be tabled in Parliament this session, Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo announced yesterday

Introducing a debate on the foreign affairs budget vote, Nzo said his department was co-operating with the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, led by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, in preparing the legislation

"We are determined to end the destructive role of mercenaries, which exacerbates conflicts, whether they be in Africa or further afield. South Africa's commitment to supporting and searching for peaceful solutions to conflicts on the African conti-

(254)
nent and elsewhere remains a priority of my department," he said

Nzo said his department was preparing to play a further role in conflict resolution and peace support as the country began to play an ever greater role in international and African affairs

"The department, in close co-ordination with the Defence Secretariat, the SA National Defence Force and intelligence agencies, is preparing a policy document on peace-support operations, which will be presented to Parliament this session before civil society is invited to comment on it," he said

The presence in South Africa of 115 embassies and SA's 97 missions abroad was a clear reflection of the country's growing interaction with the global community, and further enhanced its

ability to play a world-wide role

Opposition parties used the budget debate in the National Assembly to question South Africa's relations with China

The Freedom Front's Dr Pieter Mulder said SA had done nothing about human-rights violations in China while the country played a leading role, through the Commonwealth, to put pressure on Nigeria to release several prisoners of conscience

"What is the Government doing to put the same pressure on China as they did with Nigeria?" he asked

The Democratic Party's Mike Ellis asked whether any consultation had taken place, through parliament's portfolio committee on foreign affairs, before a decision was taken, in November last year to cut diplomatic ties with Taiwan.

Star 25/4/97

The creation of a single army has not been without any difficulties, says Colonel Rex Kroucamp, officer commanding Wallmannstal Integration Group

Since April 1994, Kroucamp said, 18 350 former MK and 5 756 Azanian People's Liberation Army cadres had been integrated, while 1 454 members of the ex-KwaZulu Natal Self-Protection Forces and 6 764 ex-TBVC defence forces members had passed through Wallmannstal military area during their integration into the SANDF

Speaking after the final batch of Apla and MK members were admitted at Wallmannstal recently, Kroucamp said about 3 500 ex-MK and Apla members had accepted demobilisation packages for various reasons, including age, and they had been paid more than R75-million in total

More than 800 had gone into the service corps, where they were being given vocational training to help them in civilian life

He said the integration process had started slowly and was hampered because the names of soldiers registering were not listed and a number of them did not have valid South African identity documents. The volumes - at least 7 000 men and women in the beginning - made it difficult to process because of inadequate control systems.

Kroucamp said the names of more than 18 000 former liberation fighters were still listed as potential candidates for the integration process

"There might have been duplications when the lists were compiled. Others might have died since 1994"

The certified personnel register supplied by the ANC in 1994 listed 32 863 cadres, while the PAC provided 9 403 names. This meant, if the lists were accurate, 14 513 former MK and 3 647 former Apla members still had to be integrated

He told guests at a recent meeting organised by the Institute for Security Studies in Midrand that after complaints to President Nelson Mandela, the force had come up with a new system to deal with the registration of soldiers from non-statutory forces such as Apla and MK.

Mortimer revealed that the files of ex-SADF personnel were already on computer but underground movements "did not keep files" for fear of being caught.

He added that training of senior officers would help to provide the manpower required to manage the defence force

Colonel Abel Nelwamondo, formerly of the Venda Defence Force, said soldiers 'serving' in the SANDF had a sense of pride and belief that there were equal opportunities for all

"There is no more discrimination and (there are) opportunities for both black and white soldiers to move up the ranks," he said

Speaking at an SANDF parade in Potchefstroom to mark the third anniversary of its creation, Mandela pledged government support for the force in the execution of its duties.

"Wherever you are, be assured that you have the nation's love and support"

Mandela said the Government was obliged to ensure that cutbacks in the SANDF did not negatively affect its operational capabilities

"We are duty-bound to seek ways in which individuals affected by the downsizing and restructuring of the SANDF can be redeployed within Government, or acquire other skills to operate in the private sector

"The past year had been marked by some notable achievements. Problems there are, and there shall always be as we build anew, but you are passing the test with flying colours," the president said

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STAR

29/4/97

President Mandela pledges government support

SANDDF'S transformation on track

(252) Star 29/4/97

THEMBA HADEBE

More than 30 000 ex-MK, Apla,

TBVC and KwaZulu Natal

soldiers integrated at Wallmannstal

By EDWIN MAUDU

In the three years since the birth of democratic government in South Africa, the National Defence Force has had more than its share of problems in building a united, new force made up of apartheid soldiers and cadres from liberation movements

The process of transformation is continuing, with an audit and verification of the records of all members of the defence force, an investigation into severance packages, and drawing up of a new pay scale for the men and women protecting our country's borders

The SANDF is made up of soldiers from the former South African Defence Force, the former Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda homeland forces, and members of Apla, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and KwaZulu Natal Self Protection Forces

The 100 000-strong SANDF is broken up into army (90,5%), medical services (6,5%), navy (1,5%), air force (1%) and

or demobilised

Major-General Dennis "DJ" Mortimer, deputy chairman of the Integration Group, described the initial integration process as an "administrative nightmare" because the names of hundreds of soldiers from liberation movements who came to register at Wallmannstal were not on the computer "When people turned up at Wallmannstal, according to the computers they did not exist. Computers do not accept cultural changes, they reject them."



Difficult process ... Colonel Rex Kroucamp, officer commanding Wallmannstal Integration Group, said the creation of a single defence force was not without problems.

Defence Force chiefs march into the new SA

(294)
ARCT 29/4/97

Ex-MK men take charge

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Three of nine defence force provincial commanding officers are former Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) or Transkei defence force officers

This is cited as an example of the continuing transformation of the defence force, in the Government's "mid-term report to the nation"

To date, 22 067 former MK and Azanian People's Liberation Army members have been integrated into the new SA National Defence Force or demobilised

Steps were being taken to ensure representivity, the report states. Policies on religion, civic education and the language of

communication, command and instruction were being developed

Several models of management systems were being discussed, after a report by the transformation management team appointed in May last year

Six-hundred former defence force members had been trained in the service corps and reintegrated into civilian life, while 806 were undergoing training in the corps

A report on making the service corps part of a joint venture with other departments to provide the youth and unemployed with skills, was due to go to the Cabinet, the report said

As part of the National Crime Prevention Strategy, 8 000 troops a month had been deployed to help the police.

Yengeni slams navy, airforce over blacks

CHRIS BATEMAN

ET 11/5/97

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THE navy and air force were not doing enough to train and promote black officers, yet wanted equipment far more expensive than the more "progressive" army, Parliamentary joint standing committee on defence chairperson Mr Tony Yengeni said yesterday.

Speaking after a media briefing on the defence review process — which holds public hearings on transformation of the defence force on May 19 — Yengeni said the army was way ahead of the other two arms of service in training and promoting black officers.

The navy and air force seemed reluctant to embrace transformation, with far fewer visible changes to their staff and officer corps.

Navy spokesperson Commander Stan Slogrove said the army had an obvious advantage because most forces integrated from MK and Apla were trained for land force deployment.

"We have a problem getting suitably qualified and interested black officers, particularly as the skills we need are in great demand outside and we tend to lose our officers to the private sector," Slogrove said. "We are as keen as anyone to get representivity."

He added "We've been integrated for more than 30 years with coloureds and Indians, but were prevented until recent times from taking black recruits. As soon as we could we did."

Air force spokesperson Lieutenant-Colonel Laverne Machiné said they had integrated for as long as the navy and had "fast-tracking" training programmes in place.

Machiné emphasised that neither Apla nor MK had had air forces, "so they weren't there to integrate."

Defence review boosts hopes for stronger navy

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress (ANC) defence guru in Parliament, Tony Yengeni, has confirmed that the defence review will go to the Cabinet on May 14 with a recommendation to purchase submarines and corvettes for the SA Navy.

Yengeni said in a news briefing in Parliament this week that the "core force principle" had been accepted by his joint standing defence committee and this effectively meant there was agreement on both surface and underwater capabilities for the navy.

He said President Nelson Mandela had also given his support to the modernisation of the navy and this had added to the broad consensus which the proposals now enjoyed. This broad support was a result of the consultative nature of the review process.

He confirmed that the committee, of which he is chairman, would have completed its debate on the review in time for the finalised document to go to the cabinet in two weeks' time.

Only a few issues relating to equipment and force design remained outstanding. A further consultative conference with all stakeholders involved in the review would be held on May 16

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This would be followed by a parliamentary debate on May 19. The final committee meeting on May 19 would allow another opportunity for public comment on the completed document.

Yengeni said there was no contradiction in granting further opportunity for public input after the cabinet because "the defence review will always be under constant review".

He said emotions were still high over the recommendation to expand the 'area-based part-time forces' because this could perpetuate racially based military forces across the country. The part-time force was a necessary support mechanism for what would be a reduced permanent force.

Yengeni said he was confident the committee would find a solution. The principle embodied in the review was for a smaller force than in the past.

In response to a question unrelated to the review he said he accepted that the situation in the country now demanded that the army act in support of the police domestically but that this was an undesirable situation which should not last forever.

He said the military was unsuited for law and order work because it would become politicised and soldiers were untrained for it.

Cabinet adopts paper on water

Stephen Lauffer

BD 2/5/97

CABINET had adopted the white paper on national water policy on Wednesday. Water and Forestry Affairs Minister Kader Asmal announced after a meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

The document had "gone through on the spot" without discussion, he said. None of the cabinet committee ministers who voted a week ago to refer the white paper to the full cabinet for discussion made contributions at the meeting.

They had also not made submissions to the water affairs ministry as originally agreed.

Water affairs said water for basic human needs and the protection of ecosystems would be guaranteed as a right in terms of the white paper. Water abstraction licenses would be issued for periods ranging between five and 40 years, while major users would be required to develop conservation strategies.

Draft bill gives government control of SA mercenaries

Stephen Lauffer

BD 2/5/97

(254)

COMPANIES selling military assistance beyond SA's borders will in future need government's permission, the cabinet decided on Wednesday.

Anyone rendering military or military-related services without approval will be liable for a fine of up to R1m or 10 years in jail. These are the key provisions of a bill to be plied through Parliament by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal in his capacity as chairman of the national conventional arms control committee, and Defence Minister Joe Modise, Justice Minister Dullah Omar and Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo.

The legislation proposes a two-stage control system similar to that governing the export of military hardware.

Individuals or companies seeking to market skills in the areas of military advice, training, support, combat, recruitment, medical services, equipment procurement, or individual and property security will need a licence. Should they successfully market their services, the mercenaries would have to apply for a second set of approvals before signing contracts.

Arms control experts said the envisaged system was an advance on the controls operating in most democracies. Because it did not operate with an

outright ban, it had a greater chance of controlling mercenary activities which would not be driven underground by being outlawed totally.

The draft legislation gives SA courts jurisdiction over any contravention of the regulations committed outside the country. It will apply to citizens or residents of SA or companies registered or incorporated in SA.

The ministers said that applications would be refused outright if the sale of military expertise would result in the violation or suppression of human rights, endanger peace by destabilising a region, support terrorism, escalate conflict or prejudice SA's national or international obligations or interests.

Meanwhile, Reuter reports that government officials said on Wednesday that SA was seeking to cut border control losses estimated at R17bn a year by shutting two thirds of its 95 border posts for bulk commercial traffic. Previously fragmented border controls would be unified in future.

Also in a bid to tighten border control, the cabinet has decided that the number of SA airports authorised to clear international flights be cut from 36 to eight, Saparaports.

The changes at land ports would take place within three months, and those at airports would be completed within six months.

Jacob Dlamini

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Regional 'commandos' plan Defence strategists propose part-time force

PIETER MALAN
STAFF REPORTER

Townships and rural areas could in future have their own, part-time squads of military "commandos" if some of the proposals put forward by the Defence Portfolio Committee find their way into law.

By the same token, conscript soldiers who have served with the old SA Defence Force could in future be approached to volunteer for service in the part-time force of the new-look SA National Defence Force (SANDF).

Defence planners apparently have a dream of regional part-time forces, or "commandos", all over the country, including townships like Soweto and Khayelitsha, which they can call upon if the need arises.

According to recommendations currently under discussion in the portfolio committee on defence, records of all people who have previously served in the old SANDF should be maintained "with a view of facilitating their service in the part-time force".

According to the white paper on defence, the SANDF will consist of a volunteer force, as the previous system of white conscription was said to be divisive, costly and discriminating and was contrary to the constitution.

The new force will consist of a relatively small regular force, backed by a "sufficiently large" part-time force, consisting of volunteers serving on a part-time basis when required - similar to the old commando system.

They will be organised, trained and equipped in such a way that they are available for deployment alongside regular defence force members according to the demands placed on the SANDF.

The second report of the Defence Review, the document currently before the portfolio committee, also makes the

provision that people with no previous military experience can enroll in the part-time force.

They will undergo military training on a "decentralised basis".

But discussing the proposals contained in the report, members of the portfolio committee have warned against the establishment of "regional forces", which could quickly develop into a "third force", serving the narrow political interests of a particular region.

KwaZulu Natal has been quoted as an example where a part-time "third force" scenario could cause havoc.

Opposition to area-bound, part-time units also came from Guns or Bread, a Cape-based coalition of organisations opposing military expansion in the face of more pressing social issues.

The spokesman for Guns or Bread, Martin Struthmann, said area-bound, part-time forces would perpetuate ethnic and racial divisions.

He said such a force would fail to depoliticise the defence force.

"We believe the purpose of the army is to defend the country against external aggressors, and military training is not appropriate for dealing with civil unrest. This is better done by the police reserve."

Military planners are also looking at rejuvenating the voluntary school cadet system, which they say has been in disarray since cadet activities at schools became a voluntary extra-mural activity in 1993.

Presently, 484 schools participate in school cadet activities, involving 40 000 pupils made up of about 450 drill teams, 240 brass bands and 490 target shooting teams.

Defence planners say they realise there are differences of opinion about the cadet system and will liaise with the National Youth Commission and other stakeholders to develop a national policy. The three cadet systems being investi-

AKG 3/5/99

(254)

gated are:

■ Voluntary school cadets along the lines of the previous system, which will be extended to previously disadvantaged communities

■ Extending the naval cadet system of the Navy League to other Arms of Service and communities

■ The British system of Community Cadet Detachments, a cadet corp not linked to schools, but recruiting youth in their mid-teens as members of local military units and training them for voluntary military service after school.

Mr Struthmann said he believed the cadet system should not be introduced to schools, either on a compulsory or voluntary basis.

"Cadets inculcate the acceptance of authoritarian structures and forced and violent solutions to conflict. We believe that peace and conflict studies should rather become part of the school curriculum," Mr Struthmann said.

Spoornet to wait for new Zairean government

Kevin O'Grady

SPOORNET would not take any steps to resolve the Zairean rebel alliance's annexation of its jointly owned Zairean railway company until a new government had been installed in the strife-torn nation, Spoornet chairman Matfke Makwanazi said yesterday.

"We took a strategic decision not to talk to anybody until a new government was in power," Makwanazi said, despite a request by the rebels for a meeting within two weeks to discuss the future of the railways.

Once a new government was installed, Spoornet would "do what we did four years ago" and renegotiate

the deal in which the Zairean railway parastatal became a partner with Spoornet. Belgian company Transurb and Zairean banks and businesses in commercially run company Sizarail, Makwanazi said.

Laurent Kabila's Alliance for the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire gave Sizarail MD Patrick Claes 24 hours to vacate his office on Tuesday as part of attempts to return the railway to parastatal status.

However, Makwanazi said the situation was "not as negative" as it sounded. Although Claes had been removed from his office, he had taken up alternative accommodation in Lubumbashi where "he can be

called on by us at any time".

Makwanazi said there was also no concern for Spoornet rolling stock — reportedly 10 locomotives worth about R25m, 20 railway trucks and 20 passenger carriages — as they were "in safe hands" under the security of Zairean authorities.

Meanwhile, Reuter reports that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, on a whirlwind tour of six countries to discuss the Zaire crisis, said he believed a second face-to-face meeting between Kabila and ailing Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko would still take place next week.

A foreign affairs source said the meeting would, as last week, take place on the SA Navy supply vessel

the SAS Outeniqua off the African west coast, probably on Tuesday.

Mobutu left Zaire's capital Kinshasa yesterday on a two-day trip to Gabon, which sparked rumours in the city that he was leaving the country for good.

However Mbeki said he believed that Mobutu would return to Kinshasa, after attending an African mini summit in Gabon's capital, Libreville, in time for Mbeki's arrival there tomorrow.

Foreign affairs spokesman Peter Swanepoel confirmed that Mbeki had spoken to Kabila on Tuesday night and was assured the alliance's undertaking to halt its advance on Kinshasa until the next round of

talks was being complied with.

However, Reuter reports Kabila told Radio France International yesterday that taking the capital was "on the agenda" for the rebels. "Troops are obliged to advance," Kabila was reported as saying.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the SA embassy in Kinshasa's political secretary, Adrian du Pisani, described the situation in the Zairean capital as quiet but tense.

Members of the tightly knit SA community had been unofficially urged to leave the capital, du Pisani said. At present, there were 20 SA nationals registered at the embassy

08/5/97

See Pages 11, 15

ANC-IFP talks begin on optimistic note

Farouk Choithia

LONG-awaited peace talks between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) took place yesterday with members of both parties expressing optimism that agreement on Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, power sharing beyond 1999 and a special amnesty deal for KwaZulu-Natal would be reached in follow-up talks.

Sources said the two delegations, led by ANC chairman Jacob Zuma and IFP acting chairman and KwaZulu-Natal premier Ben Ngubane, placed strong emphasis, on the need for unity among blacks in SA and for all Zulus to respect Zwelithini.

Ngubane said the ANC had tabled a package of proposals, but declined to disclose details. There had been "progress" at the talks, he said.

Zuma said both parties would report back to their principals and

then "the premier will be able to elaborate".

A source said the IFP made it clear that the precondition for peace was recognition of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi as Zwelithini's traditional prime minister.

The source said the ANC had agreed there should be "reconciliation" between Buthelezi and Zwelithini, but fell short of giving an immediate undertaking that it would yield to the IFP's request.

Denel urged to update its strategy

Robyn Chalmers

(254)

PUBLIC Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau has challenged state-owned arms manufacturer Denel to examine the "normalisation and democratisation" of its business, saying both management and its ownership base had to be broadened.

Sigcau told Denel's boss Bernard last night the process involved rectifying past mistakes, eliminating race and gender discrimination and supporting a process of equal opportunities. Denel should also develop employ-

ees' skills, create affirmative action posts and accelerate training.

Sigcau said last year she challenged Denel's "grey-haired men" to join her in the capacity building and human resources development process. She explained that in African society, grey hair symbolised wisdom and maturity.

Sigcau cited key areas in transformation, which included aligning company strategy with the change process, establishing unifying and shared values, training and development, restructuring the decision-making process and community development

08/5/97

SA lifts Turkish arms ban

Kader Asmal has quietly lifted South Africa's embargo on arms to Turkey, which has killed thousands and displaced millions of Kurds. **Marion Edmunds reports**

SOUTH AFRICA has quietly lifted its embargo on arms sales to Turkey Minister of Water and Forestry Affairs, Kader Asmal, who presides over regulation of government arms sales, said this week that the embargo had been conditionally lifted for "political" reasons in South Africa's interest.

The *Mail & Guardian* understands from other government officials that the embargo, in place since August 1995, had been viewed as an obstacle to South Africa's attempts to forge stronger ties with Turkey.

It is not known which arms Turkey might be interested in buying, nor how much money could be involved.

The move gives Turkey a much needed new arms supply. Its normal suppliers in Europe and the United States have reportedly halted their trade, sickened by the country's fight with its Kurdish population. The war has claimed thousands of lives and displaced millions.

The decision also represents another foray by South Africa into the arms-hungry Middle East.

Turkey spent more than \$6,2-billion on defence last year, and is striving to strengthen military ties with Israel — extending now to planned joint naval manoeuvres. It has also accused its Arab neighbours of trying to foment radical Islamism in Turkey, and of backing the Kurds.

Turkey's initiatives have outraged Arab



Kader Asmal: Strengthening Turkey's hand

PHOTOGRAPH RUTHMORAU

states, including Syria and Libya. The South African government has previously mooted a R3-billion arms sale to Syria, and views Libya as a long-time ally.

South Africa's embargo on sales to Turkey preceded the investigation of arms exports which led to the creation of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee. The committee, which Asmal chairs, now oversees permits for international arms marketing and sales.

The decision to lift conditionally the moratorium on arms sales to Turkey was a political decision which took into consideration all aspects of the rationale and principles that are applicable to the committee," Asmal said.

(2574) MTG 9-15/5/97
"No single factor would necessarily outweigh any other, as South Africa's interests are always of primary consideration."

Asmal declined to say whether companies including the state-owned Armscor and Denel had already applied to begin marketing their wares to Turkey.

He also said it was unlikely the committee would agree to allow South African arms to be sold for use in the country's fight with its Kurds. But a delegation of Turkish Kurds — briefed by Asmal two weeks ago on the issue — said that South Africa's decision could merely help strengthen Turkey's hand against them.

Turkey's record of dealing with its Kurdish population includes denying them civil liberties and freedom unless they renounce their 4 000-year-old culture.

The delegation includes representatives of the Kurdish parliament-in-exile, and the editor of a pro-Kurdish newspaper. He said 21 of his journalists had been murdered by Turkish state assassins.

"Turks have razed 3 000 Kurdish villages to the ground and are driving the people to squatting camps on the fringes of the city," said one delegate, speaking on condition of anonymity. "They call the guerrillas who hide in the mountains the fish, and the villages the sea, and they say to get the fish they have to drain the sea."

The Centre for Conflict Resolution in Cape Town questioned Asmal's interpretation of South Africa's interests. "South Africa's values as contained in our Bill of Rights are of primary consideration," said director Laurie Nathan. "Where interests and values clash, constitutional values should prevail."

The arms ruling is ironic for Asmal, who, as an exile and human rights activist, had championed the Kurds' cause.



Tony Yengeni more consensus than ever on need for new equipment

DEFENCE

More for guns (and butter) ⁽²⁵⁴⁾

Yengeni says defence review will call for phased upgrade programme

FM 9/5/97
Cabinet will again find itself between a rock and a hard place when the *Defence Review Report* is handed to it next week

Faced with incessant demands for higher social spending — underlined by possible protest action on June 16 over child welfare cuts — Cabinet will have to decide on spending billions of rand on corvette naval patrol vessels and other military equipment

Parliamentary joint standing committee on defence chairman Tony Yengeni says the review will recommend a phased multibillion-rand rearmament programme that will include the purchase of corvettes

It may also include the phased introduction of replacement jet trainers for the SAAF's ageing Impalas. Cabinet will consider the report on May 14

The defence review has to define the roles, tasks, force design and equipment needs of the SA National Defence Force for the future

The call for new equipment has been a constant theme in defence circles and seems to have been endorsed by President Nelson

Mandela three weeks ago. He referred in parliament to the recent international naval fair in Cape Town and said few could have been unmoved by the sight of the ships

Yengeni said this week that "at all levels, be it industry or the executive tier of government, people are speaking in one voice and that is for new equipment. There is now more consensus on this issue than ever"

He said the decision to buy or not would have to be taken within months — "certainly after the review process winds up at the end of May when we hold a consultative conference of all stakeholders"

Financing of the new equipment would have to be allocated in next year's Budget, he admitted. This was because the defence budget had again been cut, for the eighth year, making no specific provision for the acquisition of corvettes

But Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's reference in the Budget speech to the defence review process appeared to have left the door open for a positive decision on capital investment later this year

The Budget allocated R9,6bn to the armed forces, a cut of 6,5% against last year

While allocations to the special defence account, which allows for weapons and equipment procurement, was cut from R1,8bn to R1,5bn, the navy and the army received modest increases. The army's share of the cake rose from R3,5bn to R3,7bn, the navy's from R714m to R793m

Yengeni said other recommendations in the report would be the creation of a "smaller, tighter" defence force

Government has committed itself to increased social development spending and has come under growing pressure not to spend on defence

Justice Malala



STICKING TO HIS GUNS: Archbishop Desmond Tutu, chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, speaks to General Magnus Malan in Cape Town this week Picture: TERRY SHEAN

The top-secret SADF document of death

Suggestion of security-force collusion

MARLENE BÜRGER

A TOP-secret document found at the home of chemical warfare expert Wouter Basson when he was arrested on drug-dealing charges in January links him to a conspiracy to murder five men suspected of assassinating Orlando Cristina, the secretary general of the Mozambican resistance movement, Renamo.

The 17-page report, the result of a three-week military intelligence probe into Cristina's murder on April 17 1983, also suggests that security force members colluded to silence those perceived to be a threat to covert operations.

The report was compiled by Basson, then a commandant in charge of 7 Medical Battalion, Colonel Cor van Niekerk, one of several senior officers acquitted last year of the murder of 13 people in the 1987 Kwamakutha massacre, and two East Rand murder and robbery captains, brothers GR and PJK Viljoen.

The report recommended the "elimination" of five Renamo cadres to cover up clandestine SADF support for the organisation. The five men disappeared soon afterwards, and one of them, Boaventura Bomba, is known to have been killed and his body dumped over the Mozambique border.

Charges of conspiracy to murder Bomba are being formulated by the Transvaal Attorney General, Dr Jan D'Oliveira's third force investigating team, and are expected to be brought against Basson when he appears in court again on June 26.

Cristina was shot as he lay in bed on an SADF farm, Fontana, 50km north of Pretoria. His death embarrassed the National Party government, which had denied supporting Renamo.

The report does not show who ordered that the assassination be investigated internally by the SADF, or who it was sent to.

At the time, Basson led the medical unit that supported troops during clandestine cross-border operations, and Van Niekerk worked for military intelligence. Three years later, he headed Operation Marlon, in which 200 Inkatha Freedom Party recruits were trained at a secret base in the Caprivi.

The fact that the two police officers jettisoned their own investigation in favour of the SADF probe, and concurred with the finding that the elimination of the suspects was "unavoidable", indicates that the Cristina affair must have been approved at top level.

Basson's role is not spelled out in the report, but he carried out the postmortem on Cristina, and may have administered chemical substances to the suspects during interrogation. Three of the five had

to be eliminated "because they can identify the investigators and techniques used".

The investigators were bent on protecting clandestine military intelligence operations rather than solving the crime. There is nothing to suggest that they considered a legal option to deal with the men.

They found that the plot to kill Cristina was hatched by Bomba. Bomba saw Cristina as a stumbling block to his political ambitions, and was supported by a group of Portuguese nationals known as The Johannesburg Group. Bomba was considered "the most dangerous of all those involved".

His co-planner, John Makokola, who provided the Uzi with which Cristina was shot, was an SADF member and his elimination presented "some danger", but was nevertheless "unavoidable" as he was "an extremely big risk to the RSA".

The elimination of the five was to be "subtly" blamed on Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama.

By getting rid of the assassins, the investigators claimed, they would be able to prevent covert military intelligence operations being compromised. These included parachute landings, bases and "our operational history" in Mozambique, use of a covert DC3 aircraft, the names and functions of security branch, MI and special forces officers, and plans to set up a resistance movement in Guinea Bissau.

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ST 11/5/97

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ST 11/5/97



Kader Asmal commercial confidentiality in regard to the nature of weapons

ARMS EXPORTS

(254)
PM 16/5/97
Details on arms deals demanded

DP examines constitutional implications of secrecy

Cabinet is considering going secret on information relating to armament exports

In reply to a question by the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin in parliament, National Conventional Arms Control Committee chairman (and Water Affairs Minister) Kader Asmal said he could not release information on specific countries that had sought to buy arms from SA, but which had been turned down by the committee

"The question as to whether arms will not be sold to a particular country is a matter which involves detailed international relations

"This is not an attempt to exclude parliament in terms of either the constitutional or legal implications. It is in pursuit of our best international relations with other countries," Asmal said

He said the decision to withhold information from parliament on the matter was not in terms of a constitutional provision

Rather, "it is an executive function in terms of which the National Arms Control Committee and the Cabinet report to the Joint Standing Committee on Defence I

work on the basis that the Joint Standing Committee on Defence is an emanation, a part, of the national parliament

"There is no inhibition. There are a considerable number of factors we have taken into account, and one of them is commercial confidentiality in regard to the nature of weapons

"Secondly, it is common practice, including in the US, that the country that obtains the arms demands, as a condition, that the recipient country's name should not be disclosed," he said

The revelation came in the same week that newspapers reported that SA's arms ban on Turkey had been lifted and talks were on to clinch a deal with that country. Turkey has been condemned for its treatment of Kurdish minorities

Eglin said after the debate that under the old Constitution any matter could be swept under the carpet in the name of national security. "But I do not think under this Constitution one can do that, and we will be watching this process carefully to see what the constitutional implications are"

Asmal said no decision had yet been taken on the issue

Cabinet's decision is likely to be made in the next five weeks. Asmal pledged to communicate the decision to parliament

The Minister says SA has exported armaments products to 74 countries since May 1994. Applications for contracting permits between the arms industry and foreign countries are considered as individual cases, not on a country basis. But countries subject to the UN Arms Embargo are not considered by the National Conventional Arms Control Committee

Justice Malala

Corvette deal (254) likely to get nod - Modise

ARG 17/5/97
The Cabinet will be asked to approve buying four corvettes and several submarines next month, with the acquisition process starting immediately after that, Defence Minister Joe Modise has announced.

Asked if he was confident approval would be forthcoming, he told reporters yesterday that deals now being discussed were too good to pass up.

"It's tantamount to us getting some of this equipment for nothing," said Mr Modise.

"A number of countries are coming with attractive packages that are going to result in us getting back the exact amount we are paying on the equipment in the form of investments in South Africa," he said, without naming any countries.

Mr Modise's deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, said earlier this year that Britain, whose Yarrow shipyard is among favoured contenders, had made "interesting" proposals for such a package.

Mr Modise said the investments would be aimed at job creation and that many of the companies were interested in investing in South Africa's defence industries.

"Naturally we would like them to buy an equity, secondly, we would like them to bring in technology; thirdly, we would like to share their markets with them," he said.

Mr Modise said contracts would include a penalty clause to ensure the foreign investment performed - Reuter

More than 30 000 soldiers to lose jobs

Sowetan (254) 19/5/97

By Josias Charle

MORE than 30 000 permanent force members are to lose their jobs in the restructured South African National Defence Force over the next three years

White members of the force will be the hardest hit by the move as the defence force grapples with the issue of falling in line with its budget and the population mix of South Africa

With the integration of members from the former TBVC states, as well as cadres of the former liberation armies, the number of soldiers in the SANDF has swelled to more than 100 000

Emphasis is going to shift to an increased part-time force of volunteers that will eventually comprise 200 000 soldiers. They will supplement the proposed core structure of 70 000 fulltime members, which means 30 000

members are set to lose their jobs on "the envisaged human resources of the force"

These revelations were made at the third and final defence review conference in Cape Town on Friday. It was attended by military personnel, members of Parliament, interested groups and the Ministry of Defence

According to the review, the number of white soldiers is to be reduced from 30 340 to 17 217 in three years

Staffing policy

"The population group mix in the SANDF was artificially manipulated in the past as a result of the staffing policy of the apartheid era

"It is thus a consequence of history that differentiation on the grounds of race has skewed the representativeness within the SANDF," said Mr Tsepe Motumi, who presented a paper

The SANDF is currently made up of 57 450 black soldiers, 30 340 whites, 11 300 coloureds and 910 Indians

In the review it is proposed that the future force should be made up of 45 729 blacks, 17 217 whites, 7 225 coloureds and 530 Indians

The defence review also noted that of the R11,3 billion budgeted during 1996, R4,2 billion went to personnel, R4,9 billion to operations and R2,1 billion to capital projects

During this year the budget has been cut to R9,4 billion, most of which will be used for personnel

The process of restructuring the SANDF is expected to be completed by September but other inputs regarding defence matters are to be debated in Parliament on June 5

SA won't trade in landmines - Asmal

Sowetan 20/6/97

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa has destroyed all its anti-personnel landmines stocks and has banned their use, the chairman of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, Professor Kader Asmal, told an Organisation of African Unity conference yesterday.

He told the meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park that the Government had destroyed the mines two years ago and banned their use in February this year.

"Anti-personnel landmines know no boundaries in war or peace. They maim and kill military and civilian targets alike," Asmal said.

He said, however, "Heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of those countries which produce them."

"There would be no trade in them if there were no willing buyers -

either countries or armed forces of whatever kind who are prepared to let the innocent and unarmed be blown up or maimed alongside the armed."

In terms of new policy, South Africa now practices restraints in its arms industry and arms transfer, Asmal told the conference. The country did not simply trade with "all and sundry", he said. All applications for arms transfers are dealt with on a case-by-case basis and carefully scrutinised before approved.

"We are mindful of the debates concerning the role and value of an arms industry in any well-run society, the cost in terms of money, the environment, natural resources and international standing," he said.

In this regard, South Africa treads "both warily and responsibly", he said, referring to how the Government conducted its arms deals.

First shot fired for key upgrade in defence force

Star 21/5/97 (254)
BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Defence Correspondent

The Department of Defence is on course to parliamentary acceptance of an overdue revamping of the South African National Defence Force

At the same time, its political head, Joe Modise, is set to gain the approval he so badly needs for the acquisition of new equipment for his beleaguered forces

But it has been a long battle between many stakeholders to have reached the stage, tomorrow, when Modise will be able to present parliament with a coherent financial argument on the needs of the military

That argument will include not only an acceptable financial side but also force design requirements for the next 10 years

He has over the past three years had to put up with all manner of brickbats, vilification, and disinformation about his methods to haul a civilian-driven defence force into a democratic South Africa after years of military might.

He has successfully weathered the storm to the extent that he can now also table the first 10 chapters of the Defence Review – an ambitious project which maps out South Africa's defence needs over the next decade. The remaining chapters are due for approval in September

The Review is the first meeting of minds of South Africa's military and civilian sectors, and judging from its content, it is a document which should gain the approval of most people

It spells out the options open to the Government (the recommendation being made to Parliament tomorrow, and up for debate on June 5, is known as Option 2) for force designs for the army, air force, navy and medical services. It also covers rationalisation, civic education, transformation, environment and the defence force, human resources, posture, and the all-important part-time force

Modise told the recent consultative conference on the Review that the Government was

committed to regional co-operation and support – a clear indication that South Africa is taking heed of repeated requests from, in particular Tanzania, Angola, Namibia and Mozambique, to take the lead in regional security. But without acquisition of the tools there is little that can be done – and therein lies the importance of the Defence Review

Option 2, which has the support of Tony Yengeni, chairman of Parliament's joint defence committee, is the answer to that question

Recommendations contained in it are for the purchase of new equipment, in particular for the navy and also, importantly, for the air force to continue to be equipped with the very best

It states that four corvettes and four submarines are required – the sort of 75th birthday present that the navy has been agitating for over several years

Obtaining the equipment will still not be an easy procedure, even though Modise has said the tender process would swing in to operation as soon as Parliament has given its hoped-for approval on June 5

This is because there appears to be many vested interests who favour a number of shipbuilders in Germany, Spain, Britain, France and Denmark as well as Asia for the construction of the corvettes

When the process eventually comes down to the wire, there are two companies which will probably be favoured – Yarrow, representing Britain, and Bazan, representing Spain (Bazan won the original tender which was aborted by the Cabinet in 1995 following political pressure)

But the German Frigate Consortium is also determined not to be left behind, even though top acquisition officials and navy officers privately believe that the pricing of the German corvettes may be too much for the defence budget

France and Denmark are generally regarded as being rank outsiders for the R1,7-billion order

Destruction of SA land mines begins

(254)
Stephen Laufer

BD 22/5/97

ALKANTPAN — SA became the first African country to begin the planned destruction of almost its entire stockpile of antipersonnel land mines yesterday at an Armscor-owned weapons testing range in the Northern Cape.

Defence Minister Joe Modise ignited a charge which blew up 4 700 mines with 550kg of high explosives. Modise said the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) would destroy 261 423 mines in the next six months to show SA's commitment to the prohibition of their production and use.

Antitank mines would be the next "issue for study," he said.

The mines would be destroyed at Alkantpan, SANDF logistics chief Lt-Gen Philip du Preez said. The destruction of the mines valued at R39m would cost R1,2m.

Modise said that 5 000 devices would be kept for research purposes. While the destruction of mines was "cause for celebration, it also provides us with an opportunity to mourn those who have fallen victim to this scourge," he said.

Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Abdul Minty said Mozambique and Zimbabwe had joined SA as signatories to the convention outlawing mines.

Nomavenda Mathiane reports that nongovernmental organisations at the Organisation of African Unity conference on demining scored a victory when the conference agreed to accept antipersonnel mines are to be defined by their effect on humans.



Cameramen watch as 4 700 anti-personnel land mines explode at Armscor's weapons testing site at Alkantpan in the Northern Cape yesterday. The SA National Defence Force organised the explosion in which 550kg of explosives was used.

240 000 MINES TO BE DESTROYED

Modise detonates SA's cruel weapon stockpile

CT 22/5 1997 (254)

COPPERTON: South Africa is believed to be the first country in Africa to begin destroying its anti-personnel landmine stockpile. **ROGER FRIEDMAN** reports.

DEFENCE Minister Mr Joe Modise yesterday began the task of destroying South Africa's stockpiled anti-personnel landmines by blasting 4 700 of the "cruel" weapons to smithereens, sending a massive fire-ball into the thin, Northern Cape sky.

Worldwide, landmines kill or maim more than 70 people a day, or about 26 000 a year, according to the United States-based non-governmental organisation Landmine Survivors Network.

About 60 countries are infested with more than 100 million mines, hundreds of thousands of which remain hidden in the soil of South Africa's neighbours. A large proportion of them were supplied by South Africa as part of the apartheid state's regional destabilisation policy. As a result, Angola has one of the highest amputee rates in the world.

Anti-personnel landmines are designed to severely injure or maim, to cause both physical and psychological harm, acting as a deterrent to enemy soldiers who are not direct victims, and diverting them from battle to give medical assistance.

But most mines are activated by civilians, often in remote rural areas, far from hospitals and clinics. And because farming activities cannot be conducted in minefields, the production of food becomes difficult.

South Africa is believed to be the first country in Africa to begin destroying its anti-personnel land-

mine stockpile, which now stands at 241 626 units. Their total value is R39m. Getting rid of them will cost the government about R1,2m.

Five thousand live mines and 13 000 practice mines will be kept for research, development and demining training.

The ceremony at Alkantpan Test Range, about 70km south of Prieska, was attended by Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils, leading members of the parliamentary committee on defence, senior military personnel and military attaches from a number of foreign countries, including Russia, Israel, Egypt, Argentina, Spain, Botswana, Angola, Germany and Taiwan.

Modise said it would take six months and 18 explosions to destroy the stockpile.

The stockpile includes 181 708 high-explosive anti-personnel landmines, 48 484 jumping mines and 11 434 foreign mines.

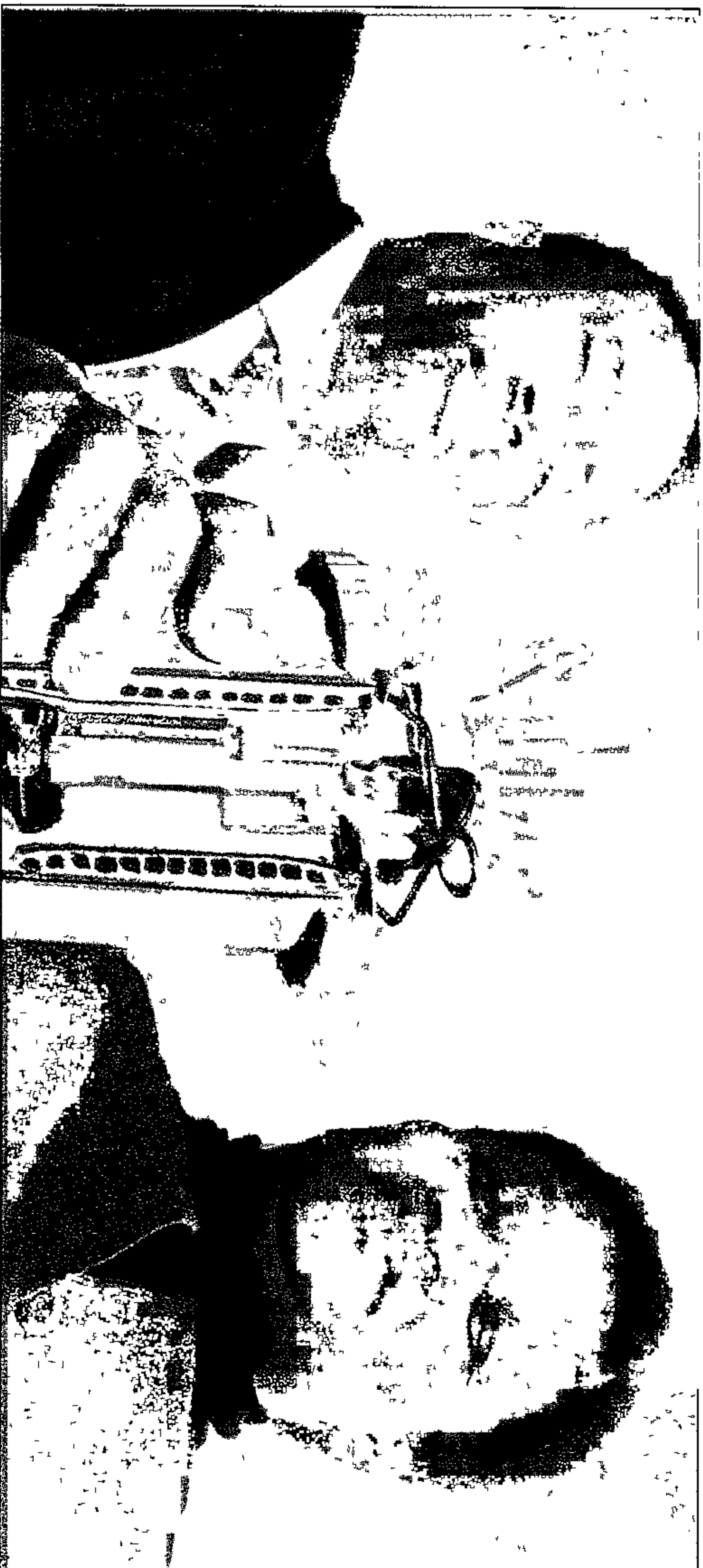
The mines destroyed yesterday were packed into about 50 boxes, each filled with about eight kilograms of TNT shavings and topped with PE4 plastic explosive. The boxes were arranged on the ground in the shape of a square "C", designed to deflect the blast from where Modise, Kasrils and company took up positions about 1 500m away. Car windows were rolled down to prevent their being shattered by the 550kg blast.

After a demonstration involving a landmine and a sand-filled army boot — and a five second countdown — Modise hit the

switch and the mines were, as they say, history.

"We've all seen for ourselves the destruction of a very cruel weapon — a weapon that has been used against the opponents of those involved in conflicts. But in many cases this weapon targeted innocent people. We feel this should be a contribution towards the outlawing of landmines throughout the world," he said.

Mozambique and Zimbabwe had followed South Africa in banning anti-personnel mines, and he expected similar announcements from other African states at the Organisation of African Unity summit in Harare next month.

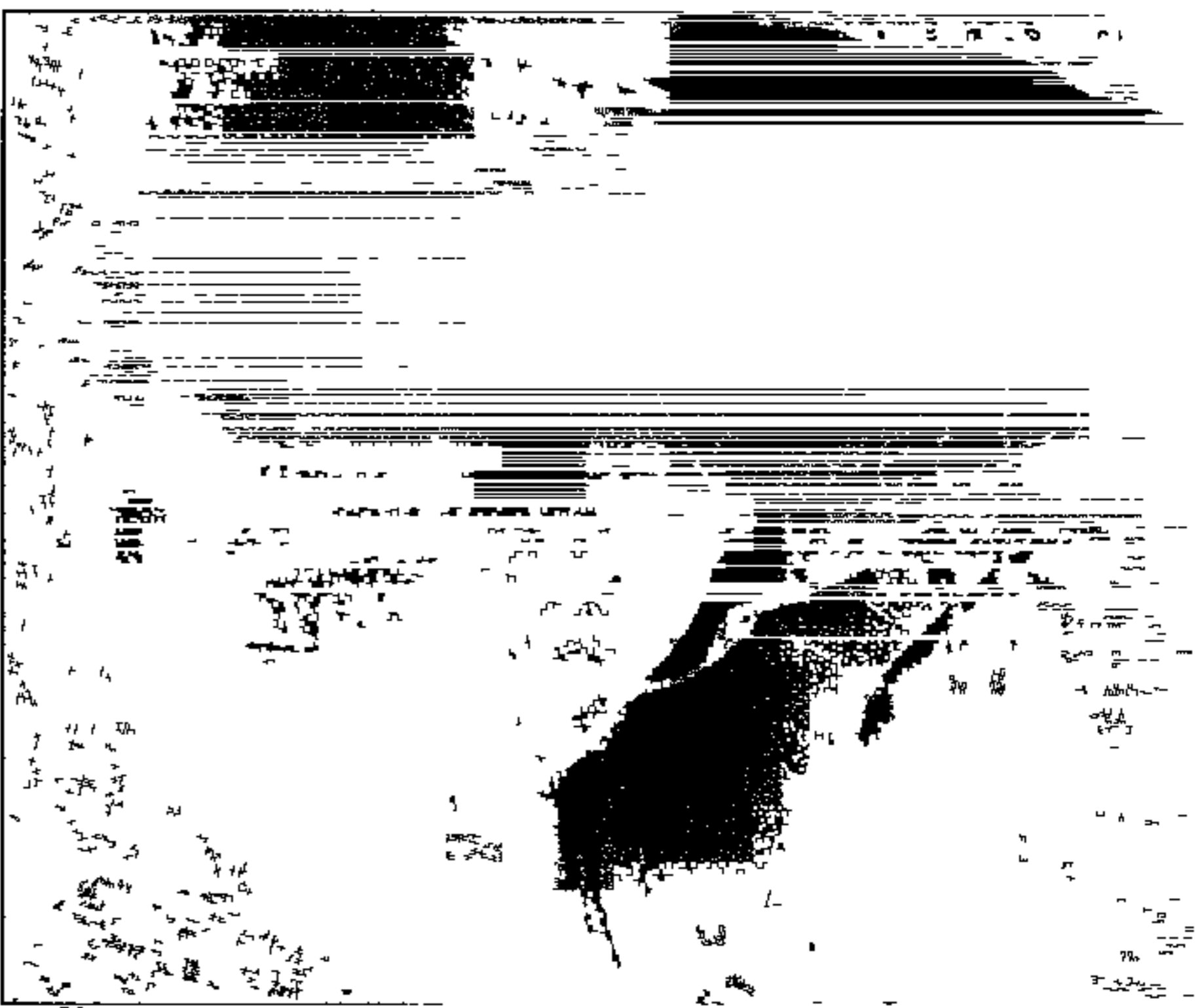


SMOKED: (Above) Anti-personnel landmines meet a fiery end at the Alkantpan Test Range near Prieska in the Northern Cape yesterday. The 4 700 mines exploded yesterday cost about R500 000 to manufacture, destroying them will save lives and limbs.

CROSS-SECTION: (left) Chairman of the joint parliamentary standing committee on defence Mr Tony Yengeni and former soldier Ms Thandi Modise MP, a member of the parliamentary joint standing committee on defence and the portfolio committee on defence, shows the remains of an R2M2 anti-personnel landmine.

PICTURES: BENNY GOOL

2012



BEFORE: This is the shape of an army boot as it steps on a practice anti-personnel landmine



AFTER: This is the effect of a live anti-personnel landmine on an army boot filled with sand

41 African states

agree to total ban

ET 22/5/97

(254)

JOHANNESBURG: Forty-one of Africa's 52 countries unanimously agreed yesterday on a plan to unearth the continent's 50 million landmines and ban them completely.

But the countries, which are attending Africa's first governmental anti-landmine conference at the World Trade Centre here — appealed to the international community and private sector to help pay the costs.

Delegates estimated that it would cost about R200 billion to remove the continent's buried mines and agreed to approach international financial agencies for help.

The countries will also consider asking those responsible for planting the mines to cover some of the costs.

According to the agreement, countries were to decide to ban anti-personnel mines before the Organisation of African Unity's summit in Harare on June 2.

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise warned that merely adopting the plan would not be good enough.

He said governments had to prove their intentions by not only adhering to the ban, but also destroying their valuable stockpiles of anti-personnel mines. The only lasting solution was to eradicate the weapon from Africa's arsenals, he said.

Modise's warning came just hours after South Africa destroyed mines worth R39 million — the first phase in the destruction of its entire stockpile.

The plan lays down several steps towards a landmine free Africa, including landmine policy, mine clearance, assistance of survivors and international co-operation and assistance.

The agreement states that states should not only end all deployment of mines and establish prohibitions on their use, stockpiling and production, but should also destroy stockpiles.

Rehabilitation, social integration and care facilities for those maimed by mines are an integral part of the action plan.

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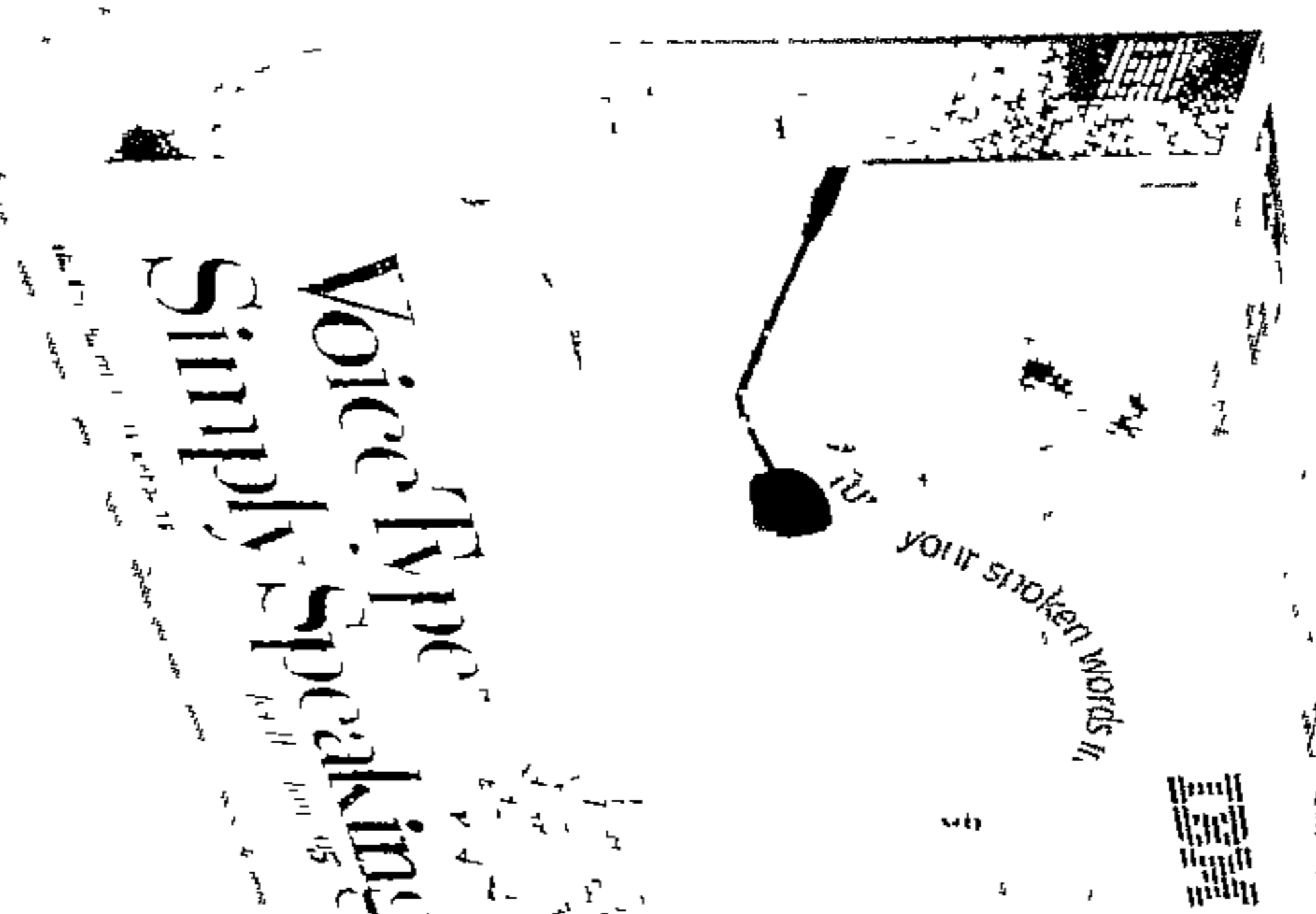
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Manuel under fire on all sides for his 'arbitrary' defence cuts

BD 23/5/97

(254)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Trevor Manuel yesterday came under fire from political parties across the spectrum, including his own party the African National Congress (ANC), for arbitrarily cutting the defence budget to "make himself look good".

Defence Minister Joe Modise told the National Assembly, when introducing his budget vote, that military support for the police in anti-crime operations, patrol of the seas to protect fishing rights, control and patrol of borders and the fulfilling of regional responsibilities were in jeopardy because of inadequate funding.

He said he had warned the National Assembly a year ago of obsolescence in the defence force and the massive cost this would represent if it was not addressed now.

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said the SANDF had played its role in transformation, and that the defence force was not the "same old ravenous wolf plun-

dering state coffers at the expense of the poor and needy". He said the budget had been slashed by 59% since 1989. He said the defence ministry would not ask for a single rand more than was needed, but South Africans could not be asked to defend their nation using inferior weapons.

He also said that future aggression could be ignored only at the nation's peril. There was an essential minimum that had to be spent on defence, he said.

Chairman of the joint standing committee on defence, the ANC's Tony Yengem, warned that the long-term planning of the defence force was being undermined by budget cuts. He called for urgent talks with Manuel so that budgetary certainty could be achieved for defence.

The National Assembly defence committee chairman Pieter Groenewald charged that Manuel had unilaterally cut the budget by R700m without reference to anyone in the defence community.

National Party MP Johan Mar-

ais echoed this, saying that Manuel "decides with an arrogant top-down approach that he wants to cut the defence budget to make himself look efficient, creating chaos in the defence department". He said it would be a joke if it was not happening in SA.

He and others, including Modise, said that defence funding was way below the norm of 2% of gross domestic product in developing countries worldwide. He suggested that 1,85 or 1,95% was acceptable. Modise said defence spending was down to 1,6% from a high of 4,5% in 1989. This would be extremely low anywhere in the world, he said.

Democratic Party MP Douglas Gibson urged the finance and defence ministries to collaborate to resolve the matter.

Parliament was told that vitally needed programmes, such as the purchase of corvettes, submarines and Rooivalk helicopters, were being threatened as no place could be found for them within the amount allocated in the budget.

National Party 'acts against truth body because of fear'

BD 23/5/95

Stephen Laufer

CAPE TOWN — The National Party (NP) feared the continuing exposure of its complicity in the human rights violations of the past and was therefore determined to discredit the truth commission, Justice Minister Dullah Omar and Democratic Party (DP) justice spokesman Dene Smuts said yesterday.

Speaking in a snap parliamentary debate, Omar, Smuts and the representatives of all parties except the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) praised the commission for its even-handed contribution to the exposure of the truth about the past and to reconciliation. Omar said the commission had rightly guarded its independence jealously.

Smuts said commission chairman Archbishop Desmond Tutu had "astutely defended the law, and equality before the law", by refusing to accept the African National Congress (ANC) strategy to create a category of acts of war

against apartheid for which amnesty was not required. In threatening to resign, Tutu had been "magnificent".

Speaking on the former ruling party's threat to withdraw support for the truth commission, leader of the house Steve Tshwete accused the NP of lacking the will to accept that apartheid had been a crime. But the party's decision to withdraw co-operation with the commission was an admission "which speaks louder than words".

After a tumultuous exchange, Speaker Frene Ginwala ordered IFP member MA Mncwango to leave the chamber as he had refused to withdraw remarks referring to Tutu as "a weeping clown craving the front stage spotlight".

NP justice spokesman Sheila Camerer said preliminary legal advice had indicated that remarks by Tutu and his deputy Alex Boraine after the NP's submission to the commission last week were in conflict with the legal requirements of impartiality contained in the act governing the commission.

Harare prisoner applies for amnesty

Stephen Laufer and Michael Hartnack

CAPE TOWN — One of five South Africans jailed in Zimbabwe 10 years ago for attacks on African National Congress (ANC) members, in which at least one person died, has asked the truth commission for amnesty.

The others had decided not to apply, it was learned yesterday. Kevin Woods — who is applying for amnesty — and the other Zimbabweans who were given SA citizenship after their arrest, Philip Conjwayo, Michael Smith, Barry Bawden, and Dennis Beahan, are serving life sentences in Harare's Chikurubi prison.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said President Nelson Mandela had requested President Robert Mugabe to release the five men.

Truth commission deputy chairman Alex Boraine last year met Zimbabwean Justice Minister Emmerson Mnangagwa and came away hopeful of co-operation in gaining access to the men.

See Page 5

Cuts diminish defence power

(254)

CT 23/5/97

THE massive reduction in defence spending in the last seven years was making it difficult for the South African National Defence Force to maintain its support of police in fighting crime, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said last night.

He added that there was also no provision for capital equipment.

If the defence force did not have adequate funds it would have to give up the idea of fulfilling its regional responsibilities, Modise said.

"Just as we cannot allow our nation to be undermined by crime we cannot allow our region to slide into instability," he said during debate on his budget vote.

The battle against crime and the need for regional stability were two pressing tasks needing attention.

Giving good value for money, the defence force provided some 8 000 police support troops daily, he said.

The air force and the navy also played important roles in crime prevention.

"We can do all this as long as we get the funding. But the continuing reductions in our budget are seriously affecting our capacity to assist in these ways."

The dramatic events in the region confirmed that the SANDF had an important role to play.

"If required, we are ready to participate in peace support missions. But this requires a national defence force adequate to the role," Modise said.

The 59% cut in the defence budget since 1989 was creating great difficulties and the department was unable to sustain an adequate defence programme.

"Our police support and regional roles will be adversely affected. Important projects, like the Rooivalk, may fall through."

If the phased replacement of



GIVE MORE MONEY: Joe Modise

obsolete equipment was not started now, all equipment requirements would peak at the same time, around 2005.

The defence budget required certainty to allow for planning, so that all the resources — human and material — were used to the maximum, Modise said.

The challenge was to achieve an adequate defence capability in an affordable way.

Modise's deputy, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, said although the Ministry of Defence would not ask for a single rand more than was needed, it insisted there was an essential minimum that had to be spent on defence.

"Because if we spend less than the minimum required, we may find that we have no houses, no schools, no hospitals, because we could not defend our country against the warlords, thieves, pirates and predators."

The world remained unpredictable, Kasrils said.

"We ignore possible future aggression at our peril."

South Africa could not ask its young men and women to defend the country with inferior weapons.

They had to be properly supported and equipped for the 21st Century. — Sapa

Beefing up the security of the nation

'Guns or butter' issue seems to be swaying towards armaments (254)

ARG 27/5/97

THE DEFENCE FORCE IS PLAYING A VITAL ROLE IN FIGHTING CRIME, BUT MAY SOON HAVE TO BACK OUT OF SUCH FUNCTIONS BECAUSE OF CUTBACKS, REPORTS WILLIAM-MERVIN GUINDE OF THE POLITICAL STAFF

Minister of Defence Joe Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils have spent a lot of time in Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's office lately to warn that repeated cuts in military spending mean the country cannot meet its defence needs.

"Our budget has been cut by 59 percent since 1989 in real terms. This is creating great difficulties," Mr Modise told Parliament last week during the 1997/98 defence budget debate.

In spite of inflation of about nine percent, South Africa's defence budget was cut in March from R10,2-billion rand in fiscal 1996/97 to R9,5-billion rand for the current financial year.

"The facts, we are unable to sustain an adequate defence programme," Mr Modise said. "Our police support and regional roles will be adversely affected."

"Just as we cannot allow our nation to be undermined by crime, we cannot allow our region to slide into instability."

Giving good value for money, the army provided much support for the police in dealing with crime - about 8 000 troops were deployed daily in police support.

The Air Force and the Navy also played important roles in crime prevention.

"We can do all this as long as we get the funding. But the continuing reductions in our budget are seriously affecting our capacity to assist in these ways," he said.

sures to hammer down the budget deficit from six percent of Gross Domestic Product to three percent by 1998.

The Coalition for Defence Alternatives, with its "guns or butter" document, also opposed increased Government spending on defence. They argue that it is totally inconceivable that defence spending should be increased while the majority of South Africans live in grinding poverty.

"As defence spending rises in societies which cannot afford it, social spending drops. The arms imports exacerbate the debt burden and reduce essential imports needed for social spending and infrastructure."

Mr Modise's deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, said that although the ministry of defence would not ask for a single rand more than was needed, it insisted there was an essential minimum that had to be spent on defence.

The challenge was to achieve an adequate defence capability in an affordable way.

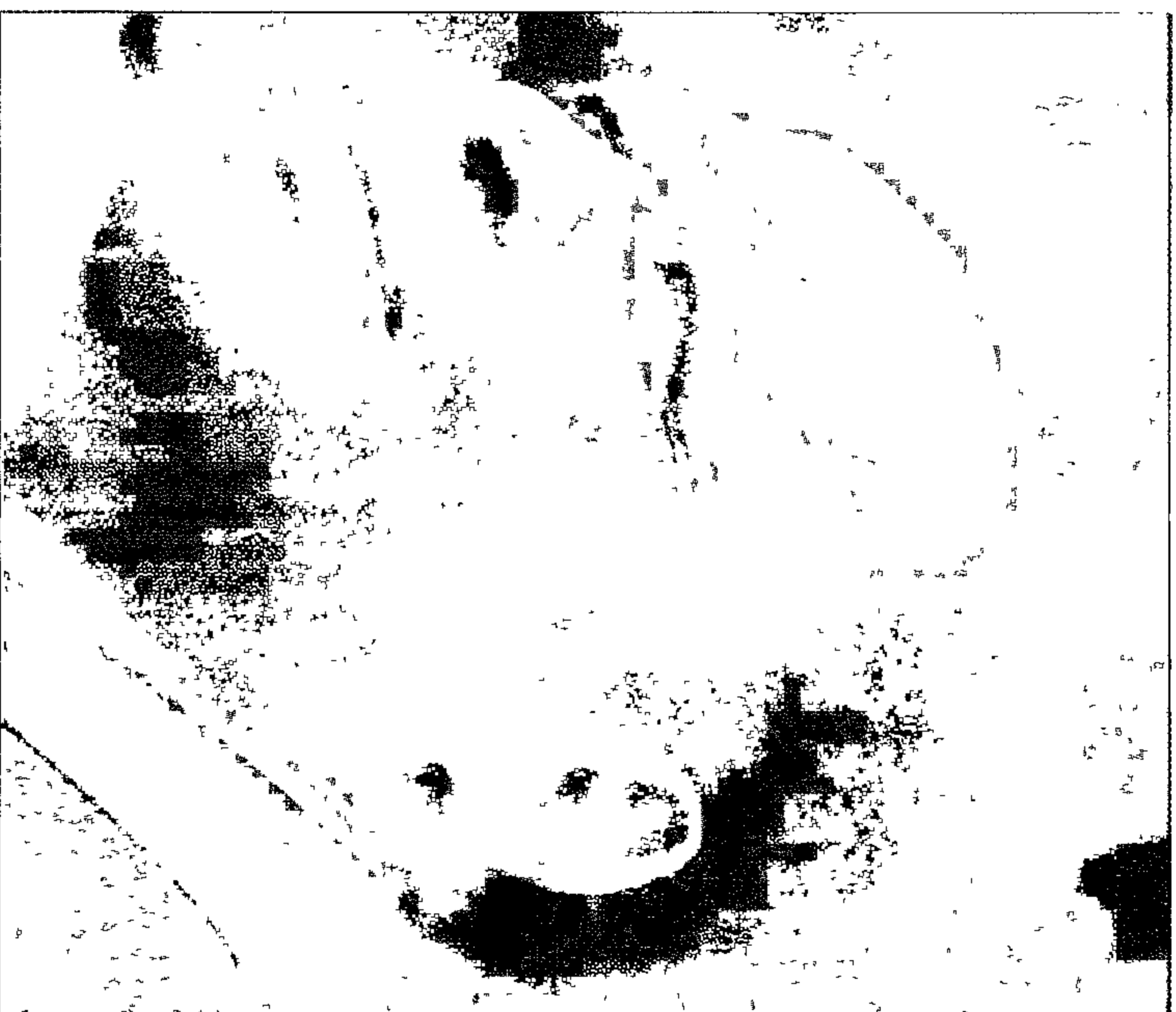
"Because if we spend less than the minimum required, we may find that we have no houses, no schools, no hospitals, because we could not defend our country against the warlords, thieves, pirates and predators."

The world remained unpredictable, said Mr Kasrils.

"We ignore possible future aggression at our peril."

South Africa could not ask its young men and women to defend the country with inferior weapons. They had to be properly supported and equipped for the 21st century.

Now Mr Modise is looking to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki for help. He asked Mr Mbeki to persuade Vice-President



Lookin' for bakkin': Minister of Defence Joe Modise wants money for armaments

Mr Yengeni said the review, commissioned by the Government as a framework for future policy-making, written by the defence ministry and revised by his committee, would change the balance between the arms of the defence force.

The defence review also suggested maritime reconnaissance aircraft and helicopters, including four long-range patrol aircraft.

South Africa has not had a maritime reconnaissance option available to it for several years while the navy has been seeking new ships to replace its ageing fleet.

Mr Yengeni said the defence review would propose a honed-down permanent-core defence force with a better balance between navy, air force and army than under apartheid rule.

"The principle we are following is that it will be a relatively smaller, tighter regular force than we had in the past and a part-time force that will support the regular force," he said.

But he added that a consequence of the balance would be that the navy, which now comprises two full-sized supply ships, a trio of 30-year-old French conventional submarines and a flotilla of inshore patrol boats, would have to be re-equipped.

"We have effectively agreed on having both a surface and an underwater capability - that means ships, that means submarines. It stands to reason it must have this basic equipment," he said.

Mr Yengeni said that although there was anxiety over the continued use of the commando system in the army it had been agreed that it could be maintained provided it was not politically linked and was monitored.

For more on Defence Alternatives

The dramatic events in the region confirmed that the SANDF had an important rôle to play

"If required, we are ready to participate in peace support missions. But this requires a defence force adequate to the rôle," said Mr Modise. "Our police support and regional rôles will be adversely affected. Important projects, like the Roorivalk, may fall through."

He added "The navy patrols our coastline to deter poaching and smuggling."

Mr Modise's view is backed by a recent survey done by Jakkie Ciljers' Institute for Security Studies and by the Human Sciences Research Council, saying that a high percentage (75 per cent) of South Africans want the country to maintain a strong defence force, while less than one fifth (17 per cent) disagreed.

Now the defence ministry, bolstered no doubt, by this, has been trying to talk Mr Manuel into increasing the defence budget.

So far, they have been spectacularly unsuccessful.

Mr Manuel is determined to keep government spending to a minimum and to trim the budget deficit as part of the Government's macro-economic plan aimed at luring foreign investment and boosting growth.

Mr Manuel is tough on implementing the Government's economic blueprint, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (Gear), which calls for fiscal discipline, and harsh belt-tightening mea-

change his mind and make some extra money available to buy new equipment for the military.

Mr Modise has told Mr Mbeki the defence force budget allocated by Mr Manuel made no provision for South Africa to buy the four corvettes and several submarines for its rundown navy before the end of this year.

But he said money for this could still be made available if Parliament and the cabinet approved a comprehensive review of defence needs completed recently.

Mr Modise said the cabinet would be asked to adopt this defence review, which asked for approval next month to buy the corvettes and submarines.

The sections of the defence review dealing with force design and equipment would then be presented to the cabinet on June 4 after which it would be debated in Parliament the next day.

If approved, the acquisition of corvettes and submarines would start immediately. Mr Modise is confident approval for the corvettes and submarines will be forthcoming.

The deals now being discussed are too good to pass up, he says. "It's tantamount to us getting some of this equipment for nothing."

"A number of countries are coming with attractive packages that are going to result in us getting back the exact amount we are paying on the equipment in the form of investments in South Africa."

Germany, France and Russia are press-

ing with its "guns or butter" document, opposed the continuation of territorial or area-bound part-time forces.

"We believe the past divisions between the different armies now integrated into the SANDF and ethnic and racial divisions," they argued.

Coalition spokesman Douglas Torr of the Ceasfire Campaign objected to the introduction of voluntary school, naval and community cadet detachments as proposed by the defence review. "We believe cadets should not be introduced into schools or as spare-time activities. Volunteers into the armed forces should be recruited when they are at a mature age when they reasonably can make decisions on whether or not they wish to be part of the defence force," he said.

Mr Mandela recently gave his personal backing to the defence review and the revival of a navy to guard the Cape sea route between the Indian and Atlantic oceans. He said "I expect that the defence review will herald the renaissance of the South African navy, the maritime shield of the nation and the guardian of our seas."

The defence trio of Mr Modise, Mr Kasrils and Mr Yengeni see Mr Mandela's comment as a green light to resume an acquisition programme he halted more than a year previously because he said public opinion was against the purchase of new ships.

ing for inclusion in a new round of tenders.

The navy has narrowed its hunt for four corvettes, like European light frigates, to R1,6-billion offers by Britain's Yarrow Shipbuilders and Spain's Bazan shipyard.

Britain are leading the pack because it has linked the corvette tender to an offer of four unused Upholder class submarines, mothballed in a Scottish harbour, for about R2-billion.

The Government would not necessarily follow the tender route, since some countries had made attractive offers involving package deals providing for investment in South Africa to the same amount spent on the new equipment, he said.

Mr Modise said the investments would be aimed at job creation and many of the foreign companies involved were interested in investing in South Africa's defence industries.

"Naturally we would like them to buy an equity. Secondly, we would like them to bring in technology. Thirdly, we would like to share their markets with them."

"There's no point in bringing technology into our industries when we cannot sell the equipment we are going to produce."

He said contracts would include a penalty clause to ensure the foreign investment performed.

"Over the duration of the period that we're paying, we'll be monitoring the industries in which they've invested. If the industry does not perform, then there is a penalty they will have to pay."

The powerful joint parliamentary standing committee on defence, chaired by Tony Yengeni, has approved the defence review's recommendation of a full-time force of 38 000 and a part-time component of 98 000 - a total of 136 000.

This is basically the same personnel numbers which made up the integrated SANDF when it was established three years ago.

Known as Option 2 (of five options which were put forward), the recommendation was said by Mr Yengeni to be suitable for improvement "to cater for the needs of the country."

This means the army will cost the country R3,2 billion, the air force R1,9-billion, the medical services R53-million, and the navy R731-million.

As part of this proposal, the navy will be getting four submarines, four corvettes and several other ships.

'The deals now being discussed are too good to pass up. It's tantamount to us getting some of this equipment for nothing.'

Turning nuclear swords into ploughshares

Nov 28/5/97 (2511)

ANDREAS VLACHAKIS

Maintaining the Atomic Energy Corporation and its capacity involves formidable challenges

Mojalefa Murphy is happiest when explaining the physics of the atom to those of us whose interest in such things extend only as far as a very simplistic account of how "the bomb" is made

At the end of his delivery, it is his passion for the subject, not the baffling computations, that make the greatest impression

Pelindaba - an eerily silent village of nuclear plants and office blocks near the Hartbeespoort Dam - is now home to this Evaton-born scientist, who occupies a key position at the Atomic Energy Corporation (AEC) as its executive general manager of corporate external relations

Not so long ago, it was also the impenetrable apartheidarrison behind which enriched uranium was being produced for South Africa's nuclear weapons programme - a history which still leaves a bitter aftertaste

We weave our way past the research reactor towards the office which houses Murphy's "baby"

Codenamed Afro Gamma-trag, it's a radiation-based cancer treatment machine which has been produced by a team of scientists at Murphy's initiative

The first prototypes have proved particularly effective in the management of cancer of the cervix and the oesophagus. These forms of the disease have reached epidemic proportions in the African community

"I want (Minister of Health Mosisana) Zuma to buy into the initiative," he says, pointing out that the fact that the Afro Gamma-trag can be locally made will save the country from having to import similar systems for millions of rands in the future

Afro Gamma-trag is not the only equipment for radiation therapy being produced by the AEC. The corporation is also using its stockpiles of ura-



ABOUT YOU

By Helen Grange

to make medical isotopes - substances which emit a low level of radiation and when swallowed by a patient can be seen by doctors using special scanning equipment

But the AEC is also gearing up to make significant inroads into the fields of agriculture, mining, food processing and industry in Africa, and it's in this respect that Murphy is playing a pivotal role

In his capacity as chairman of the African Regional Agreement, he must manage the transfer of nuclear technology for use in social economic upliftment programmes in South Africa and other African states

"South Africa needs to be at the cutting edge of nuclear technology growth because we cannot compete with the rest of the world without it," he says

At times, Murphy gets quite agitated. There are forces working against him which frustrate his desire to get the show on the road

"Skill attrition" is one of them. "When I started here in 1992, I saw excellent scientists leaving



Handwritten signatures and scribbles at the bottom of the page.

Hoping for an explosive future, Mojalefa Murphy has visions of the ways in which nuclear technology can be implemented for peaceful purposes. But much will depend on the level of funding the Government makes available, he says.

US and Australia " He blames the politicians, who he says have been unable to formulate clear post-apartheid policies for the AEC, much less provide enough funding to stem the brain drain and exploit the potential

A year after being arrested as a schoolboy in 1976, the penniless 19-year-old Murphy left home, crossing the Caledon River one night into Lesotho. He completed his matric at Maseru High School, and afterwards started a BSc degree at the University of Lesotho, winning a bursary after two years to study physics at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada

University in Alberta In 1985 he returned to teach physics and mathematics at a school in Bulawayo, a year later heading south to lecture physics at the former University of Bophuthatswana

While working in medical physics at Wits University's Hillbrow hospital in 1989, he was arrested and did a spell in detention - which effectively forced him back into exile. He ended up working at London's Charing Cross Hospital and obtained his MSc in medical physics from the University of Surrey in 1991

While working in medical technology he has proposed The course, which would be available at the University of the North West, is aimed at redressing the skill attrition by training young African scientists and engineers in this particular field

"We might need to sacrifice millions to maintain the AEC and the capacity to develop and deploy new generations of nuclear technologies for peaceful application in the future. It's a long-term vision," he says

As we walk past the abandoned husk of a decommissioned processing unit, Murphy remarks "This is what is tragic about the diminishing interest in the AEC. Millions must have been poured into this plant, but now it is going to waste."

Payouts cost army millions

Star 29/6/99

(254)

By **NORMAN CHANDLER**
Defence Correspondent

The army has paid out millions of rands in retrenchment packages to about 9 000 uniformed and civilian personnel as part of the rationalisation process of the South African National Defence Force

While no figures are available for the military component, 1 200 civilians have received R33-million

"The cost of the military packages is much higher," Brigadier Johan Brink, director of personnel utilisation, and Brigadier Roelie Roelofse, director of personnel maintenance, told a media briefing in Pretoria yesterday.

Rationalisation forms part of the integration process embarked on in May 1994 when the former SA Defence Force was integrated with non-statutory forces such as Umkhonto weSizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army

The officers said it

was expected that, from a high of 134 000 personnel, the total SANDF strength would be reduced to about 70 000 by May 1999.

So far there had been requests for voluntary severance packages from 10 476 army personnel and 2 050 army civilians, of which 6 719 uniformed and 1 200 civilian staff had been approved for severance packages.

A further 1 861 military and civilian personnel had made representations to be given packages after their original requests were refused.

Packages are made up of a week's salary per year of service, six-month payments of housing and motor car subsidies, a pro rata bonus, and leave credits. These are all taxable

In the case of pensions, tax is not deducted but will be from next year in terms of new taxation legislation

Retrenchments are carried out according to guidelines laid down by

the public service administration.

It is expected that the army will have a better idea of its redesign by the end of next year, although a concept of what it will look like in the future is expected to be available by November.

"One can only talk about rationalisation once the transformation process has been completed and the design accepted," Brink said.

Roelofse admitted that some of those taking the package had to wait for their payouts, but said this was not necessarily the army's fault.

It was working in conjunction with the Department of Finance, and as far as the army was concerned, the average time for a payout of benefits, pro rata 13th cheque and other payments was about 14 days.

The Finance Department, however, had said it would meet pension payments, within 60 days, but this often stretched to 90 days.

Crack Squad 'encouraged to run amok'

The balaclava-clad squad that swept through Pollsmoor is also being investigated for actions at Helderstrom jail, reports Tangezi Amupadhi

MEMBERS of the prison crack squad accused of attacking and robbing 200 convicts in Cape Town's Pollsmoor prison last week are already being investigated for assaults during a similar raid three months ago.

Though the Department of Correctional Services sought this week to dismiss the latest incident as a one-off, it has emerged that police are investigating 25 members of the same balaclava-clad task force for their actions during a swoop on the Helderstrom prison in Calcedon in February.

No internal disciplinary action has been taken against those involved in the Helderstrom raid. But police have investigated and their report is due to be handed within weeks to the Western Cape Attorney General, Frank Kahn.

The Correctional Services Department has launched an investigation into the Pollsmoor incident. Ironically, Abraham Pieterse, one of the two senior officials leading the inquiry, heads Helderstrom and ordered the February raid.

The task team — drawn from prisons across the Western Cape — is trained to contain riots and identify weapons and explosives. Each prison has its own trained squad, but outside members were used at Pollsmoor amid fears that the prison's own warders were involved in the prisoners' roguery.

The 156-member Pollsmoor task team was the largest force deployed so far. More than half the prison's 7 000 inmates are kept in the maximum security section.

A police representative said this



Walking wounded: Some of the inmates of Pollsmoor prison after clashes with a prison task force

PHOTOGRAPH CAPE ARGUS/AFRICA

week that preliminary inquiries suggested that 400 Pollsmoor prisoners plan to lodge complaints against the squad.

Eight Pollsmoor convicts were hospitalised after Saturday morning's raid in which the task force searched the prison for weapons.

Prisoners have claimed to officials of the Human Rights Commission that task force members whipped them with pistols, damaged their property and took their money. They said members chanted anti-government slogans during the raid. No weapons were recovered.

Provincial correctional services representative Eddie Johnson described the incident as "an unfortunate situation where members have overstepped their brief and it will be unfair to blame the authorities".

But the commission said the crack squads are being encouraged to run amok because no measures have been taken against them.

"We've encountered problems with this task force before," says commission legal officer Ron Paschke. "We are quite disturbed that task force members, who were in the Helderstrom incident, may have been used

(253) MTC 30/5-5/6/97
Human Rights Commission
to probe prison conditions

THE Human Rights Commission plans to hold public hearings into conditions in South African prisons and will decide next week when the hearings are to begin. A commission representative, John Mojapelo, said this week that hundreds of complaints have been received from prisoners.

The commission has selected more than 40 prisons in all nine provinces for a study to illustrate the state of prisons and their inmates. The research will also be used to prepare recommendations to the government for improving conditions.

Prisoners have made numerous allegations of maltreatment by warders and of unlawful imprisonment. In January the commission received 79 assault complaints from various prisons, and found that 77 came from Boksburg. Assaults make up the majority of complaints.

The commission has hired law students to examine and classify the complaints to prepare for the in-depth investigation and public hearings. The hearings will seek input from organisations involved with prisoners.

Commissioner Jody Kollapen said

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in the second operation." A Department of Correctional Services representative, Barry Eksteen, said at Pretoria headquarters that none of the task team members accused of Helderstrom could be suspended because "the law must take its course. You cannot suspend anybody who has not been found guilty, not just on allegations.

"If the person is found guilty in a court of law the department will seriously consider his fitness to be employed."

Other Western Cape provincial

only widespread problems would be discussed at public hearings.

Meanwhile, the commission will submit proposals to the Department of Correctional Services for what it regards as urgent matters which cannot wait for the public hearings. These range from the treatment of convicts to the provision of running water where buckets are used communally.

Kollapen said the department should devise new training methods because warders were being trained to act in a brutal way. "We cannot tolerate the kind of brutality that we have experienced at Pollsmoor," he said.

The commission was scathing in its criticism of the department about the lack of internal disciplinary action against warders accused of beating prisoners. The commission last year brought to the fore an alleged attack on inmates at Leukop prison in Johannesburg and recommended that the guards involved be suspended pending the outcome; but the case was only referred to the police.

A department representative, Barry Eksteen, said that the police have cleared the warders of any wrongdoing.

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prisoners was orchestrated to undermine new correctional services management, including John Jansen, who took over as head of the maximum security section only two months ago.

According to Paschke, the task team members refused to identify themselves when Jansen confronted them after the raid, and then told him that he was ungrateful for their work. He said that Jansen had been trying to improve the treatment of Pollsmoor's convicts.

Jansen was unavailable for comment this week.

Voluntary packages for SANDEF staffers

(254) Sowetan 2/6/97
DEFENCE Minister Joe Modise has approved 6 884 voluntary severance packages in the defence department, a spokesman said yesterday.

Major Natalia Pansengrouw said 6 109 staff members were from the army, 412 in its medical services, 146 in the intelligence division, 107 in the navy, 93 in the air force, and 17 in the chaplain-general's section. A further 2 408 applications were waiting for approval.

The voluntary severance packages leaves the SANDEF with 99 818 members.

The post-apartheid national defence force which, like many other civil service departments, has been undergoing a

transformation which has been described as necessary to reflect South Africa's demographics by the ANC-led Government. However, those opting for the packages seem to be mostly, if not mainly, members of the former SADF who are seen as resisting the new order and transformation taking place.

Modise, on the other hand, has also promoted black soldiers to top-ranking positions which were previously in the hands of white officers. A point in case is that of former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda who is now a Lieutenant-General and Chief of Staff of the army. — Sapa and Sowetan Reporter

APARTHEID'S BATTLE FOR PEOPLE'S MINDS

Secrets of propaganda war



PROJECT GUANO was meant to improve the image of the security forces among all population groups. **ROGER FRIEDMAN** reports.

THE heart of the apartheid regime's propaganda machine — the Strategic Communications Branch (Stratcom) — is revealed in a top-secret A-Z document compiled by a State Security Council study group in 1984.

Had this information been published back then, it might have saved lives; more people died violently between 1984 and 1994 than in any other apartheid decade.

The then-government's total strategy to combat democratic forces was based on a ratio of 20% war 80% hearts and minds

It emerges from the "Report on covert Strategic Communications projects by a study group of the State Security Council" that the military was not only driving the war, but leading the propaganda onslaught too.

The document provides a fascinating insight into the pervasive nature of the apartheid propagan-

da machine, confirming the existence of scores of projects conducted from foreign shores or aimed at foreign governments, and underlining the important role of the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Some of the projects border on the ludicrous, such as Project Epic, which aimed to counter — nationally and internationally, through the work of the front organisation Total Family Planning — the "revolutionary political theology of the Roman Catholic Church"

Others projects display the paranoia of the apartheid state, such as Project Serato, which aimed to discredit, both at home and abroad, "revolutionary personalities" like Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak

And yet others — viewed from the safety of the late 1990s — were spectacular in their failure

One such was Project Guano, which was meant to improve the image of the security forces among

ET 21/6/97

"all population groups".

According to the document, the State Security Council approved the recommendations of the Hugo Report in 1980, including one that the defence force take responsibility for all hard propaganda.

The approval was communicated in directive 9/80

The council defined the goals of hard propaganda as. "Ensuring the resoluteness and fighting spirit of the population, breaking the will of the enemy so that he acts in accordance with set objectives, winning the active support of neutral elements, and halting the negative influence being applied against South Africa"

In this context, the military ran information, motivational and psychological covert projects

The defence force also maintained separate information, motivation, support and psychological warfare departments

This comprised 56 members in 1984, and worked "in close co-operation" with the SA security police to conduct "clandestine operations"

The drafters of the document recommended a five-year expansion of the military's propaganda capacity — with the support of all government departments at a

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projected cost of R53 million — to bring Stratcom into line with Directive 9/80

They further recommended, under the heading "Approval and Authorisation Procedure", that the prime minister chair a special Stratcom committee comprising, among others, the director-general of the National Intelligence Service, the ministers of foreign affairs, law and order, and defence, as well as the head of the defence force and the national commissioner of police

A second committee — chaired by the secretary of the State Security Council and comprising the operational heads of the police, military and intelligence services — was also envisaged

The drafters of the document were the military's General C L Viljoen, Lieutenant-General P W van der Westhuizen and Major-General J F Huyser, the National Intelligence Service's Dr L D Barnard and Mr A A Knoetze, Mr J van Dalsen and Mr J Lotter of the Department of Foreign Affairs; policemen General P J Coetzee and Brigadier H A Stadler, and State Security Council secretariat members Lieutenant-General A J van Deventer (chairman), Mr A P Stemmet and Colonel A A Kotze

NEWS

MODISE TO MAKE A CASE FOR MORE FUNDS

Defence force plan 'lean and mean'

THE DEFENCE Minister and his deputy were in deep discussion yesterday over drastic plans to generate income for a cash-strapped defence force, reports **CHRIS BATEMAN**.

By Chris Bateman

"LEAN and mean" military strategy, which includes creative plans to generate income with the remains of South Africa's once-formidable war machine, is expected to be presented to the cabinet this morning by Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise.

The cabinet will have to make far-reaching decisions about the Special Defence Review proposals to buy four corvettes, three submarines and several fighter-trainer jets — and about how to maintain existing hardware without reducing the country's defence capabilities.

Modise and his deputy, Mr Ronne Kasrils, who spent yesterday in deep preparation and instructed officials not to disturb him (Kasrils) unless there was a

"national emergency", will make a strong case for more funds to meet these basic requirements.

Defence Ministry sources yesterday said the proposed strategy could include "playing hardball" with other ministries by "contracting out", for example to the South African Police Services when called upon, thus generating much-needed revenue.

Other cash-generating contracts could be with neighbouring countries to defend their fishing waters (dependent on spending several billion on the new corvettes), deciding which of the vast defence force tracts of land to sell off, and auditing building space.

One example would be SANDF buildings in Simon's Town where

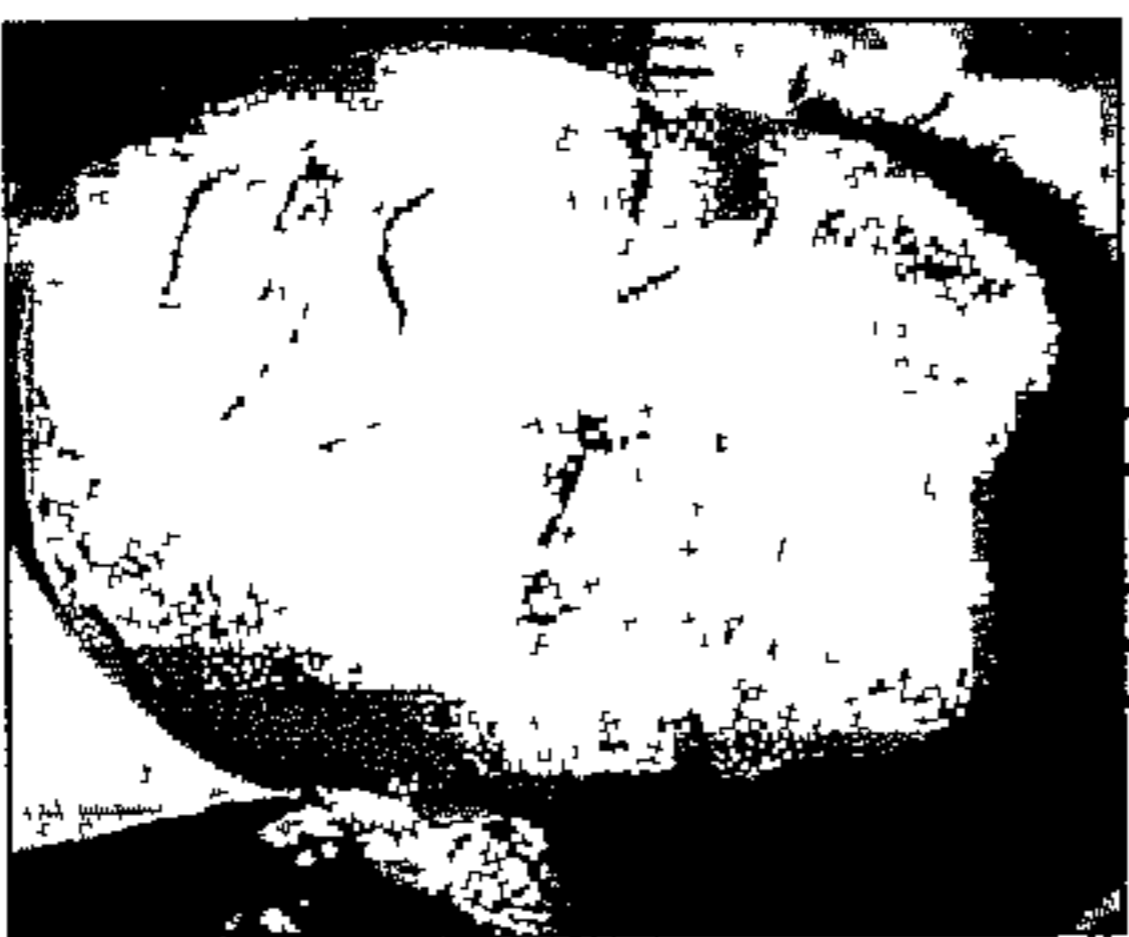
some with magnificent sea views are used for storing equipment.

The proposed plans would be dependent on water-tight contracts so that any cash generated would be ploughed back into the SANDF and not snatched by Finance Minister Mr Trevor Manuel's department for wider use, which is what happened in the SABC asset-selling fiasco.

Modise told Parliament during his budget speech that the SANDF's spares inventory had already been reduced to such "dangerously low levels" that unless phased replacement of ageing equipment began soon, requirements would peak simultaneously in eight years.

This would be prohibitively expensive.

If current equipment in use, such as that on navy ships, became defective, a ship would have to remain harbour-bound until the item was bought, "which could be months".



CT 4/16/97

CREATIVE PLANS: Joe Modise

The Defence Review recommends an army rapid deployment force consisting of a mechanised infantry brigade, a parachute brigade and a special forces brigade on "immediate readiness".

This would be backed by a part-time mobile division of three brigades at "various levels of pre-

paredness, supplemented by the former commandos".

Hardware would comprise 150 tanks, 380 armoured cars, 85 G5 and G6 artillery pieces and 25 multiple rocket launchers.

The air force would comprise about 16 light and 32 medium jet fighters, six long-range maritime patrol aircraft, 100 helicopters and 44 air transporters — with 12 Rooivalk attack helicopters.

Navy strength would comprise four submarines, four corvettes, six strike craft, eight mine hunters and about 40 inshore patrol vessels with a combat support ship.

The review looks at downsizing regular full time staff from 100 000 to 70 000, about 20 000 of whom would be civilians on call.

Modise has told Parliament that his defence programme has become "distorted" by allocating 48% of all resources to staff, 37% to operating costs and 15% to "main equipment" renewal.

Parliament acts to keep soldiers off the streets

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MtG b-12/6/97

The Ministry of Defence has been asked to stop cutting jobs, reports **Rehana Rossouw**

PARLIAMENT has asked the Ministry of Defence to freeze its job-cutting until plans are in place to prevent thousands of unemployed troops being forced on to the streets and into crime

The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has already warned that close to 6 000 personnel could go this year, following hefty cuts in defence spending

The axe will fall on troops on short-term contracts — those employed for less than four years — which means none is entitled to the cushion of retrenchment packages

Already, hundreds of young men trained in the use of arms during the struggle against apartheid — especially members of former self-defence units — are said to have swelled the ranks of South Africa's crime syndicates

The chair of Parliament's portfolio committee on defence, Tony Yengeni, said this week the committee wants a strategy to ease the hardship of unemployment, and to calm fears that those axed will gravitate to

crime when their paypackets stop
"We have asked the Department of Defence to stop interfering with people on two-year short-term contracts until a clear and agreed policy of rationalisation is in place," Yengeni said

"Unless we have clear guidelines, we are all going to suffer the consequences of abruptly severing them from the SANDF"

Yengeni said the committee is also concerned that the burden of the staff cuts would fall primarily on people on short-term contracts, many of whom are members of non-statutory armed forces — Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla)

The defence budget was slashed by a further R700-million in February — an unplanned cut which took the total cut in the 1996/97 allocation to R1,47-billion. This has forced the Defence Ministry to review personnel numbers and planned military hardware acquisitions.

Figures provided by the SANDF this week show that of the 27 198



Tony Yengeni: Wants to calm fears that axed soldiers will gravitate to crime

soldiers on two-year contracts, 11 745 are members or former members of MK and Apla.

A defence representative said those on such contracts had less than seven years' experience in their former armed forces and were younger than 27

The maximum term of service in this system is six years. But most soldiers are put on medium-term contracts after the short-term contracts expire, in which they serve between five and 10 years in the SANDF

Yengeni said the staff cuts have to start soon, and the defence committee is hoping to work out severance guidelines within the next month

SA drawn into the world of Atlantic-rim politics



BY GREG MILLS
Star Foreign
Service

Recently, the US Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, staged "The South Atlantic Symposium", bringing together Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States and Uruguay to debate issues affecting security in the South Atlantic region.

The event was co-sponsored by the US Southern Command (Southcom), the 50 000-strong military command responsible for protecting and promoting US interests in Latin America.

However, US motives in staging the seminar were clearly not entirely altruistic. Latin America's amalgam of 450 million people living in 33 diverse states are an important market and partner for the US. Washington estimates its trade with the Americas will overtake that with Japan and Europe by 2010.

Southcom's mandate includes protecting the Panama Canal and seeking increased co-operation among these states - to broaden regional security against drug traffic, improve controls over immigration, and deepen military-to-military contacts and multinational training.

Southcom, due to move its headquarters from Panama to Miami this year, has to carefully negotiate a minefield of political and security relations in which the US is often cast as the scapegoat.

In the security realm, the issue of drug production and smuggling remains central to US military strategy in the region which is the source of all the cocaine, most of the marijuana and a growing share of the heroin entering the US.

Although the efficacy of US anti-drug strategies (as opposed to domestic demand-reduction efforts) is a matter of fierce debate, importantly the economic power of drug traffickers does provide a threat to

(254) (254) 254
the nascent democracies of Latin America. In Colombia, for example, the annual proceeds from trafficking in cocaine is estimated to be about \$8-billion (about R35,86-billion), more than total legal exports in 1992. But there is still a need to build a regional consensus on the drug issue.

At another level, 60% of more than 1 million legal immigrants annually to the US come from the Americas, mainly Mexico. The region also accounts for more than half the estimated 2 to 4 million illegal arrivals. As with unchecked southern African immigration into South Africa, controls can only begin in the source countries.

Yet, although these security issues are important, the symposium highlighted where the US and South Africa clearly now share the greatest interests with Latin America: through a common understanding and appreciation of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, market economics and of stability and peace as a prerequisite for growth and development.

Latin America's democratic and economic transition has paralleled that in southern Africa. In 1990, eight of today's 12 members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) were in a state of civil war and could not be considered as democracies.

Today, all but one state (Swaziland) has more-or-less successfully negotiated a transition. In Latin America, as late as 1987 there were 25 Marxist insurgencies, supported by the Soviet Union, Cuba or Nicaragua. Today only Cuba has not completed a transition from authoritarianism to democracy.

It is clear South Africa will have to attempt to improve its relations with Latin America at all levels. After all, by the end of this century, the region will have a \$2-trillion (nearly R9-trillion) economy. But the symposium largely steered away from recommending overarching security structures to deal with common interests and difficulties.

Co-operation should rather proceed clustered around functional issues in the maritime domain, these include the management of marine resources, the movement of ship-

ping, ship-building and repair, space and arms technology, as well as joint training and manoeuvres.

Indeed, one suggestion for future naval co-operation involves joint procurement of a patrol vessel which might eventually serve as a replacement for South Africa's ageing strike-craft early in 2000. To facilitate this co-operation, the establishment of a security committee as an extension of the already existing Zone of Peace and Co-operation in the South Atlantic (ZPCSA) was suggested, as was the creation of a common maritime security forum.

The requirement to strengthen existing trade and investment links was seen as pivotal for the process of South Atlantic co-operation.

Symposium participants pointed out regions world-wide, considered as the most integrated economically, were the least likely to be embroiled in disputes and conflict.

Where there are areas of regional tension, little inter-state mercantile contact existed. The cases of Israel and its Arab neighbours, India and Pakistan, Ecuador and Peru, and North and South Korea all sustain this argument. The success of Latin America's Mercosur (Southern Cone Market) illustrates perfectly the stabilising role of integration and economic growth.

During the Cold War, the dictum, "If you want peace, prepare for war", was the mantra accepted by militaries globally. But contemporary needs have shifted, along with rapid global and regional integration. Now the truism, "If you want peace, be prepared to co-operate", applies. In the South Atlantic, co-operative (rather than collective) security endeavours could enhance and support democratic efforts in South Atlantic Rim nations through the promotion of appropriate roles for armed forces and by providing security against common threats and vulnerabilities.

■ Dr Greg Mills is the national director of the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). He attended the seminar at the US Naval War College and presented a paper on "A Maritime-Naval Vision for South Africa in the 21st Century".

Cadres march to Parliament

BD 12/6/97 (254)

CAPE TOWN — About 200 members of the former ANC armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) marched to Parliament yesterday to voice their dissatisfaction at the integration of former guerrillas into the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) and the SA Police Services (SAPS).

In a memorandum addressed to Defence Minister Joe Modise, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Finance Minister Trevor Manuel, they demanded that the SANDF be restructured, the integration process be readdressed, and meaningful incorporation of former MK members into the new dispensation be instituted.

They also demanded to be recog-

nised as the only liberation army which stood behind South Africans during apartheid. The memorandum was handed over to the defence department's Sue Rabkin who assured the group she would forward it to Modise.

Former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Fumenekile Boo said that the MK members who joined the SANDF and SAPS were being commanded by racists and the army was still commanded by the old regime.

Other demands included the recognition of certificates from eastern bloc military training courses, reconsideration of the age qualification for special pensions, the return of combatants' bodies who had fallen during the

course of the liberation struggle, and reports from standing committees stating what they had done concerning integration in various security structures.

They were also marching to correct the "false facts" about MKs such as that they were perpetrators of crime and that they were disillusioned with their own government — Sapa.

SANDEF wasting millions by not fully using language programme

BS 12/6/97

(254)

David McKay

THE SA National Defence Force (SANDEF) is being criticised for not fully using a language training programme and wasting millions of rands of taxpayers' money in the process.

Specialist language teacher Gail Cameron said yesterday the SANDEF had omitted a vital "soft skills" portion from a new computer-based training system it had bought to teach English to its second- and third-language speakers.

The SANDEF had bought the Plato integrated learning system, supplied by Advanced Technical Systems — the Johannesburg Stock Exchange's best performer last year.

Cameron, who heads language acquisition company Voice Excellence, said that like the SANDEF, many companies had installed computer-based training systems that ignored "oral skills impact" — the auditory and spoken impact of acquiring the language. This approach amounted to using "quick-fix solutions" and was doomed to failure.

If companies used the US version of "oral skills impact" in their



CAMERON

training, they would find it completely unsuitable to southern African language learning.

"The value of this training is questionable in the long term and will result in millions of rands' loss to the taxpayer," she said.

Cameron said students could not learn a second language ade-

quately from a non-verbal and non-auditory computer-based training strategy. Such a strategy would result in huge financial losses and demotivated employees.

However, it had to be emphasised that computer-based training which combined the "soft" skills was a highly effective medium to teach second and third languages, Cameron said. This had been empirically proven during the 1960s in the work of Noam Chomsky.

Current research on second language acquisition among Japanese, Hispanic and Cuban immigrants to the US by leaders in the field has shown this beyond any doubt, Cameron said.

Voice Excellence, a company which numbers politicians Roelf Meyer and Bantu Holomisa among its clients, has a subsidiary company, Business Language Excellence. This company offers oral communication skills solutions to companies wanting to improve the English ability of their second-language speakers.

threaten 50 000 jobs

Star 17/6/97

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Arms industry in crisis in wake of R700-m budget slash

By NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

The multi-billion rand armaments industry is on the brink of collapse as major contracts – among them the Rooivalk-attack helicopter project – face being shelved in the wake of a R700-million cut to the defence budget.

Ironically, the bad news for the industry coincides with a decision of the Cabinet yesterday to give the navy the go-ahead for its corvette and submarine programme. The decision provides for a navy which includes four corvettes, four submarines, two inshore patrol boats, 39 harbour patrol boats, six strike craft, four mine hunters, four mine sweepers and one combat support ship – but no funds are available.

The decision will not rescue threatened foreign contracts worth about R2-billion which are on the line, as well as an estimated future market totalling about R5,4-billion.

Up to 50 000 of the 70 000 employees in the arms industry could lose their jobs, according to the South African Aerospace, Maritime and Defence Association (AMD).

Already, two of the largest defence contractors, Kentron and Denel Aviation, have given 1 000 staffers notice and some companies will close permanently.

"The industry is losing money every day and cannot continue in this manner. The companies are, therefore, cancelling contracts, closing down research and development, and retrenching staff," Andre Buys, Armscor senior general manager of planning told The Star yesterday.

Most seriously affected are the aircraft, guided weapons, military electronics and ship maintenance industries.

Only a last-minute turn-

about by the Government can save the contracts and, by implication, the industry from virtual closure.

The departments of Defence and of State Expenditure have been locked in negotiations for four weeks in an effort to end the impasse, which came about on the eve of the Defence vote in Parliament when it was disclosed by Defence Minister Joe Modise that R700-million had been shaved off the already-truncated budget of R9,5-billion.

Modise has appealed without success to President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki for reinstatement of the funding.

Buys said the R700-million defence budget cut affected the South African Air Force's Rooivalk and air-to-air missile programmes as well as ship maintenance programmes, surface vessel combat suite projects, army logistic support programmes, and a host of smaller projects, all of which have been scaled back.

Cancellation of a contract to supply the Rooivalk to the SAAF means the loss of 570 skilled jobs at Denel Aviation but the impact on the aircraft and associated military electronics industries has wider implications.

A total of 41 companies and 75 service companies, employing hundreds of people, are involved in building the helicopters.

Closing the production line means a saving of about R483-million (at 1994 rand values, when the platforms were ordered) against a research and development effort costing well over R1-billion and production costs incurred since then.

Malaysia has ordered eight of the helicopters while the European manufacturer, Eurocopter, has committed itself to supporting marketing of it.

Defence cuts

Naval dockyard paralysed

Arson threat to cripple Simon's Town

LINE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Simon's Town naval dockyard is paralysed by prolonged industrial action led by a "handful of slothful and destructive individuals" who are manipulating the system and have allegedly threatened to burn down the base, Parliament has been told.

Defence Minister Joe Modise has agreed to an independent investigation. Mark Wiley, a National Party delegate from the Western Cape to the National

Council of Provinces, described the industrial action yesterday as "disgraceful".

During a defence debate, Mr Wiley said: "This once-proud institution is paralysed by a handful of the most slothful and destructive individuals who manipulate the system to the detriment of all and the benefit of no one."

Where battleships used to be repaired in record time, productivity was down to 12 percent and work attendance was at 60 percent. The dockyard cost taxpayers R60-million a year to run, most of which went on salaries. But productivity was so

low and unreliable that expensive sub-contractors had to be brought in to do some jobs, in one case at the alleged cost of R220 000, Mr Wiley said.

"Navy vessels going in to the yard don't seem like they are ever going to come out." One submarine had been in the shed for three years and completion of its refit was now at least 12 months past deadline.

Mr Wiley said the ringleaders were all stalwarts of the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union. They had adopted intimidation tactics. "They recently threatened to burn the

place down if they did not get their way. The intimidation has been so bad in the past that victims have resigned from stress after their houses were threatened and their beds urinated on."

Mr Wiley said navy morale was being seriously affected by the state of affairs. "Would you go to sea in a 25-year-old submarine that has just been worked on by a rebellious and destructive workforce?"

Various reports over the years had identified problems in the management of the dockyard. The civilian component was run by the Public Service Commission while

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the navy was run according to the military disciplinary code. "The two are not compatible and red tape foul-ups are the order of the day, causing endless delays."

Mr Wiley said pay, pension, leave and discipline problems had ensued, resulting in the navy being responsible for more personnel complaints than any other arm of service in recent years.

Mr Modise said the situation at Simon's Town yard was complex and was being looked into. He said Mr Wiley was incorrect in saying the problem was solely the fault of the workers.

SANDF TO GET NEW EQUIPMENT

Cabinet approves corvette proposal

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POLICY PROPOSALS in the Defence Review provide for a navy that includes four corvettes, four submarines and a number of smaller vessels.

THE South African Navy finally received the green light for its corvette and submarine programme yesterday when the cabinet approved the policy proposals in the Defence Review

This means that the SA National Defence Force can go ahead with procedures to acquire new "main equipment" as soon as funds become available

The cabinet approved the policy proposals on defence posture, functions, force design, human resources and part-time forces

The review provides for a navy that includes four corvettes, four submarines, two inshore patrol

boats, 39 harbour patrol boats, six strike craft, four mine hunters, four mine sweepers and one combat support ship

Air force provision includes 16 light and 32 medium fighters, six medium range maritime patrol aircraft, 10 short-range maritime patrol aircraft, 12 combat support helicopters, and a number of maritime helicopters, transport helicopters and aircraft, as well as unmanned aircraft

Review policy provides for the army to include a mechanised infantry brigade, a parachute brigade, and a special forces brigade These conventional,

mobile forces are supplemented by border and area protection forces

Equipment includes 154 main battle tanks, 388 armoured cars and various anti-armour missile systems, artillery systems, and anti-aircraft systems

Personnel requirements include 22 000 full-time and 69 400 part-time members

The review says force design will be the object of implementation planning for the next decade or beyond But it will be reviewed from time to time

The result is that the exact details of the type and quantities of main equipment will inevitably deviate from what is initially envisioned Such deviations will be subject to parliamentary oversight and the stipulations of the acquisition process — Sapa

Cutbacks could spell end of arms industry

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ET 19/6/97

OWN CORRESPONDENT

PRETORIA The multi-billion rand armaments industry is on the brink of collapse as major contracts — including the Rooivalk attack helicopter project — face being shelved in the wake of a R700 million defence budget cut

Foreign contracts worth about R2 billion are on the line, as well as an estimated future market of about R5,4bn.

As many as 50 000 of the 70 000 people employed in the armaments industry could lose their jobs, according to the South African Aerospace, Maritime and Defence Association (AMD). Already, two of the largest defence contractors, Kentron and Denel Aviation, have given 1 000 staffers notice and some companies will close permanently.

"The industry is losing money every day and cannot continue in this manner. The companies are, therefore, cancelling contracts, closing down research and development, and retrenching staff," Mr Andre Buys, Armscor senior general manager of planning said yesterday.

Independent military analysts last night forecast doom for the industry. The Institute for Security's chief executive director, Mr Jakkie Cilliers, blamed the debacle on the military establishment's insistence on maintaining a conventional force after apartheid.

"The local arms industry, too, could have pre-empted the hole it now sees in front of it by preparing itself for commercial production and not placing heavy reliance on armaments exports," he added.

Cilliers said predictions that the government's strategic planning decision would lead to the collapse of the local industry were not far off the mark.

The cancellation of armaments contracts would cost the country dearly. Losses of billions of rand in cancellation fees, research and development, infrastructure, and production and industrial co-operation agreements are being predicted. South Africa's international defence reputation will also be dented.

Most seriously affected are the aircraft, guided weapons, military electronics and ship (naval) maintenance industries.

Only a last-minute turnabout by the government can save the contracts and, by implication, the industry from virtual closure.

The Department of Defence and the State Expenditure Department have been locked in negotiations for four weeks in an effort to end the impasse.

It came about on the eve of the defence vote in Parliament, when it was disclosed by Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise that R700m had been shaved off the already-truncated budget of R9,5bn.

Modise has appealed without success to President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki for reinstatement of the funding.

The bad news for the industry coincides with a decision of the cabinet yesterday to give the navy the go-ahead for its corvette and submarine programme.

The cabinet approved the Defence Review which provides for a navy which includes four corvettes, four submarines, two inshore patrol boats, 39 harbour patrol boats, six strike craft, four mine hunters, four mine sweepers and one combat support ship.

Buys said the R700m defence budget cut affected the South African Air Force's Rooivalk and air-to-air missile programmes as well as ship maintenance programmes, surface vessel combat suite projects, army logistic support programmes, and a host of smaller projects, all of which have been scaled back.

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But the impact on the aircraft and associated military electronics industries has wider implications.

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Closing the production line means a saving of about R483m (at 1994 rand values, when the platforms were ordered) against a research and development effort costing well over R1bn, and production costs incurred since then.

Malaysia has ordered eight of the helicopters, while the European manufacturer, Eurocopter, has committed itself to supporting its foreign marketing.

"The early termination might realise a net saving of R483m on the defence budget but it must be viewed against fruitless expenditure, extreme cancellation claims, and an opportunity lost for the country, the aerospace industry and the SANDF," Buys said.

All guided weapons contracts are to be terminated and no new development contracts placed, resulting in an income drop for this industry from R250m to about R65m.

The 30 companies and university research departments involved will all be severely affected, said Buys.

The argument for nuclear power

ANDREW KENNY

THE public has been misled for so long on nuclear power that I cannot, in this short article, give more than an inkling why it is actually the cleanest, safest large-scale source of electricity yet discovered.

I am a passionate environmentalist. I became a vegetarian 30 years ago, partly for environmental reasons and partly as a gesture of sympathy to abused animals. I have worked for both a coal and a nuclear power station. In my youth, swayed by the mass media, I was anti-nuclear power but, after years of reading and experience, the facts wore me down and, in the end, I was forced to admit that nuclear power is not only more benevolent than coal but also than hydro-electric power, wind power or solar power.

The reasons lie entirely with nature and not with humans. Nuclear engineers are no cleverer than those working with coal or solar power. It just happens that nuclear force is by far the strongest force in nature and thus means you can extract a huge amount of electricity from a tiny amount of water, so keeping disruption of the environment to a minimum and so making safety easy to manage.

This explains the extraordinarily good safety record of nuclear power in the West. Its worst accident was in the US at Three Mile Island in 1979: the machinery failed, the human operators made blunder after blunder and the outcome was that nobody was killed and nobody was injured. I know of no other large industry in history whose worst disaster killed nobody and injured

nobody. Even solar power has a worse safety record. In 1989 a solar power station in California exploded, putting workers in hospital and sending cancerous gases into the atmosphere.

The Chernobyl accident in Russia was caused fundamentally by very bad reactor design. It is physically impossible for reactors like Koeberg's to have an accident as at Chernobyl. It is also physically impossible for reactors like Koeberg's to explode like an atomic bomb.

But the greatest advantage of nuclear power is in the question of waste. Waste is produced by coal, nuclear, hydroelectric, wind, solar and every other power source, in its mining, manufacture and operation, but in nuclear, thanks again to nature, waste is easy to manage safely. The fuel for a nuclear station consists of a small amount of uranium that stays in the reactor until it is exhausted. It is then easily removed, stored underwater for about 10 years, by which time 90% of its radioactivity is spent and can be taken to any number of sites for safe disposal. It is impossible to do the same for coal waste because of the vast amounts of coal necessary to produce the same energy.

Coal wastes are simply poured into the air we breathe or dumped on to the land in huge tips. They are massively larger in volume than nuclear wastes, more dangerous

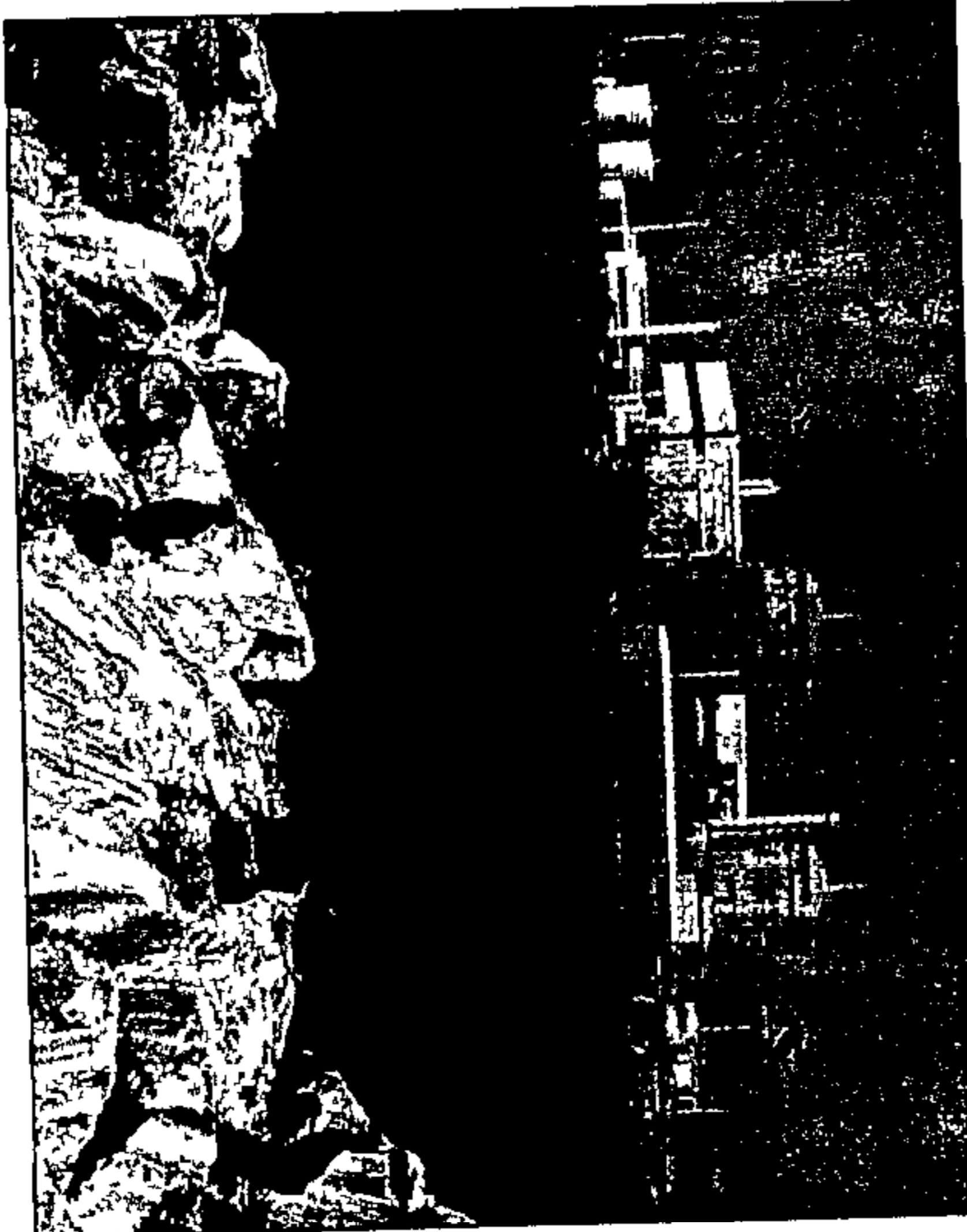
and much longer lasting. They include carcinogenic heavy-metal toxins like arsenic and cadmium, which remain dangerous forever—infinitely longer than any radioactive wastes.

Coal stations emit sulphur and nitrogen gases, which cause acid rain and lung disease and millions of tons of carbon dioxide, a gas that contributes to the greenhouse effect. It is trivial, but true, that coal stations emit more radiation than nuclear stations (the radiation is insignificant in both cases). Coal waste includes radium which is more radioactive than plutonium and uranium, which has a half-life 180 000 times longer than plutonium. (The longer the half-life, the less radioactive the element is.)

What are most important in this great debate on energy are truth, consistency and openness. Each power source has its part to play. Solar and wind power are wonderful sources of energy for small, remote locations but are not suitable for large-scale supply. I believe Baskant was quite right to exploit coal to develop the national electricity grid but it should be open with the public, as it is not, about the dangers of coal power. It should be equally open, as it is not, about blunders at Koeberg.

If, for example, the drums containing low-level radioactive waste from Koeberg

I was anti-nuclear power but, after years of reading and experience, the facts wore me down and in the end I was forced to admit that nuclear power is more benevolent than other sources.



ENERGY SOURCE OR ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARD: Andrew Kenny argues that nuclear power stations, such as Koeberg (above), provide a cheap and safe source of energy and have no chance of exploding like an atom bomb or leaking radioactivity as did Chernobyl.

were found to be leaking (of no danger to the public), they should announce this immediately. In an open and honest debate, nuclear power would be seen clearly as the best option. I read sadly of the demolition of Salt River power station. I visited this coal station

once or twice and was very taken with its well-kept machines, polished and loved. It was a great tribute to the men who built and ran it. But for the sake of children and our children's children I hope that other coal stations will follow it into oblivion and that nuclear power will light our future.

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Cabinet move on defence 'too late' for arms industry

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT
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ARG 19/6/97

Pretoria - The Cabinet has approved the first 10 chapters of the Defence Review, but it may be too late for the multi-billion rand armaments industry.

The industry is on the brink of collapse as major contracts, among them the Rooivalk attack helicopter project, face being shelved in the wake of a cut of R700-million in the defence budget.

Foreign contracts worth about R2-billion are on the line as well as an estimated future market totalling about R5,4-billion.

But Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils disclosed yesterday that the Cabinet had "fortunately" adopted the Defence Review, which I see as a shot in the arm for the defence industry.

He added: "Budget cuts certainly sent out an ominous signal but the approval of the review also sends a major signal to the industry."

He was confident the Rooivalk programme "could be saved".

But industry sources said today that even though the Cabinet had taken a decision on the Defence Review, "business is based on rands and cents - not wishes".

As many as 50 000 of the 70 000 people employed in the armaments industry could lose their jobs, says the South African Aerospace, Maritime and Defence Association.

Already two of the largest defence contractors, Kentron and Denelcor, have given notice to staff members and some companies will close.

Ironically, news of retrenchments broke as the Cabinet approved the Defence Review, which makes provision for new equipment, including corvettes and submarines, for the navy.

Scrapping of Rooivalk and missile projects 'may cost 50 000 jobs'

Stephané Bothma

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PRETORIA — SA's two largest defence projects, the Rooivalk attack helicopter and the air force's guided missile systems, would be scrapped and other projects sealed down dramatically, armaments industry sources said yesterday. Up to 50 000 of 70 000 jobs provided by the industry were at risk, they said.

The decision results from the defence budget having been slashed by R700m in February, bringing to R1,4bn the budget cut for 1997/98. Armscor senior planning manager

Andre Buys said cancellation of the projects, which would see the closure of numerous arms contractors, would achieve a net saving to government of R483m over five years. However, more than R1bn spent on research and development of the helicopter would have to be seen as "fruitless" expenditure. A further R264m would also be lost in cancellation claims by contractors.

Provisional notification had been issued to industry that the Rooivalk project and the air-to-air missile programmes would be cancelled and several companies had informed

employees that they should prepare for retrenchment this month.

Aerospace, Maritime and Defence Association executive director Gen Julius Kriel said "about 50 000" skilled employees would lose their jobs.

Buys said the budget cut would have a dire effect on the aircraft, guided weapons, military electronics and ship maintenance industries.

He said cancelling the Rooivalk project could cost the armaments industry billions of rands in orders. The first casualty would be an order from the Malaysian government, which recent-

ly announced a decision to buy at least eight Rooivalk helicopters from Denel

Sources said discussions between the departments of defence and public expenditure on the R700m budget cut had not yielded results, and it was unlikely that the cut would be reversed.

The Rooivalk contract provided jobs for 570 skilled workers. Companies involved in the programme include Gabriel, Overberg Test Range and Somechem in the Western Cape; Reutech Defence Industries in KwaZulu-Natal, and 37 Gauteng-based companies including Grinaker, Kentron,

PMP, Xcel, Lyttalton Engineering Works and 75 service providers to the armaments industry.

Buys said provisional indications were that "almost all" contracts for guided weapons would be awarded and no new contracts would be awarded. "This will result in income for the SA guided weapons industry dropping from about R250m in the previous financial year to about R65m this year. He said guided weapons production contracts worth R2,057bn being finalised with overseas customers would also have to be cancelled.

Defence blueprint 'reliant on funding'

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — Cabinet approval of the Defence Review has been widely welcomed within the defence industry, but sources warned yesterday that without funding it would not provide an economic injection for the beleaguered arms industry.

The review, a blueprint for the leaner but better-equipped SA National Defence Force of the future, provides for the purchase of new ships for the navy, including corvettes and submarines, aircraft and helicopters for the air force and a mechanised army brigade.

Industry sources said even if funding was forthcoming, a large percentage of this equipment was likely to be bought from abroad rather than manufactured locally.

Defence Minister Joe Modise said the review's acceptance would "lift the cloud hovering over the defence industry. But implementation of the policy was dependent on funds being approved."

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said this week that while the cabinet decision was "a significant vote of confidence for defence which sends the right signals to the SANDF and the industry", without the necessary funds being made available by government the defence force would not be able to "safeguard our sovereignty" or stay in business.

Since 1989, defence funding has been cut by 60%, and this

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year's R1,4bn reduction "runs the risk of disrupting the defence function and is creating tremendous problems for its management", according to Kasrils.

He said a great concern was the loss of skills and technology "which will be extremely difficult and costly to ever regain. For every R1m cut in our budget, two engineers and four support staff are lost in the area of research and development. "On the manufacturing side, the figure is even higher."

Cancelling SA's largest defence project, the Rooivalk attack helicopter, would affect 40 contractors, place many jobs at risk and jeopardise the arms export trade, "an important foreign exchange earner", said Kasrils.

SA Aerospace, Maritime and Defence Association executive director Gen Julius Kriel said that recently about 3 000 highly skilled scientists and engineers had quit the industry. No new arms manufacturing contracts had been awarded since the R1,4bn cut to the defence budget in March.

About 50 000 jobs could be lost with the shelving of the Rooivalk project and the scaling down of others, according to the association which represents 53 first and second-level defence contractors.

Institute for Security Studies executive director Jakkie Cilliers said it was "not far off the mark" to predict that the decision to cancel the Rooivalk and guided missile projects would lead to collapse of the local arms industry.

Industrial policy affects defence spending

WITH major aspects of the defence review safety through the cabinet and on the way to parliamentary ratification in August, all eyes are on long-term capital investment for the military.

Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin and Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's roles in

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roles in

But as the top brass perks up at the prospect of new equipment, there are signs that the defence ministry is no longer driving the acquisition process alone. Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin and Finance Minister Trevor Manuel are in the co-pilot's seat.

Manuel's role is growing as he moves defence — and other departments — towards multiyear budgeting. Setting the parameters for defence spending over several years in advance, he is gaining effective control over the pacing of capital investment.

Signs of defence industry nerves at this development came yesterday with the publication of a doomsday scenario in response to February's second cut to the 1997/98 budget. The cuts, the industry said in an attempt to sway political sentiment back to bigger budgets, would threaten thousands of jobs.

For Erwin, transforming defence's capital investment programme from a purely military matter into one affecting broad inward investment and industrial strategies was apparently pre-empted by inventive British defence industry marketing teams.

By raising the possibility of a large multiyear package, Whitehall's arms salesmen raised the profile of the purchase significantly. With a proposal for a multiyear commitment to buy ships, jets, and tanks, it was probably unavoidable that the issue of long-term crossover benefits between military and civilian investments, many intangible, would surface.

Erwin's interest in defence spending is both concrete and atmospheric. With Defence Minister Joe Modise's wish to shore up the arms industry through joint ventures and countertrade, a tussle could be in the making.

Tangibly, industrial participation policy now requires that at least 30% of any government purchase of more than \$10m return to SA in the form of countertrade or investment. Defence has its 50% participation rules, and Erwin will look for as large a civilian component as possible.

More importantly perhaps, Erwin is concerned about the intangibles, the long-term effects of defence purchasing decisions on existing and future foreign fixed investment in SA. An order for ships, planes and tanks from one country could adversely affect investments from other countries in

fields as important as the motor, chemical, or electronics and information technology industries.

Major defence purchases — estimates assume spending of about R10bn in 10 to 15 years — will thus be checked for knock-on effects on SA's long-range industrial strategy. Erwin can be expected to try to keep SA's eggs in as many baskets as possible.

A concrete example is the jet aircraft in two countries' packages the British are offering Hawk trainers — said by experts to be halfway through their technological life spans — coupled with modern Saab Gripen fighters, marketed by British Aerospace.

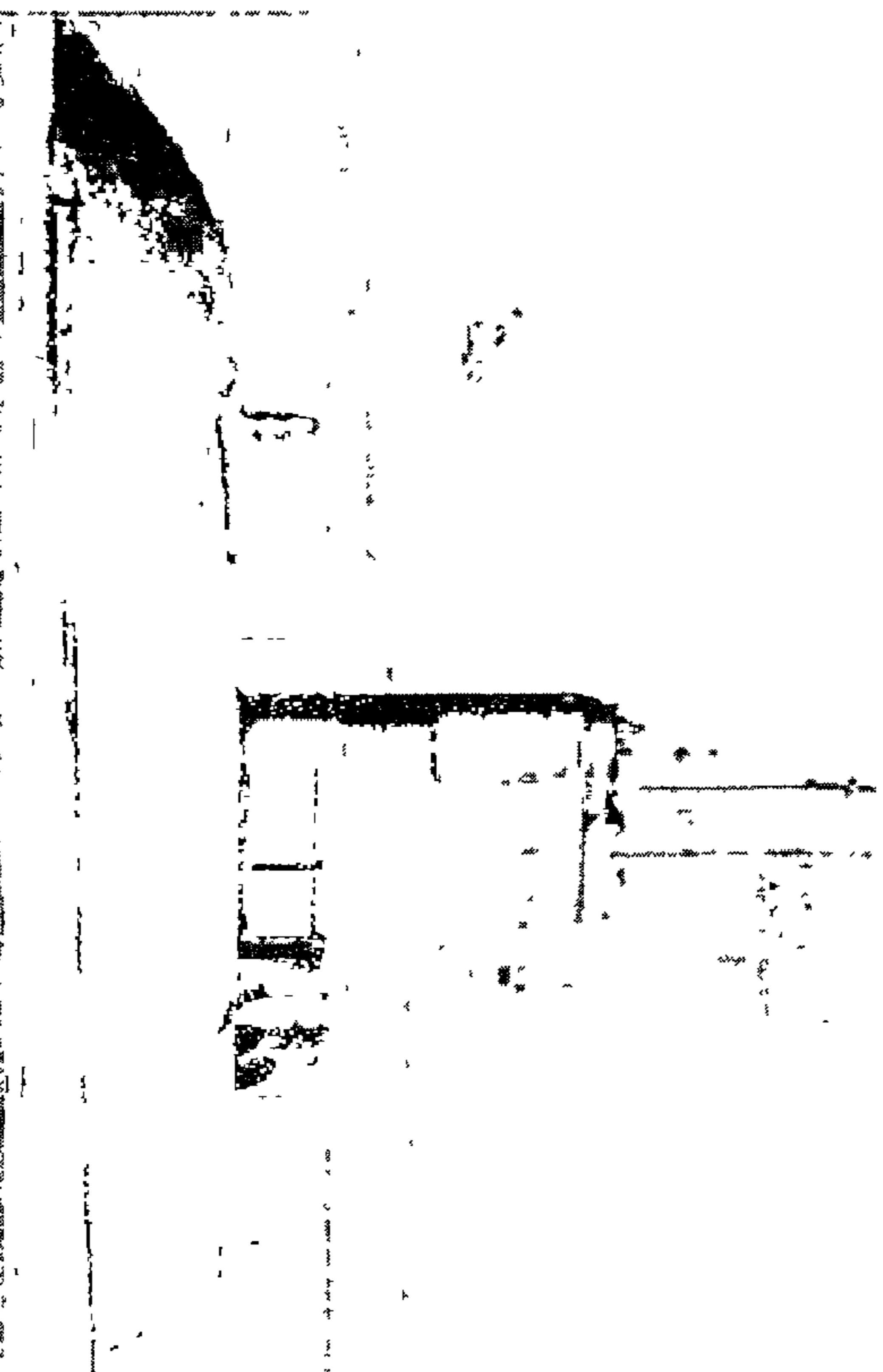
The Germans are likely to offer Daimler Benz Aerospace's AT 2000 advanced trainer, still on the drawing board. Their offer could include a proposal to assemble the aircraft in SA for sale worldwide.

As attractive as the British package might be to Modise, Erwin's problem is that Saab has no manufacturing capacity in SA, unlike Daimler Benz which provides 4 078 direct jobs besides those of suppliers in SA. While he will want to keep sweet the British companies with investments or joint ventures in SA, Erwin has at least as large an interest in keeping German manufacturers with longstanding major investments in SA happy and in the country.

Hence the minister's request to German arms manufacturers to assemble a similar package to the British offer, capable of being broken down into modules. The request earlier this month appears in effect to be an attempt to return to the *status quo ante*, when military hardware acquisitions processes were handled separately.

The truth is that nobody on the SA side outside the defence ministry seems to like the packages, because they limit SA's negotiating and spending flexibility. The British seem to have picked up on this, saying that there are no packages on the table, just "concepts at this stage".

Erwin's meeting with German companies keen to sell corvettes and other equipment followed a French package offer, itself a response to the British bid. Besides the corvettes, it is said to include fighters, the Eurocopter of the size the air force wants to replace its ageing Alouettes, and newer sub-



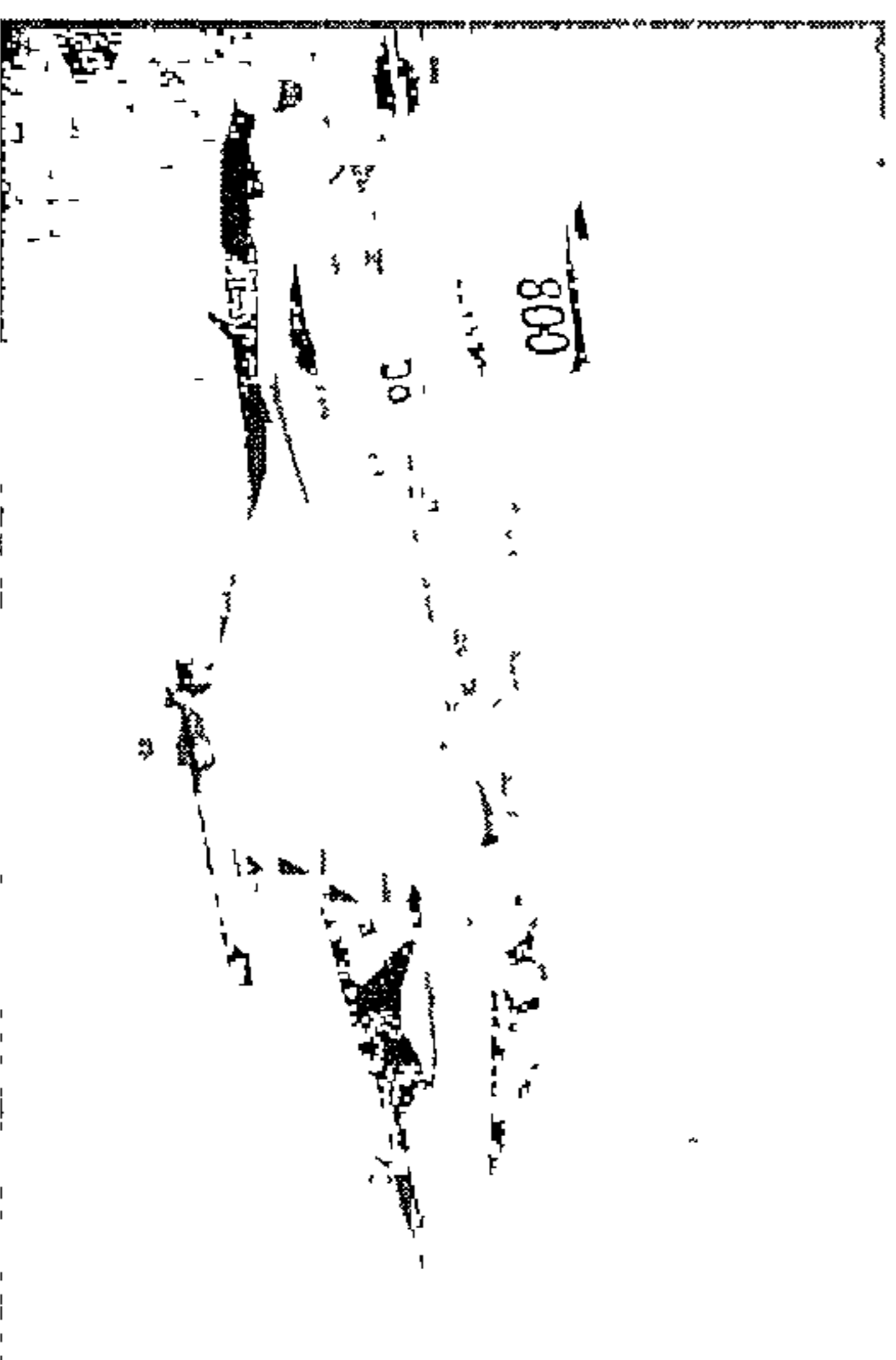
marines of the Daphne class in service with the SA Navy.

The shift from pure modular defence procurement happened almost by accident. Having lost the first round of the guns or butter debate, Modise and his advisers realised they had to win the propaganda war first, and launched the defence review, involving parliament and civil society in a reassessment of SA's strategic situation and long-term defence requirements.

They won, at least inside the newly broadened defence establishment. Conventional wisdom now has it that the navy needs new ships and should be first in line for major capital investment.

Almost unnoticed, and unaccompanied by many protesting voices, Modise and his admirals then seized the turning tide, adding submarines to their regular equipment plans. They are now generally accepted as just as necessary as the corvettes, especially if thought as part of a package.

The opportunity to talk Parliament's defence committee around to the subs came from the British



The British defence industry's proposed arms package for the SA National Defence Force would include four Upholder class submarines, above, and up to 40 Saab Gripen advanced jet fighters, below.

which initially turned them down. Mutterings that the subs were one gift horse which should be examined more closely fell on deaf ears. No matter, it seemed, that they had been turned down by several navies and that their acquisition could make a R50m extension of the dry dock and lifting facilities in Simon's Town necessary.

Sensing a positive atmosphere in SA and apparently keen to keep the momentum going and corner the local market entirely, the Whitehall salesmen put the cat among the pigeons again recently by expanding their "concept" to include aircraft and armour.

A range of ancillary arguments regarding joint marketing ventures around the world — ultimately not dissimilar to those coming from every other contender — and some apparently innovative financing proposals added spice to the mix, and the defence establishment was in the unformed version of pig heaven.

Besides commercial advantage, the British and French may be looking for strategic spin-offs from sweetheart deals with the SA National Defence Force. Ironically, this may be to the advantage of countries without strategic interests in Africa, because their packages come with fewer geopolitical strings attached.

Defence analyst Helmoed Romer Heitmann says the British proposal includes 40 Gripen fighters. Priced at about \$45m each, including spares and training, they make the corvettes and submarines look cheap.

That the British, French, and German offers can be matched by most major arms manufacturing countries is without question.

The Americans are probably out of the running because of how they played hard ball over the Arnskor technology smuggling case. The Russians have the capacity, but with the Mig works and others reportedly on the verge of bankruptcy, they are regarded as unreliable in the long term.

In the end, Erwin's trade and industry policy, and Manuel's desire to stretch defence spending over more years, is likely to militate towards a multinational solution. Manufacturers from several countries — perhaps including Spain's Bazan shipyard, which won the first aborted tender for the corvettes — may find themselves pressurised into jointly creating the jumbo package best able to satisfy SA's defence and civilian trade and investment needs.

There may even be room for a few wild cards from countries with which SA is keen to build commercial relations. India is said to have a capable naval industry.

At first glance, the bait was juicy alongside corvettes from naval yards traditionally connected to SA and the usual developmental garnishings. Upholder class submarines were offered

Built for the Royal Navy but de-commissioned soon after launch because of downsizing, they were said to be going at knock-down prices. Though not as cheaply as the grants offer to Canada,

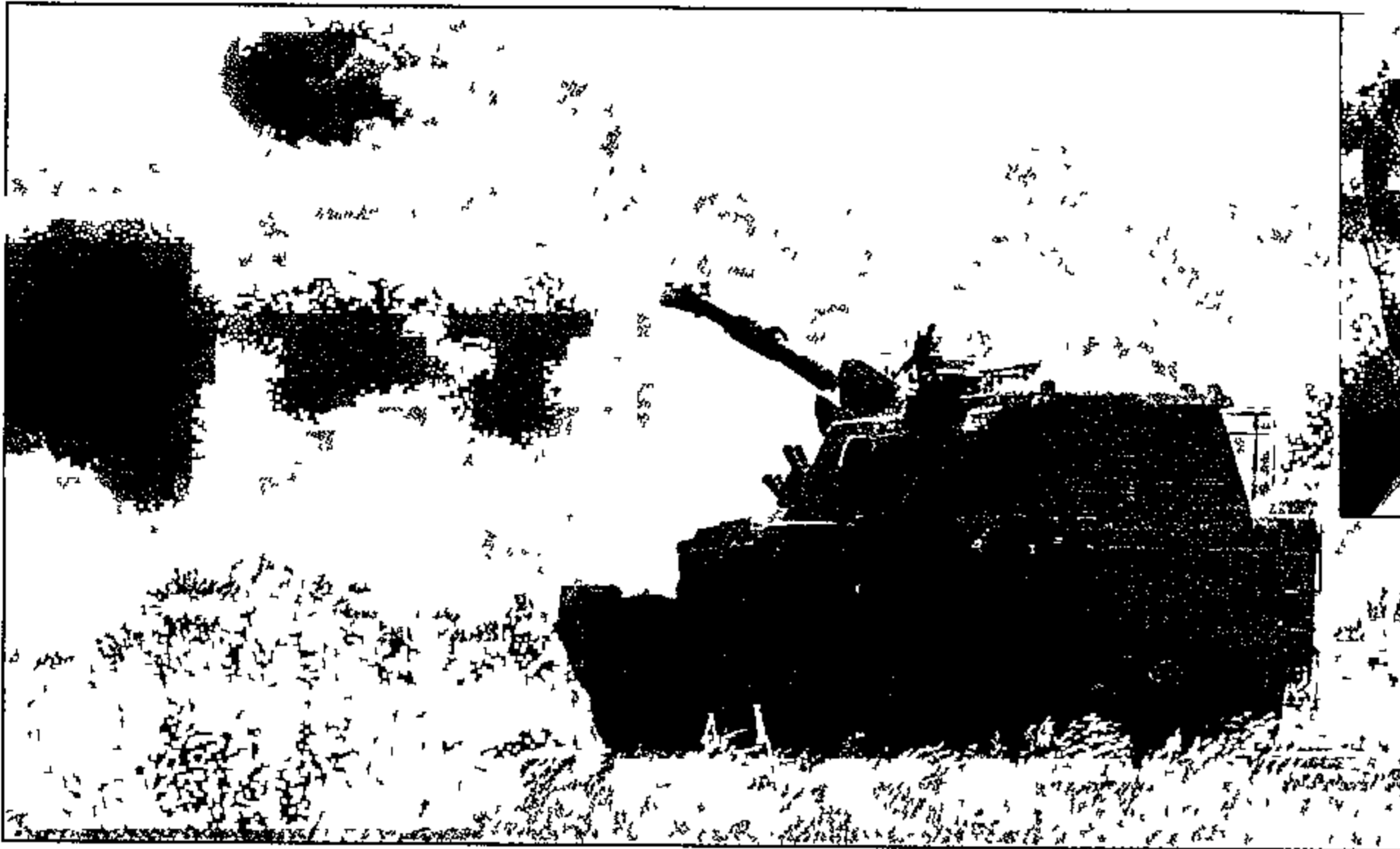
DENEL

Foreign targets square in sights

Unbundling in the offing as weapons manufacturer aims at international armaments companies

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G6 howitzer blasting its way into Far East markets Inset: Seshi Chonco



Among these is an agreement between Rolls-Royce and Denel Aviation to manufacture and supply auxiliary gearboxes for the Roll-Royce RB 211-535 commercial aircraft engine. Now Rolls-Royce wants to expand the agreement, says Chonco, to cover other areas of co-operation.

GEC Marconi and Denel subsidiary Kentron are co-operating in the production of missile systems, while German company Dibes chose Denel Informatics as its partner in the development of out-sourcing products and services for the local market.

"The benefit of these international alliances and joint ventures is that they help promote our products in the international marketplace and gives us access to skills, technology and markets which we would otherwise not have."

In this industry more than most, political leverage can swing a deal. The Malaysian Air Force has announced its commitment in principle to

acquire eight Rooivalk attack helicopters. Negotiations with Malaysia are on track and Chonco is confident of a successful outcome. Algeria, Greece, Australia and Saudi Arabia are also interested in the Rooivalks. Several Far Eastern and African governments have also shown interest in Denel's G6 howitzer.

Ciaran Ryan

State-owned armaments producer Denel is sizing up the possibility of unbundling its 18 divisions, says the group's deputy MD Seshi Chonco, who is widely tipped to succeed Johan Alberts as MD.

Another possibility being explored is the acquisition of a strategic equity partner. This follows the sale of 30% of Telkom to the SBC/Telekom Malaysia consortium for R5,6bn earlier this year. Chonco says Denel has not been precluded from exploring the possibility of acquiring a partner, though this would require government approval. An equity partner with a powerful international presence would open new opportunities for the sale of its products.

"I see each of Denel's divisions working as autonomous units in the future, each with its own joint ventures, alliances and partnerships, and with the State reducing its stake in the company," says Chonco. "Critical requirements in this business are finance, and technology. This means we will have to look more closely at forging associations with overseas partners who can provide the necessary finance and

technology — and who can improve our global market penetration. The absence of government subsidies affects the ability to carry out research and development, and this makes it vital that we seek international partners.

"There is a strong trend towards mergers among international armaments companies and that is another possibility we should be looking at."

Denel is reckoned to be SA's largest exporter of manufactured goods, yet its share of the global arms business is less than 0,5%. The fastest way to improve this share is through closer ties with overseas arms producers. To this end a joint venture was recently concluded with Eurocopter, which will manufacture some components for the Rooivalk and market the attack helicopter outside Europe.

"The agreement with Eurocopter, which has its own assault helicopter, allows us to compete in some markets and co-operate in others," says Chonco.

Denel has concluded more than 35 alliances for development, manufacturing and product support in recent years.

Boom time ahead for arms industry as the military rusts

WHILE the renewed push to buy corvettes for the navy and Rooivalk attack helicopters outlined in the Defence Review document has grabbed the headlines, the ground has also been laid for a procurement programme that must have the arms industry licking its lips in anticipation writes RAY HARTLEY

The 32 "medium-fighters" (attack aircraft) envisaged for the new core military force will have to be replaced in 1999 and in 2012 and the army's 154 Oliphant battle tanks will only last until the year 2009 when they will have to be replaced due to obsolescence. A year earlier the army will have had to replace its ageing 53 ZT-3 anti-armour missile systems, the review notes.

In the year 2005, the 1 214 rusting Ratels will have to be replaced, a small order when compared to the 4 304 protected troop carriers that will have to be replaced in 1999. South Africa's three Daphne class submarines will have to be replaced next year while the six strike craft envisaged for the new force will have to be replaced in the year 2000.

HOW THE MILITARY WILL CHANGE

EQUIPMENT	FUTURE		NOW
	PERSONNEL	22 000 combat troops 28 000 support troops 20 000 civilians	68 000 100 000
Oliphant battle tanks	154	224	235
Eland armoured cars	146	235	176
Rooivalk armoured cars	242	176	53
Anti-armour missile systems	53	53	72
G5 towed artillery guns	45	43	43
G6 self propelled artillery guns	43	43	25
Bateleur rocket launchers	25	25	1 243
Ratels	1 214	1 243	3 227
Protected troop carriers	4 304	3 227	0
Combat support helicopters	12	0	51
Medium fighters	32	51	0
Light fighters	16	0	4
Electronic surveillance planes	4	4	0
Corvettes	4	0	3
Submarines	4	3	not stated
In-shore patrol boats	2	not stated	7
Harbour patrol boats	39	not stated	9
Strike craft	6	8	1
Anti-mine craft	8	8	1
Combat support ship	1	1	0
Maintenance patrol aircraft	1	0	0
Corvette-borne helicopters	5	0	0

FIGURES FROM DEFENCE REVIEW AND DEFENCE MINISTRY

Hawks and doves unite on military cuts

Cabinet move deflates defence industry's propaganda assault

RAY HARTLEY Political Correspondent

A CEASE-FIRE in the protracted guerrilla war within the ANC over military spending was reached this week when the cabinet adopted key chapters of the defence review document.

Complled on the instructions of the Minister of Defence, Joe Modise, the review represented the first serious compromise between the government's hawks and doves, proposing a smaller and cheaper but better-equipped defence force.

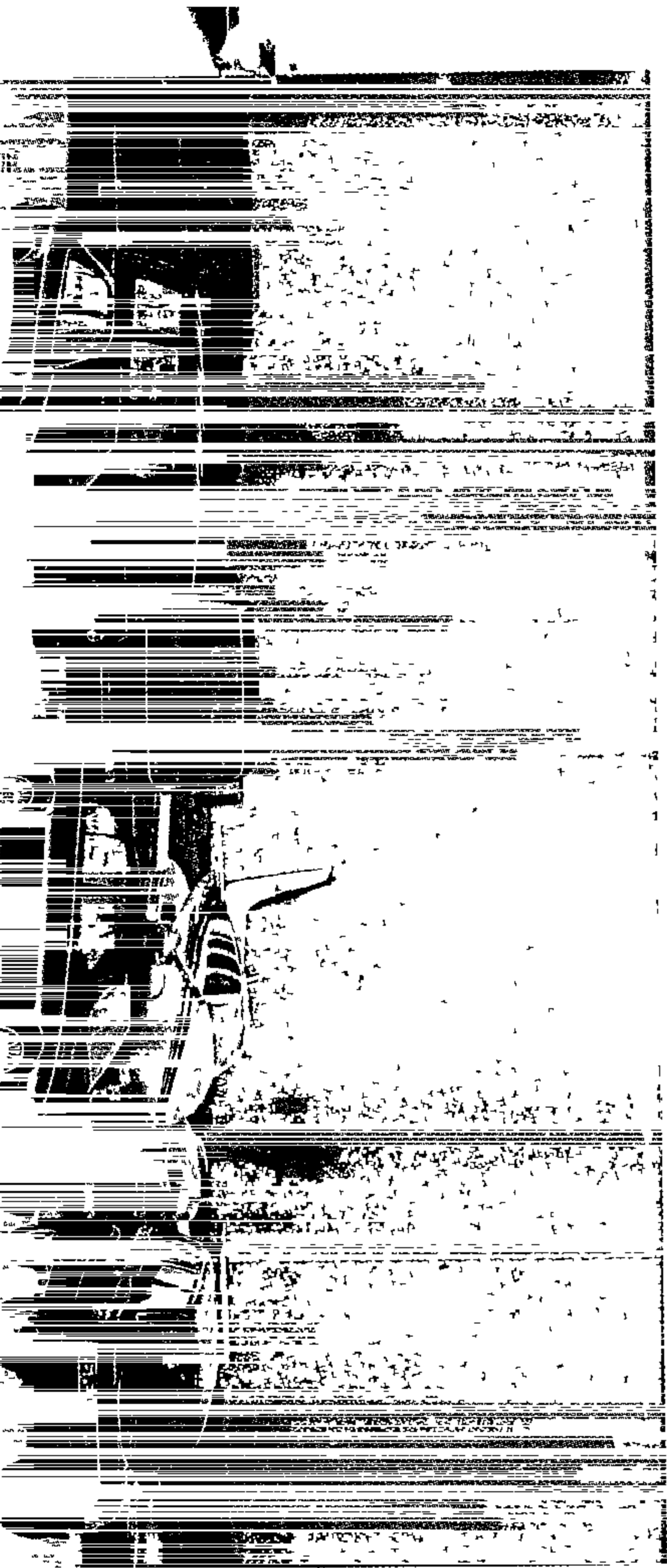
By passing the review — unanimously, according to Komane Kasrils, the deputy Min-

ister of Defence — the cabinet took the wind out of the sails of a major propaganda assault by the defence industry.

Protesting against Parliament's plans to slash R700-million from the defence budget, what were described as "industry sources" raised the spectre of thousands of job cuts and the scrapping of the Rooivalk attack helicopter project.

However, the review advocated the purchase of 12 Rooivalk helicopters as support for ground troops and put the controversial acquisition of four corvettes and four submarines firmly back on the agenda.

Said Kasrils: "The R700-million cut is nothing compared to the government's long-term investment in the military."



FORCING THE ISSUE. Defence Minister Joe Modise, who ordered the defence force review

The corvette acquisition was put on hold two years ago after ANC parliamentarians objected, saying the money should rather be spent on reconstruction and development projects.

Since then, Modise and Kasrils have been regular Parliament with apocalyptic accounts of a depleted defence force equipped with rusty, unreliable ordnance and unable to defend against foreign incursions.

The campaign appears to have won over cabinet colleagues including, it would seem, the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Jay Naidoo, an arch enemy of procurement when he headed the RDP programme.

But, hawks though the review is on new boats, troop carriers, planes and helicopters, it proposes a radical reduction in the military's personnel numbers, from 100 000 to 68 000, in an effort to cut costs.

Sounding more like a finance ministry number cruncher than a military adventurer, Kasrils told the Sunday Times the defence review would usher in a new era of long-term budgeting instead of a year-by-year approach.

"We've got to put out of our minds the budget cuts and the view that this is the end of the defence industry." The review

"It's all about how we keep alive our capacity to deal with a threat should it arise," he said.

With the stress on increased mobility, the review proposed ordinance changes for the army — cutting down on the number of tanks — but increasing the number of protected troop carriers and armoured cars.

Along with the Rooivalk helicopters to support ground troops, the document envisaged an expansion of the navy's mobility with the purchase of the four corvettes, which will be home to five new helicopters, and the four new sub-

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"We've got to put out of our minds the budget cuts and the view that this is the end of the defence industry. The review provides the industry with the certainty it needs," he said

Driving the new shape of the defence force is what Kasrils describes as "a core-force philosophy"

Reduced to its bare essence, it means that South Africa would be able to put 22 000 frontline troops into combat at any given time, using 28 000 soldiers to support them

A further 20 000 civilians pushing military paper would run the bureaucracy behind the lines, while a division of part-time soldiers would be at varying degrees of readiness to expand the size of the military

This would mean it would take three support soldiers to back up every two front-line fighters — a ratio far lower than the international norm of around six to two, said Kasrils

He pointed out the core force was not adequate for a conventional war



FORCING THE ISSUE. Defence Minister Joe Modise, who ordered the defence force review



rtnership.



Defence policy aims at balance

The industry is being encouraged to export more and look at joint ventures, writes Yacoub Abba

(254) *YAW 26/6/77* Omar

The recently concluded Defence Review provided answers about South Africa's long-term defence commitments. It was nevertheless accompanied by a chorus of warnings from the defence industry that it will have to cut back on staff. This is due to the limits on funding available for purchasing defence equipment because of the transformation being carried out in the defence force.

Whilst the review was being conducted, the defence budget was reduced by R700-million, with a further threatened reduction of R700-million. The implications of these cuts were described by Defence Minister Joe Modise as running "the risk of disrupting the defence function".

He estimated the cuts to be a reduction of "almost 60%, in real terms, since 1969". In his budget speech to the National Council of Provinces, Modise spelled out the implications of cancelling some projects "About 40 contractors would be

directly affected, a number of jobs would be at risk, as well as an export earner. And we would lose the valuable technology generated by the project."

Explaining the composition of the current defence budget, Ron Haywood, executive chairman of Armscor, said that "of the total budget only 16% is being spent on capital goods or equipment, whilst 48% is spent on personnel and 36% on operational costs.

"However, the good news is that the future planning scenario is to achieve a balance of some 40% being spent on personnel, 30% on operating costs and 30% on capital equipment."

The reason why the defence industry was up in arms last week (no pun intended) was that whilst its future looked pretty secure, it had to face the prospect of keeping production lines going in the context of budget cuts. The challenge the industry faces is to ensure the retention of key technologies and skilled labour while increasing exports

to offset the current short-term downturn. The collapse of the industry can be overturned through several strategies.

The one area in which the defence industry is being encouraged to put in more efforts is that of exports. It is also being advised to look at joint ventures and further international co-operation. Thus would offset the current doom and gloom.

Apart from actual cuts in personnel, there are three basic approaches available to defence planning to absorb the impact of budget cuts. Firstly, programmes can be cancelled and equipment withdrawn. That has been the main response of SA's defence planners. Since 1969 South Africa has seen inter-alia the dismantling of its nuclear programme and satellite project, with guided weapons now being seriously threatened.

The second approach is to stretch the procurement cycle by delaying projects. The defence ministry has been at pains to point out the level of blanket obsolescence the SA National Defence Force is and will be experiencing. The govern-

ment-to-government offers made by the British, Germans and French is an example of such a response.

The offers aim to meet several of SA's large-scale equipment requirements with attractive financial packages, thus stretching out the payment cycle.

The third approach is to reduce production quantities. A modification of this approach, referred to as the "long shadow of technology", requires the building of prototypes and just enough systems produced to be operationally tested by the military, without proceeding to full scale production.

- South Africa's national security strategy is hemmed in by a triangle of three crucial determinants
- Economic development
- Commitment to human rights, and
- Common regional security

The core of South Africa's foreign relations is, captured in President Mandela's words that "because the world is a more dangerous place, the international

This deterrence can take many forms. The most obvious is the maintenance of huge standing armed forces. Another is to go for smaller, but higher level readiness forces. A defence industrial base and defence technology is increasingly being recognised as a highly effective element of deterrence.

Thus, apart from the immediate impact of job and technology losses, South Africa runs the serious risk of being left without the punch it needs to promote its foreign policy objectives or its national security goals.

community dare not relinquish its commitment to human rights". South Africa's political leadership is cognisant of the turbulence which continues to mark the world today. As deputy President Thabo Mbeki said in his address to the Defence Review "The UN charter and our own new constitution have empowered us with the right to defend our sovereignty and the responsibility of deterring aggression."

■ Yacoub Abba Omar is corporate communications manager at Armscor.

Probe checks big payoffs in apartheid defence deals

'Huge sums' in chemical warfare plan

(254) ARG 26/6/97

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg – The Office for Serious Economic Offences is investigating defence-related contracts of the apartheid era involving millions of rands in commissions to key figures allegedly involved in a secret project and the sale of helicopters.

The projects are Operation Coast, said to be a top-secret part of the South African National Defence Force's predecessor, the SA Defence Force, to develop a chemical and biological warfare capability, and the disposal by Armscor of Puma helicopters to a Romanian company.

The office is looking into Operation

Coast because of allegations that individuals involved were personally enriched "by huge sums of money spent on this project"

It says investigations began in May last year after the Cabinet took a decision to lift a veil of secrecy surrounding the project.

Spokesman P Atkinson said that "large sums of money were spent, and a substantial portion was paid to overseas accounts for the acquisition of equipment and raw materials"

Some of the funding may have been irregularly transferred to individuals, it is claimed. Several South Africans and a Romanian diplomat were allegedly involved.

Operation Coast has also been mentioned in preliminary court hearings

involving Wouter Basson, the alleged mastermind of a SADF chemical and biological warfare programme who was arrested at his Pretoria home earlier this year on charges of manufacturing mandrax.

In the other case, Oseo is investigating the circumstances surrounding the sale of 12 second-hand SA Air Force Puma helicopters to two Romanian companies.

The commission was, said Mr Atkinson, paid to "a South African entity" in which there are two partners, each of whom received about R4,8-million.

An unnamed former economic counsellor attached to the Romanian embassy in Pretoria is alleged to have received R2,9-million in connection with the deal.

Hague must also reverse the decline in party membership to, at most, 300 000 with an average age of 64 — from 1.5m members in 1979. To achieve this, he has appointed the pensioned-off Lord Parkinson as party chairman — an organisational role he once played for Margaret Thatcher.

This move and the appointment of a number of other tired old Tory warriors to his shadow cabinet have not inspired confidence in Hague's clarity of vision.

That vision will have to be clearest on policy. Here, Hague has selected Peter Lilley, his bright, rightwing shadow chancellor, to oversee a review of party policy. Lilley has to find a new Tory answer to British voters' contradictory demand for high-quality public services and low taxes.

It will also fall to Lilley, who shares the Right's visceral dislike of the proposed European single currency, to find a form of words that can soothe the sensitivities of the centre-left which tends to support continental monetary union.

A number of Clarke supporters have already explored the possibility of co-operating with other parties if Lilley arrives at what is, for them, an untenable position on the issue.

The lesson of Blair's transformation of Labour is that clarity of vision and a string of forceful, practical initiatives can outmanoeuvre and quell most internal opposition.

Hague has the youth, energy and intellectual equipment to do the same. Observers and colleagues question only his will. As one commentator put it, the Conservative boy wonder must not think he can succeed merely by putting a few Tory noses out of joint, he will have to "break some legs".

Howard Barrell



New leader for old Thatcher "discovered" Hague as a 16-year-old Toryite

DEFENCE POLICY

Cabinet's choice still leaves question: guns or butter?

(254) PM 27/6/97
Government seems to have accepted the hawks' demands for a modern defence force. But availability of funds will be decisive

The ratification by Cabinet last week of the long-awaited Defence Review should quell the complaints of financial neglect so recently and loudly voiced by Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils.

Government, in effect, has accepted the size, shape and purpose of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) — as well as its material requirements.

Constitutionally, the SANDF must defend SA's territorial integrity. This includes an area of ocean as large as the land-mass, for this reason, a major theme of the review is naval preparedness.

The review — more than a year in preparation — posits a defence force personnel reduction to below 70 000 from the 136 000 that the hawks were said to favour (there are now about 100 000).

Appropriate hardware will replace rapidly ageing equipment and policy decrees that the force can be expanded rapidly if necessary.

The growing interdependence of nations, scarcity of resources and global competitiveness mean SA "can be affected by the ramifications of a crisis almost anywhere south of the Sahara or in the world," Kasrils told the National Council of Provinces on the eve of the review's release.

Modise was at pains to point out to the council that the ancillary roles played by the SANDF — including efforts against crime and illegal immigration — would suffer since the Finance Ministry had imposed a further R700m defence cut after agreeing to spend R9,5bn in 1997-1998.

The cut had been used by the defence industry to warn of possible job layoffs in affected industries — particularly if the Rooivalk helicopter project was aborted.

But the review approved the project. In a typical quid pro quo, the defence force has accepted a more modest role in the new SA and the Cabinet has been persuaded of the need for a well-equipped, civilian-controlled modern force.

The review sets out the SANDF's requirements, from corvettes to helicopters and maritime patrol aircraft.

Obsolescent equipment will be replaced but it's intended that most of the deals



entail sound business plans with spin-off industrial benefits. So replacement costs will vary according to the hardware involved, urgency and nature of the deals. And some packages will emerge such as corvettes plus submarines.

Warnings in the press about huge job losses in the industry appear to have been inflated by vested interests that would benefit from higher military spending. Nonetheless, the Defence Review amounts to a compromise between those who want an SANDF capable of policing sub-Saharan Africa and those who would have it cut back to firefighters and police auxiliaries.

But the defence force's position is not entirely secure. There will be no end to the scramble for scarce resources and, over time, the hard policies of the Defence Review could wither on promises, notwithstanding the hawks' current delight at its acceptance.

Peter Wilhelm

Armstrong's vests (254) 'full of holes'

MMG 27/6 - 3/7/97

Gustav Thiel

ARMS manufacturer Armstrong sold bulletproof vests to the police, army and the prisons service — ignoring concerns that they were produced for Armstrong by a now-defunct firm.

The vests were produced for Armstrong by a now-defunct firm. Johannesburg-based Ballistic Body Armour, which supplies body armour, said this week that the vests "could endanger the lives of people who wear them".

The company has handed independent international research to Armstrong and the military showing that the vests failed the standard industry tests in Armstrong's specifications.

Armstrong insiders said the organisation had also employed testing procedures to approve the vests far less stringent than industry norms.

Armstrong's chair, Ron Haywood, this week denied the allegations saying Ballistic Body Armour had lost out on a R2-million contract last year and was trying to discredit the winner, Tactical Systems International.

However, Tactical Systems International went into liquidation before it delivered, at which point the contract was put on ice for 12 months. The collapse is the second such

blow to Armstrong. The firm's predecessor, Tactical Systems CC, collapsed earlier last year after supplying an unknown quantity of vests which Armstrong sold on to its police, prisons service and military clients.

"Maybe my men did too good a job of giving the contract to the lowest bidder that they put them out of business," Haywood said.

Ballistic Body Armour's chair Philip Cadman said he was not griping about losing the contract. His offshore clients, including the German and Portuguese police, are more valuable than Armstrong.

"If Armstrong ignores the problem, and I am sure that they were hoping that it had disappeared by now, it could still blow up in their faces and damage their credibility," he said.

Cadman warned Armstrong repeatedly about Tactical Systems, but was ignored. Eventually he complained to Major General Julius Kriel, head of the South African Defence Industries.

"We supplied Armstrong with evidence that the vests purchased were suspect," Cadman told Kriel. "This evidence was that both the yarn manufacturers recommended a significant increase in the number of layers employed to meet the specification



Body armour? There is little proof that this vest will stop a bullet

PHOTOGRAPH RODGER BOSCH

required over that used in the conventional services vest.

"We also advised Armstrong that we had conducted tests on two panels — both of which had failed. We pointed out that the ballistic panels were not encased in sealed waterproof covers and that if immersed in water, would fail catastrophically."

The tests were performed by the two biggest suppliers of yarn for body armour — Du Pont in the United States and Akzo-Nobel Aramid Products in Germany. Cadman said the tests found the vests could not withstand the force of a

bullet fired from a .357 Magnum pistol — the standard maximum requirement and an Armstrong specification.

Cadman said one in every 2 000 of the vests had been tested, against the industry norm of one in every 50 vests. It had since reverted to the industry norm in testing.

Haywood declined to comment on the international tests, but confirmed he had received them. He said Armstrong was now following a policy of total transparency in awarding contracts, so even if what Cadman alleged was true, it could not occur again.

Prosecutors ecstatic as Basson's buddy talks

Chris Oppermann

THE Transvaal attorney general's office has made a major breakthrough in the case against Dr Wouter Basson, leader of the former South African Defence Force's (SADF) chemical warfare project.

Dr Johan Koekemoer, former research manager at the covert SADF factory, Delta-G Scientific, has turned state witness and will give evidence against Basson.

This will, investigators in the attorney general's office believe, aid their long-term task of determining the exact volume of dangerous drugs — such as Mandrax — that were manufactured at the factory, why the SADF needed them and where they ultimately landed up.

The investigators have information that some of the drugs were — for reasons still unknown — dumped in the sea, but that others were concealed in the nose-cone of an airforce jet which frequently flew abroad on top-secret missions. One such flight was to Britain, and also on board was a group of rugby enthusiasts who went to the first test between the Springboks and England in 1992 after sporting ties had been re-established.

Koekemoer was arrested in possession of the designer drug Ecstasy in January and was to be charged with Basson, in the first instance in a drugs trial.

Basson was to appear in court in Pretoria on Friday in connection with allegations that he tried to sell 1 000 Ecstasy tablets during a police sting operation.

But the trial, although important for the contribution it could make to understanding how taxpayers' money was allegedly used in the manufacture of illegal drugs, is incidental to the main goal in the sights of investigators in the Transvaal attorney general's office.

This goal is to pin down some of the most enduring mysteries of covert operations and crimes committed by the military during the apartheid era, in particular the chemical and biological warfare programme codenamed

'We worked in cell structures on a need-to-know basis and nobody really knew what the other was doing'

Project Coast. During his bail application, after being caught allegedly selling Ecstasy, Basson was described by the prosecutor as the "root of the evil".

Koekemoer was recruited in May 1986 to work as a researcher at Delta-G. The last time he allegedly had dealings with Basson was in 1993. He has said, in a recent interview in the presence of his lawyer, that he received instructions in the early 1990s from one of his seniors to manufacture 1 000kg of Ecstasy crystals.

Another breakthrough for the investigators has been the co-operation of a former senior procurement official for Delta-G who worked for the company for eight years. The official kept a careful diary of

all products and raw materials entering the facility. The employee also had several business dealings with Thor Chemicals executive Alan Kidger, who was brutally murdered.

"I had an unofficial business deal with Kidger two weeks before his death," the former employee said recently. "I ordered two and a half tons of mercuric oxide from him. A colleague of mine at Delta-G fetched the oxide from Thor's plant on the East Rand and paid them in cash."

He described Delta-G as "state-of-the-art" research laboratories consisting of five different facilities. The official product was teargas for the security forces and everything else was "top secret".

Only the researchers working on the projects knew what they were doing.

"We worked in cell structures on a need-to-know basis and nobody really knew what the other was doing," the official said.

The former commander of the Bruxton murder and robbery squad, Charlie Landman, confiscated all the diaries when he was investigating the so-called "red mercury murders".

The diaries were recently handed over to the prosecutor in the Basson case, Dr Toerre Pretorius.

The investigators are also hopeful that a former military intelligence agent, Rich Verster, who is awaiting trial in Britain on drug-smuggling charges together with a well-known Port Elizabeth businessman, Michau Huisamen, may shed some light on the SADF's covert drug-manufacturing project.

Verster indicated last week that he was ready to talk to Transvaal Attor-



Charlie Landman. Confiscated the diaries which told some of the story. PHOTOGRAPH TML

ney General Jan D'Oliveira's investigators to strike a deal.

Verster and Huisamen are charged with smuggling 171kg of compressed dagga into the UK on board Huisamen's private jet.

In his bail application, Verster claimed that he had previously been employed by the directorate of covert collection within the department of military intelligence to smuggle drugs-for-arms from South Africa. Investigators are trying to unmask all the activities and funding of

Delta-G Scientific, as well as the operational and financial affairs of the Rooderplaat Research Laboratories, RSL, and several other SADF front companies which formed part of Project Coast.

Animal rights groups say that at the Rooderplaat laboratory near Pretoria, gases were tested on live animals — often young baboons who were housed in cages built so that researchers could watch how the poison spread.

One animal rights group warned earlier this week that it planned to protest outside Friday's court hearing. One of their posters was to carry a picture of Basson on one side and a baboon on the other, with the words "agony and ecstasy" above the pictures.

The SADF's counter-intelligence began investigating Basson in the early 1990s after several security leaks. The agents probed intelligence reports that Project Coast operatives were involved in business deals with the Libyan leader, Moammar Gadhafi. As a result of the leaks the name of the operation was changed to Project B and later to Project Iota.

Other front companies believed to have been connected to the covert operation are Rooderplaat Teelonderings, Protechnik Laboratories, Lifestyle Management, Medchem, Technotek, Seamed, Intramex and Hitech Lasers.

All these companies are being scrutinised by the office of serious economic offences which is trying to trace millions of rands which, it is believed, are hidden in foreign banks.

M+G 27/6--3/7/97

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How the taxpayer footed the bill for Project Coast

NTG 27/6-3/97 (254)

Chris Oppermann

AST year South African National Defence Force (SANDF) chief General Georg Meiring refused to release information about Project Coast before a special parliamentary committee.

Project Coast was approved in 1983 by the then minister of defence, Magnus Malan, and his colleague, finance minister Barend du Plessis.

Dr Wouter Basson, who held the rank of brigadier, was one of the main players in the Project Coast chemical and biological warfare programme.

The 10 shareholders in the Roodeplaat Research Laboratories — one of the front companies — became millionaires overnight when the South African Defence Force closed down the project at the end of 1992 and later paid the debtors, who were the shareholders, a total of R18-million.

Details of the multi-million-rand scam emerged in 1996 in Parliament, almost a year after Project Coast's debts of almost R22-million had been written off by the SANDF. The amount of taxpayers' money paid out to shareholders was as follows:

- Mrs A Immelman and Mr D W Spamer got R2,3-million for an investment of R6 500;
- a Dutch Reformed Church minister, Van der Merwe, got R1,2-million for R3 500;

- Mr P Delpont got R718 443 for a R2 000 investment;

- Mrs JJ Niewenhuis, Mrs J Davies and Mrs S Wandrag were, between them, paid out R498 702 for an investment of R1 666;

- Mr JJ Hendriks invested R1 000 and received R359 221;

- a company, Contresida, received R4,67-million for an investment of R13 000; and

- the Wynand Swanepoel Trust got R4,5-million for R12 495.

Another aspect of Basson's alleged secret operations under investigation is Merton House, the multi-million-rand building in Pretoria's plush Arcadia suburb.

Basson's plans for the mansion outraged local residents, who claimed the building was to be used as a high-class brothel.

At the time the project was under construction, Basson claimed he was merely the middleman for a group of American doctors who were developing the property.

Building started in 1991, and even before the house was complete in 1993, it was put up for sale for R8,5-million.

The mansion was built by Water-son Properties with directors Christopher Marlow, Tjaart Viljoen and Sam Bosch.

Bosch is understood to be an important state witness in the present, and likely future, trials of Wouter Basson. Many important documents were allegedly seized from Bosch's house shortly after



Ronnie Kasrils: Rehired Basson to prevent him from leaking information to other countries

PHOTOGRAPH SIDDIQUE DAVIDS

Basson was arrested.

Basson is now being protected by intelligence agents and was rehired by the government after some of his covert activities had been exposed.

Deputy Minister of Defence Ronnie Kasrils defended the government's action, saying it had rehired Basson to stop him giving valuable and potentially dangerous secrets about South Africa's chemical and biological warfare programme to other countries.



'The root of all evil': Investigators have finally made significant breakthroughs in the case against Dr Wouter Basson

Quit threat sparks army crisis

POLITICAL STAFF

(254)

(278)

ARG 27/6/97

There is an atmosphere of crisis at the highest levels of the South African National Defence Force after a threat by 10 generals, all of them white, to resign in protest against what has been described as "indiscriminate affirmative action"

The situation has become so serious that President Mandela, constitutionally

the Commander-in-Chief of the SANDF, summoned Defence Minister Joe Modise and about 80 members of the General Staff to his office at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the problem. He appealed to the 10 generals to reconsider their threat to resign.

The National Party linked the threatened resignations to "indiscriminate affirmative action policies".

Top generals threaten to quit, Mandela intervenes

Affirmative action cited as major cause

POLITICAL STAFF

A drastic shake-up at the highest levels of the SA National Defence Force is on the cards following the threatened resignation of 10 white generals in protest against the Government's affirmative action programme.

Their threat has plunged the SANDF into a crisis which led this week to President Nelson Mandela ordering Defence Minister Joe Modise and some 80 of the general staff to the Union Buildings in Pretoria for a meeting.

Afterwards he appealed to the 10 generals to reconsider their threat amid reports that if they left the SANDF would lose its most experienced and qualified leaders.

There would also have to be what has been described as one of the widest ranging and most drastic changes in the upper echelons of South Africa's military.

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen, the former head of the SADF, has offered to become personally involved in seeking a solution to the crisis, and urged the generals to give serious consideration to Mr Mandela's appeal to stay on.

The National Party has linked the threatened resignations to what a spokesman today described as "indiscriminate affirmative action policies and rough-shod handling of senior

staff by the Government."

The NP's Gauteng South regional chairman, Johan Kihlan, in a statement said the country could not afford to lose the accumulated knowledge and experience of the generals.

"We respect the privacy and personal reasons which prompted their resignations, but appeal to the generals to reconsider and attempt to find solutions that would make it possible for them to continue with their vitally important work," Mr Kihlan said.

If the generals went, not only the SANDF, but the entire country would suffer an irreplaceable loss. He said the Government should do everything possible to create conditions making it possible for them to stay.

He called on the Government to prevent this "tragic exo-

odus" with decisive action at the highest level.

General Viljoen welcomed Mr Mandela's appeal to the generals to reconsider leaving, saying that it created an opportunity to take up grievances with the president and Mr Modise. He said he was not against transformation, but that it should not be done over-hastily, or as a result of political pressure.

Politics did not belong in the defence force, General Viljoen said, and he called on Mr Mandela as the constitutional commander-in-chief of the military to enforce this principle.

'The Government must prevent this tragic exodus with decisive action'

ARLT 28/6/97

(254)

(142)

Panic over flight of generals

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The National Party has linked the threatened resignations to what a spokesman yesterday described as "indiscriminate affirmative action policies and rough-

shod handling of senior staff by the Government".

NP Gauteng south regional chairman Johan Kilian said in a statement the country could not afford to lose the accumulated knowledge and experience of the generals. "We respect the privacy and personal reasons which prompted their resignations, but appeal to the generals to reconsider and attempt to find solutions that would make it possible for them to continue with their vitally important work," he said.

If the generals went, not only the SANDF, but the entire country would suffer an irreplaceable loss he said. "The Government should do everything possible to create

condition making it possible for them to stay. Kilian called on the Government to prevent this "tragic exodus" with decisive action at the highest possible level.

Viljoen welcomed Mandela's appeal to the generals to reconsider leaving, saying it created an opportunity to take up grievances with the president and Modise.

He said he was not against transformation but that it should not be done over-hastily, or as a result of political pressure.

Polites did not belong in the defence force, Viljoen added, and he called on Mandela, as the constitutional commander-in-chief of the military, to enforce this principle

April 28/6/97

(254)

FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE

FM 4/7/97

Anti-mercenary law under fire

(254)
Draft law to curb SA mercenaries sparks a dogfight over civil liberties

The Defence Ministry's attempt to stamp out mercenary activity by South Africans is headed for controversy, as it may hamper regional peacekeeping efforts and curb civil liberties

The draft Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill defines such assistance as including medical or paramedical services, advice, financial, logistical or intelligence support, provision of security services for individuals or property, and encouragement, incitement or solicitation to render military or military-related services

The Defence Minister, acting on recommendations of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, is given wide powers to prohibit citizens or permanent residents from such activities. The measure carries penalties of up to 10 years in jail or a R1m fine

But Wits Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman doubts the government will be able to stamp out mercenary activity as it is difficult to enforce legislation covering acts on foreign soil

British High Commissioner Maeve Fort concurs. While appreciating the SA government's efforts, she says, the UK has been unable to apply legislation to stop mercenaries from recruiting UK residents to fight overseas

Executive Outcomes — which says it provides military training and advice only to governments recognised by SA, the UK or the US and denies claims of mercenary activity — says the Bill is designed to put it out of business

The company accuses government of being prescriptive and says the company is seeking legal opinion to counter the Bill

The Bill seeks to give effect to clause 198(b) of the Constitution which prohibits South Africans from participating in international armed conflict. It aims "to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms universally". But SA Institute of Race Relations' Colin Douglas says it could threaten freedom of conscience and speech, and should be thor-



Mercenary attack can a law curb the dogs of war?

oughly revised

It could, for instance, prohibit Jews from volunteering to fight for Israel or Muslims from fighting in Bosnia. It also gives the Minister prohibition powers over pamphleteers calling for financial, medical or other support to foreign combatants

NGOs fear that the Bill will hamstring their regional dispute resolution programmes if they are subjected to the same bureaucratic regulations as mercenary activities

The draft Bill has been passed by the Cabinet and will be published for comment before being presented to parliament in October

Claire Bissek

RADIOACTIVE DRUMS LEAKED

Nuclear industry poses 'unacceptable' risks

CT 7/7/97

THE RESULTS OF any inquiry into three recent nuclear incidents have not been made public, raising concern among environmentalists and politicians **INGA MOLZEN** reports.

FIVE months after radiation exposure and radioactive leakage at South African nuclear sites, no results from any inquiry have been made public, nor has there been any publicly recognised independent probe

Radioactive leakage and recent hairline cracks in six-ton concrete blocks containing nuclear waste at the Northern Cape Vaalputs storage site, are "unacceptable", say environmental groups and Environment, Affairs and Tourism Portfolio chairwoman Ms Gwen Mahlangu

Mahlangu and environmental monitoring groups have repeated their calls to the ministers of Environment Affairs, Dr Pallo Jordan, and Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Penuell Maduna, to make public findings into breaches of safety at Koeberg, and the nuclear waste storage site it uses in the desert, about 100km from Springbok

Mahlangu says there are "unacceptable risks" around the nuclear industry. Recent events show "the health and safety standards and procedures of our nuclear industry are not adequate"

The effects of Chernobyl are still being felt, where people exposed to massive doses of radiation, were undergoing treat-

ment, she said. Every effort had to be extended to ensure that South Africans were never vulnerable to similar disasters. After the Chernobyl experience, a 30km "dead zone" around Koeberg would include Atlantis, Philadelphia, Klipheuwel, Durbanville, Bothasig, Goodwood, Blouberg, Table View, Milnerton, Green Point, the CBD and the Waterfront.



'GO PUBLIC': Penuell Maduna

Public lobby groups are concerned about the estimated 25-year lifespan of Koeberg, its allegedly "ageing computer monitoring systems and procedures" and the actual benefits of nuclear power

Despite repeated calls since April for an independent inquiry, no response has yet been made public, raising questions about public accountability and the seriousness with which this issue was being treated

The Department of Mineral Affairs and Energy has not yet released its policy on energy, and pressure groups are concerned about recent events at the country's nuclear facilities

Mahlangu said yesterday "There are no long-term depositories for high-level nuclear waste anywhere in the world. South Africa does not want to become the dumping ground for the world's nuclear waste"

"The risks of the nuclear indus-

try are potentially lethal. Would our long-term needs not be better served by focusing on sustainable resources, such as solar energy?"

Parliament has been asked by the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs this year to approve a R474-million (59% of the total DMEA budget) to "prop up an industry whose most significant products have been six nuclear bombs (now dismantled), two loss-making enrichment facilities (one has now closed), one nuclear power station and a statutory nuclear safety body," says Environmental Monitoring Group spokesman Mr Stephen Law

The independence of the Council for Nuclear Safety, which will be asked to investigate these events and their implications for public safety, is under question

"I am very uneasy that the Council for Nuclear Safety is conducting the investigation, as well as being the appointed public watchdog on these issues," Mahlangu said. Environmental groups agree

Besides the Vaalputs drum leakages, there were two incidents in March in which workers were exposed to high radiation levels

Three Koeberg workers entered a high radiation area without protective clothing. At Pelindaba, storage drums were punctured when they were moved last year

Atomic Energy Commission chief executive Dr Waldo Stumpf called the leakage "insignificant"

Koeberg's nuclear assurance manager, Mr Tony Stott, said yesterday "It is believed that exposure to rain and extreme temperatures of drums waiting to be covered by compacted soil led to the seepage of radioactive salts."

(254) 8 Nov 10/7/97

R106-m spent on demobilisation

By NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

The demobilisation of Umkhonto weSizwe and Apla non-statutory force members from the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has cost R106-million so far.

The Department of Defence said in Pretoria yesterday that 4 970 people had been paid a gratuity while a further 2 211 had also applied

It said that to prevent fraud, each case was being scrutinised before authorisation of payment is given. A formal board of inquiry into fraud has completed its work and actions to redress the situation will be taking place

soon. Meanwhile, the Cabinet has also approved an *ex gratia* payment of three months' salary to non-statutory members who joined the defence force after July 27 1994.

Apla cadres were originally not included but the department says that in accordance with the constitution, all names submitted to the SANDF personnel division before October 11 were in fact valid and eligible for full integration benefits.

The final mass intake of former non-statutory force members resulted in 721 reporting to the Wallmannstal assembly area north of Pretoria. Most of the people reporting were women.

Although the department now considers that the assembly phase of the integration process had been closed, there could be further integration on an individual or small group basis in future.

Integration will be completed only once bridging training, demobilisation and the integration of some members of the former SADF and the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei armed forces has been finalised.

Bridging training is due to end in December next year and demobilisation in February.

Discussions on the striking of two medals for former Apla and MK cadres are reportedly also under way.

Taming dogs of war

SOUTH AFRICA IS still working out ways of making its sophisticated defence industry fit in with the new society.

With about 800 companies involved in weapons production, nearly all of them locally owned, the Government needs clear guidelines to watch over what has become a virtual mini-economy.

South Africa is the 10th largest weapons producer in the world, covering the whole spectrum of production as well as supplying goods and services to the army and the police

"Because of diminishing domestic defence expenditure the industry will be encouraged to convert production capability to non-military products without losing key technological capacity," says a Defence Ministry spokesman

Peace in the region and the loss of internal revenue has forced the private sector to compete in the global market to survive In a bid to show some transparency in arms sales, information on arms exports is being supplied to the United Nations Register of Conventional Weapons

Since 1995 the Cabinet, through the National Conventional Arms Control Committee chaired by Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, has tried to regulate the production and trade in arms

The new government finds itself in a moral dilemma One of its arms companies, Armscor, is fighting hard to retain professionals and increase its world sales to about R4 billion and generate at least 20 000 new jobs

"But pressure from civil society and the new world order makes it difficult for us to meet our targets," says Mark Stoney, a defence analyst "The Government has to balance the demands of the international arms market and those of pressure groups at home"

Global hot spots

Analysts say the industry is concerned about the country's arms trade policy, which forbids sales to large parts of Africa and other global hot spots

The Government maintains that sales and production must be conducted in a manner that respects human rights "There is no way we can allow our people to continue plying the world as mercenaries, military advisers or whatever," says Defence Minister Joe Modise

"This government is committed to supporting the international cause of arms control and disarmament It has signed many treaties and participates in several multilateral initiatives relating to weapons of mass destruction, conventional weapons and controversial munitions such as land mines"

The new government has been uneasy with international pressure and calls for greater

Careful guidance is needed to regulate and manage South Africa's arms industry if we are to dispense with an aggressive past. **Tag Williams** explains why...

(254) Sowetan 10/7/97



Defence Minister Joe Modise says the Government is committed to arms control and disarmament.

involvement in conflict-resolution through peacekeeping operations, especially in Africa, mainly because of history

Much of the previous involvement on the continent was in defence of apartheid or driven by Cold War anti-communist policies that turned the force into one of the most brutal armies in Southern Africa

"We are still debating the role of our defence forces, the defence industry in general and our relationship with the outside world," says Abdul Minty, the deputy director for foreign affairs

An integration exercise involving former homeland armies, guerrillas of the two liberation movements and the former South African Defence Force is still taking place

"The current size of the army is neither cost-effective nor strategically appropriate The overarching mission is to establish a new institution that is professional and representative," says the Defence Ministry

In a draft policy paper currently being circulated among parliamentarians, civil society and the business community, the Ministry says the new force should reflect the country's ethnic diversity

Also under debate are the future potential role of South Africa as a peacekeeper, the relationship of this to the size of the force, the budget arms control, national service and the role of private military firms

The plan is to make the defence force an all-volunteer force for political strategic and

economic reasons. It will be mostly part-time, but backed up by a nucleus of full-time professionals

"The end of wars in Southern Africa seriously affected us," says Kobus Bezuidenhout, a former official of arms manufacturing company Denel "Overall, the industry has had to retrench and cut its workforce to about 40 000 down from about 160 000 in the eighties"

There has been a proliferation of private security companies One of them, Executive Outcomes, is currently on contract to governments and rebel groups throughout Africa to supply advisers, trainers, direct combatants and even security guards

The work of private South African armies, sometimes on both sides of a conflict as in the case of Angola, has embarrassed the new Government

The draft policy seeks to ban South Africans from mercenary activities, outlaw private military firms and monitor the sale of arms and ammunition produced by the defence industry

"Our country is no longer a war machine bent on smashing up our neighbours," says Christine Matthews of the South African Campaign to Ban Land Mines

"Nor do we have any guerrillas on our soil There is absolutely no external threat at the moment, so we need to divert money towards development"

Series of meetings

The campaign is a coalition of more than 100 non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, religious groups, churches and student movements

"To prepare those organisations and individuals in civil society who support the conversion of South Africa's defence industry, we will be organising a series of meetings in Cape Town and Johannesburg," says Penny McKenzie of the Group for Environmental Monitoring

"These will involve local and international experts and will prepare submissions (to the Government)

This year's defence budget stands at about R10 billion, a drop of R500 million from last year Apart from a significant drop in the budget, several Members of Parliament and human rights groups want conscription to be dropped

The Government expects the new policy to be in place before the end of the year - *Africa Information Afrique*

R106-m bill so far for army demobilisation

ARG 11/7/97

NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

(254)

The demobilisation of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) non-statutory force members from the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has cost R106-million so far.

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Meanwhile, the Cabinet has also approved an ex-gratia payment of three months' salary to non-statutory force (NSF) members who joined the defence force after July 27 1994. Apla cadres were originally not included, but the department says that in accordance with the constitution, all names submitted to the SANDF personnel division before October 11 were in fact valid and applicable for full integration benefits.

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Bridging training is due to end in December next year and demobilisation in February.

It has also been disclosed that discussions on the striking of two medals for former Apla and MK cadres is under way.

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Denel acting MID shoots from the hip on change

Despite quashing talk that he is due to take over, Seshi Chonco has big plans, writes THABO KOBOKOANE

SESHI Chonco, appointed as deputy MD of state arms manufacturer Denel just six months ago, has been touted to take over from Johan Alberts, who resigned suddenly this week.

No official reasons were given for his resignation. But Chonco, now acting as MD, has dismissed the speculation "I am not a natural successor nor aspire to the position. If I am offered the position, I will not accept it."

He claims there are far greater opportunities for him in operations, an area fundamental to adding value for Denel.

Chonco outlined some of the critical issues and strategies on which Denel could embark in operations.

The overriding guiding principle should be a strategic move towards specialisation in the areas where Denel's strongest. Second, Chonco feels that Denel is too diversified, with military and commercial interests in aviation,

manufacturing, informatics and properties housed in 18 subsidiaries. An option is to unbundle into a more focused organisation. "It is everything to everybody and consequently unable to define its niche market."

The military sector, which in 1992 accounted for 90% of Denel's business, has been reduced to 65% and Chonco wants this cut to 40%.

Within the military sector, Chonco says an ideal position would be to retain the remote propelled vehicles, G5 and G6 armoured artillery, and invest heavily in the Rooivalk.

So far the SA Air Force, Malaysia and three other countries — believed to be Algeria, Turkey and Saudi Arabia — have shown interest in the Rooivalk.

At present SA is Denel's major customer in military products, accounting for 60% of sales, but Chonco expects this to change, with exports accounting for at least 60% of



Picture JULIANI VAN DER WESTHUIZEN

ME? NEVER . . . Seshi Chonco, deputy managing director at Denel, who says he is not a 'natural successor' to former boss Johan Alberts

earnings despite sensitivities around the arms industry.

He says SA has not been able to exploit its vast export opportunities. "Many countries have expressed interest in Denel's products but we are regulated by government. Some of the products

are too sensitive and have serious global implications."

In the commercial sphere, Chonco says he would retain information technology and get rid of the rest. Transformation is necessary in view of the past, but it must be managed. A recon-

struction and transformation team has been appointed to look at the demographics, make Denel less bureaucratic and create an enabling environment for employees to challenge the organisation's business process.

"White skills are indispensable to Denel and change strategies must acknowledge this. Currently these skills are so extensive they could hold us to ransom, hence the need to manage change."

"At the same time, it will be meaningless for us if Denel is unable to come to terms with

the political environment. Our major customer is the SANDF and it will be more and more difficult to do business with them if we remain white. Denel's white employees will have to come to terms with a changing environment," he says.

STC(BT) 1317197 (2014)

Denel lays charges after news of R7-billion arms deal is published

(254)
RPAR 21/7/77

Arms manufacturer Denel has laid charges against The Sunday Independent, The Star's sister publication, for disclosing details yesterday of a R7-billion weapons deal with an unnamed Middle East country.

The report said Denel was trying up a highly sensitive deal in which a number of G6 canons and anti-aircraft missiles

would be sold. The Sunday Independent did not name the client country after Denel threatened to seek an interdict from a High Court judge on Saturday evening to prevent publication of the news.

Had the interdict been granted while the presses were running, publication of the newspaper would have been

jeopardised. The newspaper said it intended to name the client country on Sunday, and would oppose any court action to prevent publication.

Denel spokesman George Masoek said yesterday his company had laid charges against The Sunday Independent, the Sunday Argus and the Sunday Tribune, as well as the respec-

tive editors and a reporter under the Armaments Development and Production Act of 1968.

"I'm surprised at the reaction of Denel," Sunday Independent editor John Battersby said. "The Sunday Independent reached an agreement with Denel's legal adviser not to publish the name of the client

country, and we abided by that agreement."

Masoek said up to 30 000 jobs could be saved if the sale went ahead. Negotiations have been clouded in secrecy because the client country is said to be "highly sensitive".

The matter is in the hands of The Sunday Independent's lawyers - Staff Reporter.

SECRECY 'FLOUTED'

Denel lays charges after arms deal report

(254) CT 21/7/97

JOHANNESBURG: Up to 30 000 jobs in South Africa's beleaguered arms industry could be saved if a "highly sensitive" arms deal is concluded, says a Denel spokesman

ARMAMENTS manufacturer Denel has laid charges against The Sunday Independent, The Cape Times' sister publication, for disclosing details yesterday of a sensitive R7-billion weapons export deal to an unnamed Middle Eastern country

The Sunday report said Denel was tying up a "highly sensitive" deal in which a number of G6 mobile artillery pieces and anti-aircraft missiles are to be sold

According to the report, The Sunday Independent agreed not to reveal the name of the client country until later this week, after Denel threatened to seek an interdict from a High Court judge late on Saturday evening preventing publication of the name of the client

Denel spokesman Mr George Masoek, however, said yesterday

he knew of no such agreement. He said his company had laid charges — under the Armaments Development and Production Act of 1968 — against The Sunday Independent, the Sunday Argus and the Sunday Tribune, as well as the respective editors and a reporter, for disclosing details of the deal

"I'm surprised at the reaction of Denel," said Sunday Independent editor John Battersby "The Sunday Independent reached an agreement with Denel's legal adviser not to publish the name of the client country, and we abided by that agreement

"It was made clear we would attempt to resolve the dispute over publication of the name of the client country this week

"The matter is now in the hands of The Sunday Independent's

lawyers and I have no further comment," Battersby said last night

Masoek said it was up to the client to reveal themselves, and said publication of details of the deal would flout an undertaking of secrecy to the client

He said that up to 30 000 jobs could be saved in an already beleaguered industry if the sale went ahead

The South African arms industry has been under pressure recently, following defence-spending cut-backs and the restructuring of the SA National Defence Force

According to the report, negotiations on the deal have been clouded in secrecy because the client country is said to be "highly sensitive"

South Africa has been aggressively marketing its weapons systems in the Middle East since 1994, and deals have already been conducted with countries including Jordan and the United Arab Emirates

Denel's decision to sue newspapers is slated

Star 22/7/97

(2/14)
(1/13)

Ceasefire Campaign and Freedom of Expression Institute
accuse arms manufacturer of using apartheid legislation

The Ceasefire Campaign and the Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI) yesterday condemned arms manufacturer Denel's decision to lay criminal charges against three newspapers for reporting on a prospective R7-billion arms sale to an undisclosed Middle Eastern country.

Accusing Denel of resorting to apartheid-era secrecy legislation, FXI welcomed a resolution by Independent Newspaper Holdings Limited to challenge Denel's move.

"The FXI regards the move by Denel as going against the spirit and purport of the constitution, which provides for the right of access to information," it said. FXI said arms deals should be subjected to public scrutiny, adding that good foreign policy supported full disclosure because it served to dispel speculation about illegal activities.

"For Denel to argue against disclosure on the basis that the

client is demanding secrecy leads to a presumption that the client may want the weapons for some secret or underhand activity," FXI said.

It called on the Government to urgently pass the Open Democracy Act to ensure the media was able to keep the public informed.

Critics want an Open Democracy Act passed

The Ceasefire Campaign commended The Sunday Independent, the Sunday Argus, the Sunday Tribune, the newspapers' editors and reporter Newton Kanhema for exposing the arms deal.

In a statement it said it was appalled by Denel's decision to lay criminal charges against

the newspapers for contravening the Armaments Development and Production Act of 1968.

The act, which prohibits the disclosure of any information relating to the supply, marketing and export of armaments for the benefit of Armscor, stemmed from the apartheid era and was introduced to protect secret arms deals, the statement said.

"Denel's strong reaction to this disclosure makes it obvious that the prospective arms transfer will be one which would be greatly contested in public opinion."

It called on National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC) chairman Kader Asmal to abide by criteria prohibiting arms sales to conflict regions and countries which violated human rights.

Asmal's spokesman said Asmal would respond to all allegations at a media briefing in Pretoria tomorrow - Sapa

Arms committee approves sale of military equipment to Rwanda

Stephen Lauffer

SA WOULD resume the sale of military equipment to Rwanda following a moratorium of several months following the convention of Rwanda control, nation day as he detailed new disclosure rules on arms sales.

Rwanda has recent SA visit that the nonlethal and non-sensitive equipment would not be used outside Rwanda, and that hu-

Paul Vice-president of the nonlethal and non-sensitive equipment would not be used outside Rwanda, and that hu-

SA would consider supplying higher grade lethal arms at a later stage, de-

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View of a secret world

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(254)

THE SOUTH AFRICAN public will in future have a window on the usually secret world of the armaments trade under new policy revealed by the National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC) this week

But while an unprecedented amount of information will be made known, the buyer's identity may still be kept secret under certain conditions

Disclosing information to the public will be voluntary, although there is an obligation to keep the NCACC, Cabinet and the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms fully informed

Past dealings were mostly clandestine, and buyers of military hardware often became known only when the armaments surfaced in conflicts

Now the NCACC, which was set up in 1995 comprising 13 Cabinet ministers and ultimately responsible for the arms trade, will make known details of exports only once they agree that a permit be granted

When announcing the new policy, NCACC chairman and Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal said the unprecedented amount of information that will be made known to the public made such policy "unique internationally"

Much research was done on the transparency of other governments' arms trade, and Asmal emphasised that "no country has an arms supply policy in which every detail is announced"

He conceded that the policy "won't satisfy everyone but we hope more and more people will agree with us"

The Government was committed to being transparent, said Asmal, but that had to be weighed against the national interest and the confines of trade secrets

Political responsibility

There was "naturally a struggle between political responsibility and openness", he added. It was "not strategic to have a public hoo-ha" and therefore details could only be revealed once an export permit was issued

The 13 cabinet ministers on the NCACC, who are the final arbiters of the trade, should be seen as adequately representing the public interest

Among the considerations in drawing up the policy was the fact that South Africa's constitution compelled the Government to design policies in which human rights were a priority

Freedom of expression and access to information also had to be taken into account, while the policy should not harm the country's trade and diplomatic relationships

At the same time, not all the defence industry's needs could be met locally and an international arms trade was therefore necessary

There will be a new openness about South Africa's arms deals in future. But how open? **Sharon Chetty** reviews the latest developments...

6 Past dealings were clandestine and buyers became known when arms surfaced in conflicts 9

Thus, the idea was to have a "responsible and reliable" defence industry which conformed to the principles of the UN Charter and international law and ethics

An independent workgroup, headed by the defence secretariat and including representatives from Armscor, legal advisers, the Cameron Commission (which investigated previous secret arms sales), the defence industry, departments of trade and industry and foreign affairs, National Intelligence Agency and the SA Police Service drew up the proposal which was accepted by Cabinet last month

The public will be told what is being sold (although without finer details), the total value of the contract and will know when training and logistical support is being provided

Counter trade arrangements and the date of the intended export will also be made known, although the buyer's identity may still be protected at the discretion of the NCACC

Government departments, agencies and Parliament will be told the name of the buyer, domestic seller, price per item of the contract, a full description of the equipment and copies of the end-user certificate which compels the buyer not to sell or distribute the armaments to a third party

Even these bodies may have information withheld from them if the NCACC deems it necessary

Only the NCACC and Cabinet will be given full details, including technical specifications, components and capacity of the equipment. Parliament's joint standing committee on defence will be briefed on request, but in confidence

The UN Register of Conventional Arms will have to be informed of trade in seven categories of arms and that will be done only once the finished products are ready for export

When explaining the reasons behind the decision to resume the arms trade with Rwanda, Asmal pointed out that it was in line with the



NCACC chairman Kader Asmal .. the public will be given an unprecedented amount of information on South Africa's arms trade.

record of understanding signed between the two countries' governments

"We have come to the conclusion that the new regime is not genocidal," Asmal said, adding that European governments had been consulted and they shared that assessment

The former South African government had sold about \$100 million (about R500 million) worth of arms to the previous Hutu-controlled government in Rwanda which had since been taken away by the soldiers who fled after the recent conflict

Self-defence only

He also said that sales to Indonesia, as with Rwanda, were on condition that the armaments were for self-defence and external use only

When confirming that a deal was afoot for Denel to sell G-6 artillery pieces to a Middle Eastern country, Asmal said that no export permit had been approved, and that the buyer could therefore not be named

He also said the South African government would not draw up a blacklist of countries it would not sell arms to as conditions were fluid and changed rapidly. Instead the trade would be dealt with "case by case"

"In the end the policy on disclosure must generate more confidence on all sides," said Asmal

Denel takes us to court

M&G 25-31/7/97 (254)

The M&G is resisting Denel's attempts at apartheid era-type censorship, reports Marion Edmunds

DENEL, the government-owned arms manufacturer, brought an urgent interdict against the *Mail & Guardian* on Thursday in an attempt to prevent the newspaper from naming the Middle Eastern country involved in a R7-billion arms deal.

The interdict was heard in the Pretoria High Court on Thursday afternoon, shortly before the paper's printing deadline.

The *M&G* rejected a faxed demand by Denel's lawyers for an assurance that the newspaper would not disclose the name.

The editor, Phillip van Niekerk, said "The worst part of the demand is that they expected us to censor ourselves. Whether or not we were running a story naming the country, the principle that a company can tell a newspaper what words to publish or not to publish is repugnant."

"This is how Denel and its predecessors behaved in the apartheid era. I urge all newspapers and other media not to allow ourselves to be bullied into the practices of the past."

Denel made its first threatening moves against the *M&G* on Wednesday night only hours after Kader Asmal, the Cabinet minister who oversees the country's arms deals, had boasted that South Africa was a world leader in transparency.

Last weekend, Denel had persuaded the *Sunday Independent* not to reveal the name of the country in reporting about the deal.

The contradictions between the government's claims of a new spirit of transparency and Denel's actions reveal ambivalence in the government about disclosure of sensitive arms deals. The ambivalence remains unresolved in the guidelines of the new policy on arms transparency.

Asmal had the air of a man driven into a corner this week as he unveiled a policy developed by a committee of

the National Conventional Arms Control Committee for transparency in an arms industry which would prefer to do its business behind closed doors.

"We know the new rules will not satisfy everybody, we are feeling our way after the smokescreen of the past," he said at the Union Buildings.

He told the media and senior figures of the arms industry, diplomats and representatives from the South African National Defence Force "Such a policy is unique internationally, in that it seeks to disclose an unprecedented amount of information on arms transfers to the general public."

"Disclosure must be consistent with the need to protect, in some cases, national interests and commercial confidentiality."

The arms industry is satisfied with the new policy, believing it reflects its involvement in its conception, said Julius Kriel, executive director of the Association of Aerospace, Maritime and Defence Industries.

The policy is to be underpinned by the Open Democracy Bill, which limits transparency if it threatens "commercial confidentiality" or "trade secrets."

These limitations have failed to convince local and international experts that South Africa is a world leader in frankness.

Peter Batchelor, at the Centre of Conflict Resolution in Cape Town, said "It seems this is transparency and disclosure at the government discretion, and merely a finessing of the current position."

Owen Greene, of the department of peace studies at the University of Bradford in Britain, said he believed that public disclosure in the United States, Canada and Scandinavian countries was better than the system unveiled by Asmar.

"South Africa still has a long way to go to be unprecedented. It does not keep up with countries which are concerned with transparency."

Laurie Nathan, a member of the Cameron Commission of Inquiry which has probed irregular arms deals, argues that the discretion which the government retains is in conflict with the freedom of information clause in the Bill of Rights.

Human rights organisations are

Act on way out

THE Armaments Development and Production Act of 1968, which Denel is using in its court application to gag the media, is due to be repealed by Parliament, reports Rehana Rossouw.

Almost completely unnoticed by the media, the Cabinet approved the far-reaching Open Democracy Bill last month. It aims to grant any person the right to information held by the government, regulates the use of information held about citizens by the government or private agencies, and protects whistleblowers.

.....
already discussing the implications of the new transparency policy and might challenge it in the Constitutional Court.

However, Jakkie Cilliers of the Institute for Security Studies backs the transparency policy. "The results of two nationwide surveys has proved that the general public support a strong defence industry which can export arms. Arms sales demand complex decisions, not only moral and human rights decisions, because the world does not work only on that basis."

The new guidelines say information on arms deals will be given in three-monthly reports to the Cabinet and six-monthly reports to Parliament — unless the National Conventional Arms Control Committee deems otherwise. Deals will be dealt with on a case-to-case basis, with particularly sensitive ones referred to the Cabinet for decision.

Information will be released only after export permits have been signed. Penalties for breaches of confidentiality will be enshrined in a Bill to legalise the committee.

Even while presenting these details, Asmal said he was personally critical of Denel's attempt to silence the media. He accused Denel of trying to "smother" public debate with 1968 legislation dating from a repressive era.

Denel, arms and the law, PAGE 28

Denel backs govt policy on disclosure

(254) BD 25/7/99
CAPE TOWN — Arms manufacturer Denel yesterday aligned itself with the government's position on maximum disclosure of arms transfer matters announced on Wednesday by national conventional arms control committee chairman Kader Asmal.

Once government had finalised its policy on non-disclosure, Denel would abide by this as it had done in other cases, Denel said.

Denel still maintained its original position that it would respect the client's wishes on nondisclosure unless otherwise requested or advised by the client.

Asmal said the new policy on the disclosure of arms sales was unique internationally in that it sought to disclose an unprecedented amount of information on arms transfers to the general public.

However, he said disclosure should be consistent with the need to protect national interests and commercial confidentiality.

The new policy was sharply criticised by the Ceasefire Campaign yesterday. It should be seen as a retrogressive step on the guidelines drawn up originally by the Cameron commission and which were being loosely applied by the arms control committee since its inception, the organisation said.

The guidelines prescribed that the committee took into account the human rights record of the country involved as well as the stability of the region.

However, the decision to allow the arms industry the discretion to withhold from the general public the name of the purchasing country meant these criteria could be ignored.

The Freedom of Expression Institute welcomed the new policy.

While the institute accepted that nondisclosure on arms deals may be necessary to protect national interests and commercial confidentiality, it felt strongly that this should be conducted with the minimum legal protection of disclosure.

"This means that arms manufacturers such as Denel should have no legislative mechanism to prosecute any person who has penetrated the armaments industry's barrier of secrecy," the institute said.

Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Njongonkulu Ndungane said a more open attitude towards arms sales disclosure was welcome.

However, the new policy was still not sufficiently transparent. — Sapa

Independent newspapers muzzled

STAFF REPORTER

Parastatal arms manufacturer Denel has been granted a court order against all the newspapers in the Independent Newspapers Holdings group, preventing them from publishing the name of a Middle East country about to buy South African weapons worth R7-billion.

The order also prevents disclosure of the commercial structure of the deal

The legal action, in the High Court in Pretoria yesterday, followed the publication by *The Sunday Independent* of details of the deal, said to be the biggest in the South African defence industry history. The paper said G6 mobile artillery pieces and anti-aircraft missiles were included in the package

After a threatened interdict by Denel against *The Sunday Independent* last Saturday night, the paper agreed to withhold the name pending a court decision

Denel later laid criminal

charges against *The Sunday Independent* and its sister newspapers, as well as reporter Newton Kanhema, in terms of the 1968 Armaments Development and Production Act, which was promulgated to protect apartheid's sanctions-busting arms industry.

On Thursday night Denel was granted a similar interdict against the Mail & Guardian newspaper

The Sunday Independent's editor, John Battersby, said he was "disappointed" at the court decision

"We believe it is in the public interest for South Africans to be able to debate the countries to which South Africa sells its arms and to have a full debate about where the line between the public's right to know and the state's right to confidentiality should be drawn"

He added: "The deal in question has nothing to do with national security but rather with preserving the state's commercial interests"

"The wide scope of the order granted by the court could prevent *The Sunday Independent* from publishing vital information about questions raised within Denel itself about how the financial side of the deal was structured and about certain internal pricing arrangements," he said

The SA National Editors' Forum yesterday condemned Denel's attempts "to suppress information about South Africa's arms sales".

"It is astonishing that legislation once used for suppressing information about the apartheid-era weapons industry should now be resurrected for use in a country committed to transparency," Sanef chairman Thami Mazwai said in a statement.

"The effect of the legislation in the apartheid years was to keep the South African public in the dark about the local armaments industry. Denel clearly wishes to perpetuate that ignorance."

Star 26/7/97

(254) (254)

Apartheid law used to silence details of Denel deal

ARG 26/7/97

(246) (254)

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Weekend Argus editor Chris Whitfield said he was "disappointed" at the court decision.

"We believe South Africans should have the right to know who arms are being sold to and to debate these deals," he said.

The SA National Editors' Forum condemned Denel's attempts "to suppress information about South Africa's arms sales".

"It is astonishing that legislation once used for suppressing information about the apartheid-era weapons industry should now be resurrected for use in a country committed to transparency," Sanef chairman Thami Mazwai said in a statement.

Denel's right to privacy upheld by High Court

(254)

PRIVACY Denel's right to privacy regarding details of its negotiations with a Middle Eastern country for a major transaction worth more than R7 billion weighed heavily in the High Court's decision to uphold the press' right to publish those details. Potluri High Court judge said yesterday.


On Thursday and Saturday last, Chief Justice Willem van der Merwe granted interim orders against the Sunday Independent and Mail & Guardian — both with returned costs — interdicting them from publishing the name of the country or further particulars of the transaction. He gave reasons for his ruling yesterday.

He said it would be grossly unreasonable to publish details. On the evidence it is clear that the deal would fall through if the name and fact are made known. A transaction worth about R7 billion could be lost.

The economic result would be disastrous to the applicants and their workforce. No other fact has been placed before me to indicate that it is in the public interest that confidential particulars of the matter in question should be made public. — Sapa

29/7/97

Denel arms details 'not reasonable'

 (254)
PRETORIA — Denel's right to privacy regarding details of its negotiations with a Middle Eastern country for an arms transaction worth more than R7bn weighed heavier than the press's right to publish those details, a Pretoria High Court judge said yesterday.

Justice IWB de Villiers granted interim orders against the Mail & Guardian and the Sunday Independent last week on Thursday and Saturday interdicting them from publishing the name of the country or further particulars of the transaction. He gave reasons for his judgment yesterday.

On the facts before him, De Villiers was of the view that it would be grossly unreasonable to publish such details.

"On the evidence it is clear that the deal would fall through if the said facts are made known. A transaction worth about R7bn would be lost

"The economic results would be disastrous to the applicants and their work force. No other facts have been placed before me to indicate that it is in the public interest that confidential particulars of the instant transaction should be made public, he said

"The general sense of justice of the community is accordingly against publication of the facts in question. To my mind, the applicant has shown not only a prima facie right, but indeed a clear right that the confidential information should not be published."

Denel and Armscor approached the court for gagging orders after the Sunday Independent, Sunday Tribune and Sunday Argus published information about the transaction

Denel argued that it had a right to commercial confidentiality and privacy — Sapa.

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Defence force unable to account for aircraft parts worth R6,1bn (254)

CAPE TOWN — The defence force had not timeously or properly accounted for aircraft components worth R6,1bn, an auditor-general's investigation found. Components and spares worth about R820m had been stored for three years without being used, it found.

The findings, released yesterday, formed part of performance audits, carried out in five national departments during the last six months of 1995 and early 1996, and highlighted major shortcomings in management and the utilisation of resources.

The audit of the then SA Defence Force focused on vehicle management, aspects related to 1 Military Hospital and to the administration of aircraft components and spares.

In respect of the first two items, recommendations for improved controls made in 1991/92 had still not been implemented, the auditor-general said. Computerised stock values were found to be unreliable as unrealistic values had been allocated to stock. "At a specific unit the total price difference between the maximum estimated unit price and the prices on the system for only four items amounted to R66m," the auditor-general said.

The performance audit of the public works department found that a feasibility study had not been undertaken before R2,063m was spent on infrastructure for a prison at Vryburg. It was subsequently found that there was a high clay content in the soil at the site and an additional R9,5m would have to be spent to reinforce the foundations. The fire-fighting equipment in 41% of buildings owned or leased by the state had not been satisfactorily serviced for more than a year and fire safety measures were generally inadequate.

The auditor-general found the correctional services department had taken an average 14 years to design and erect a prison. On March 31 1995 there was a shortage of accommodation for 22 500 prisoners. Cape Town's Pollsmoor maximum security prison accommodated 1 648 or 96% more prisoners than it was supposed to. A failure by the department to make use of standardised prison designs resulted in a 92,5% increase in architects' fees. In the case of Goodwood prison this cost an extra R5,7m.

The Bloemfontein prison had to be closed down since the humane detention of prisoners came into question. The prison had deteriorated to such an extent that it would have cost R18m to repair. Maintenance at Pollsmoor and Modderbee prison near Johannesburg had also not taken place timeously and it would cost about R5m to renovate each of them — Sapa

50 29/7 97

Transparency on arms deals long way off

Star 31/8/79

(264)

By NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

A military officer from the country which cannot be named in the South African media turned to a group of South Africans huddling from the rain in the shadow of a G-6 artillery piece on display at an international defence exhibition in Abu Dhabi earlier this year, and said "We must agree. You make the best this G-6 is farrndable"

And then he confided "Of course, we want them too Our brothers have them, so we must have them"

For the South Africans, those words were sweet music for, at R26-million a piece, the G-6 - which can lob a shell more than 50km, and even longer if the climate and terrain is right - represents our best foreign sales item to the international arms market

The South African pavilion was literally wall-to-wall Denel, which had, along with Armscor, the national procurement agency, co-ordinated the local defence industry's presence at the exhibition, the world's biggest

It represented one of those shows at which South Africa could proudly place its armaments wares on view after decades of having to negotiate behind-the-scenes sales and delivery of some of the most sophisticated equipment in the world

So perhaps it is not surprising therefore that Denel's position on arms sales policy

remains part of the apartheid era even though, as the company said in a recent policy statement on arms procurement, that it "wishes to align itself with the Government's position on maximum disclosure of arms transfer matters".

It has had to make its position clear as a result of taking various newspapers to court to avoid publication in South Africa of the name of the country to which it is selling G-6s - despite the name being widely disseminated on the Internet.

The government's policy is, according to Professor Kader Asmal, chairman of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, "unique internationally in that it seeks to disclose an unprecedented amount of information on arms transfer details"

Asmal said, "Disclosure must be consistent with the need to protect, in some cases, national interests and commercial confidentiality"

Denel says that once Government finalised its policy on non-disclosure, it will abide by this as it has done in other cases

But therein lies the rub There has never been official disclosure in South Africa of arms sales

It has taken journalists to rattle the cage of government on virtually every issue relating to armaments acquisition and sales - the attempted "sale" several years ago of

hundreds of AK-47s to Lebanon or Yemen by middlemen from Armscor should settle that point

It provoked such an outcry that the Government appointed a judicial commission to investigate the armaments business in general.

For parastatals to say they will comply with Government instructions is nothing short of an egg dance which has been going on ever since South Africa first struck alliances with Israel, the Republic of China and Chile, as well as certain former Eastern European countries, on arms sales, and research and

We have never had official disclosure

development, during the United Nations arms boycott. South Africa nurtured a cosy military relationship with, for instance, Israel, for many years

The famous, and well-documented case, of the "Flash over the south Atlantic" in the late 1970s is a case in point

South Africa denied it had a nuclear programme or had tested a nuclear device at sea, but the West said it had indeed done so with the connivance of Israel and the Republic of China

Even the Russians, those of the sinister old USSR, say they warned Pretoria of dire

consequences if underground nuclear tests were conducted in the Kalahari desert

The start of the 1990s saw then-President F.W. de Klerk make his sensational statement to Parliament that the country had indeed had a nuclear programme, and that "six and a half" nuclear bombs had been dismantled by our scientists

No other country had ever done this, and it is perhaps significant that no other country has done so since

... I told a conference in Hiroshima a few days ago that the dismantling had been "taken in the interests of security"

That is looked upon by military hawks as one of the weirdest statements yet

Israeli involvement in the missile and space industry has never been denied, and in fact cannot be denied, judging from evidence which has come to the fore over the years regarding collaboration on aircraft, missiles, shells, assault rifles and the like

The sales of G-5s to Iraq during the 10-year war between it and Iran, and the acquisition by Iran of the same artillery piece during the same conflict, are also cases in point

Ask the American troops in the Gulf War how they felt about being pounded with G-6s from Iraq.

The provision of spare parts for French-built Mirage jet fighters, the development of the Oryx helicopter from

the old Puma, the sale of armoured vehicles to countries in Central and North Africa, and the Middle East, and the development of sophisticated communication equipment are too well documented to deny

The NCACC says in clause 3 of a document entitled "transparency on armaments exports", that "Cabinet has approved a policy for the disclosure of information regarding armaments exports"

It says, "The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (section 16: Freedom of Expression) and the Open Democracy Bill both provide a framework for the establishment of procedures in this regard"

Section 16 makes the point that freedom of expression does not extend to, *inter alia*, propaganda for war, incitement of imminent violence, or advocacy of hatred - all of which means that information can be withheld in terms of the interpretation of the Constitution - while the Open Democracy Bill, according to Kader, also makes provision for non-disclosure in terms of "commercial confidentiality"

This bill is to be debated by Parliament during the next session.

It all adds up to a long road to travel before South Africans become aware of who is buying our armaments and, because we do not know, the spectre of being shot at by a Pretoria-made rifle or cannon is frightening and rumours will continue to abound

~~RE~~

PUBLIC SECTOR-GOVT.-DEFENCE

1997

AUG — DEC.

repair of the holiday house Lekkerwater on or before April 1990, if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details? N1590E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE

No The former Cape Provincial Administration was approached to accept the gift for the upgrading and repair of the holiday house. The Executive Council of the Province approved the upgrading and repair of the house on 10 April 1990 and it was consequently not referred to the Treasury (then part of the Department of Finance) for approval

Amnesty: cut-off date
*29 Mr C J van R BOTHERA asked the Minister of Justice

(1) Whether he intends introducing legislation to change the cut-off date in respect of the granting of amnesty, if not, why not, if so, when,

(2) whether any delay has been experienced in this regard, if so, why,

(3) whether such delay has led to the postponement of two amnesty hearings and/or a growing backlog in the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, if not, what is the position in this regard, if so, what are the relevant details,

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? N1591E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE

(1) A Constitutional Amendment Bill to make provision for the extension of the cut-off date in respect of the granting of amnesty has been introduced in Parliament by the Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development

(2) No Once the Bill was approved by Cabinet all efforts were made to comply with time periods required by the Constitution

(3) According to the Chief Executive Officer of the Truth and Reconciliation mission it is not clear as to which specific amnesty hearings the honourable member is referring to. Amnesty hearings have been postponed for a variety of

reasons. However, even in cases where amnesty matters do not fall within the previous cut-off date, the TRC can still receive evidence on it and the Amnesty Committee will postpone making a decision on the matter until the Constitutional Amendment is effected. In any event, in view of the large number of amnesty applications which have been received, there is sufficient work for the Amnesty Committee to continue with pending the Constitutional Amendment

(4) A statement is not necessary

SANDF: trade union
*30 Mr J A MARAIS asked the Minister of Defence

(1) Whether he has lent his support to the legalisation of a trade union for members of the South African National Defence Force, if not, what is the position in this regard, if so, why,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? N1592E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

(1) No I have not lent my support to the legalisation of a trade union for uniformed members of the SANDF

In the White Paper, approved by Parliament in May 1996, the Government's position regarding labour relations arrangements for the military are clearly spelt out in Chapter 5

Investigations are already advanced regarding the creation of suitable empowering mechanisms to expand the means by which the needs of uniformed members can be addressed

(2) The State acknowledges its obligation to protect and further the interest of the uniformed members of the SANDF, who by regulation, are prevented from organising themselves collectively for reasons of bargaining with the State

As I have already said, investigations are well advanced regarding the development of a mechanism for the uniformed member

The new Defence Act will definitely address this issue and as with all draft legislation, it will be discussed in detail in consultation with the Joint Standing Committee on Defence and all other interested parties

Basic Conditions of Employment Act: impact

*31 Comdt A BLAAS asked the Minister of Labour

Whether his Department has done research into and/or made international comparisons regarding the impact that the proposed Basic Conditions of Employment Act will have on the Republic's ability to create more jobs, if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details? N1593E

The MINISTER OF LABOUR

Yes, the Department has done research and made an international comparison on the impact of basic conditions of employment on the ability of the country to create jobs

A research paper, focusing on the impact of hours of work on employment creation, was commissioned to feed into the draft Green Paper on Policy Proposals for a New Employment Standards Statute which was published in February 1996. Further, Departmental officials and the drafters of the proposed Bill have held discussions with international experts

It is widely acknowledged that the international community (governments and academics alike) are divided on this issue. As the World Employment Report 1996/7 states

"[There is] considerable disagreement about the impact of labour market institutions and policies on economic development and employment creation in developing countries". The Report goes on to summarise the two divergent views

The first view argues that labour market regulations "distort" otherwise perfectly functioning competitive markets. The second view stresses that labour market institutions and policies help to reduce poverty, improve productivity and foster economic growth, thus enhancing social welfare in developing countries

The report also quotes a recent econometric study which shows that measures of severance pay, maternity leave and paid annual leave do not have any significant effect on the growth rates of either total employment or output in Latin America or the Caribbean

In respect of the impact of a reduction in the hours of work on job creation, the Department looked extensively at the international literature on the subject and came to the conclusion that reducing hours of work had a minimal or no impact on job creation. However the research showed that a greater positive effect could possibly be achieved where a concerted policy of job creation accompanies a reduction in working time

This is one of the reasons why the Department is arguing for a multi-faceted approach to the creation of jobs. A single legislative measure on its own can't have an impact, negatively or positively, on the creation of jobs. The details of such an approach will be released shortly in our Employment Strategy document as part of the process leading up to the Jobs Summit

Road deaths: impact of advertisement

*32 Mr J S A MAVUSO asked the Minister of Transport †

(1) Whether his Department's attention has been drawn to an advertisement which appeared in the federal state of Victoria in Australia and which had a significant effect on the number of road deaths in Australia, if so, what are the relevant details,

(2) whether, with reference to press reports which appeared on or about 25 June 1997, the Australian authorities presented a video of this advertisement to his Department to be used free of charge on South African television, if so, when,

(3) whether he or she or his Department has decided to use this video, if not, (a) why not and (b) who took this decision,

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? N1594E

New black guns blast into arms world

(254) M+G 1-7/8/97

A few black players are starting to deal in the arms world, writes **Ferial Haffajee**

THE two men in dark suits ruffle rapidly through the sheafs of paper "Fifty? No Was it 60?" Seelan Moodley asks Krish Naidoo. They page again. Then Moodley confirms that "in the two months since we've started, we've landed or are about to land contracts worth between R60-million and R70-million."

Meet the new big, black guns. Together, Moodley and Naidoo run Miltech, one of the biggest black-owned arms companies in South Africa. They are among a host of black arms manufacturers blasting on to the scene, encouraged and enabled by an industry affirmative-action plan.

When it comes to the shadowy world of dealing in arms, however, the apartheid-era sanctions busters — mostly white men — continue to broker the big contracts and earn the highest commissions. They cream off anything between 0.5% and 5% per transaction, which usually translates into a couple of million rands.

They are the essential middlemen who, as one of them puts it, "don't have to go through the bureaucracy." They sell to whomever they like.

Only two black dealers appear to have cracked the jealously guarded turf of the arms dealers: one of them is apparently a former senior member of Unkhonto weSizwe.

Miltech has headhunted the cream of military technologists and engineers on Denel and other established arms companies. A look at the CVs of their employees reveal key brains: the development of South African weaponry such as the



Brothers in arms: Krish Naidoo and Seelan Moodley run a company rapidly making its mark in arms manufacturing

PHOTOGRAPH: SIDDIQUE DAVIDS

Rootwalk helicopter, the Cheetah jet fighter and the G6 — the howitzer Denel wants to sell to a yet publicly-unnamed Middle Eastern country.

When it comes to arms sales, details of what Miltech is doing are thin on the ground. But Moodley and Naidoo are optimistic about getting into some of the biggest contracts going, including South Africa's sales of the Rootwalk and purchase of Corvette warships, as well as the upgrading of the airforce's C130 aeroplanes.

Moodley started Miltech's parent company, Panama Technologies, 12 years ago to sell tracking technology to the taxi industry. It branched out into vehicle tracking and expanded its technology base into gaming, telecommunications and information

technology. "Then we sat down one day and found that most of our scientists were military technologists," says Moodley.

One thing led to another and two months ago Naidoo joined the company to help start Miltech as a new subsidiary. A well-known human rights lawyer in the 1980s, he joined Armscor in 1994 in one of the few senior black appointments made at the parastatal. "I put down 'boredom' as a reason for leaving Armscor," says Naidoo, who is recognised as the country's foremost expert in counter-trade (securing trade deals in return for arms transactions), a practice that guides South African arms deals.

Defence spending has dropped by 60% in the past ten years, estimates consultant Geoff Brown. But it is still

a R4-billion industry, with exports of about R1-billion a year.

The Minister of Defence, Joe Modise, is keen to have senior black players share in the action, which is why black arms companies are springing up.

Armscor has drafted an "affirmative procurement policy" whereby extra points are awarded to tenders if blacks and women play a prominent role. Miltech is one of the biggest companies, but the Lechabale consortium headed by William Makwinya is catching up.

Makwinya's name crops up again and again in the defence industry. The Malawian-born and British-trained aeronautics engineer says half his company's work is military and half civilian. He is coy about the

contracts his company has won, but it is known that Makwinya's credentials helped win a recent tender to provide ground power units to the airforce. The contract is worth R30-million to R50-million.

But Lechabale recently failed to win a R700-million contract to upgrade the airforce's C130s. The SABC spokesman, Enoch Sithole, was part of that tender, but has subsequently left the group.

Despite this, Makwinya is a name to watch, he is knowledgeable about maintenance of the Rootwalk and highly regarded as a top gun in the industry. "There have been no spectacular deals, but they're growing," says Abba Omar, Armscor's group communications manager.

Omar says the outlay required of a manufacturer is high — as much as R200-million on a big deal — and profit margins narrow. The deals also take many years to put together.

"The affirmative procurement policy won't empower at the top end, but rather at the softer end like maintenance contracts," says Brown. This means that, in the short-term at least, black companies in the defence sector will focus on maintenance contracts and supplying equipment.

One of the black companies likely to go places is Kunene Brothers Holdings (KBH). Led by Zoli Kunene, one of five brothers, KBH bought 10% of Grinaker Electronics in 1995. Kunene is president of the Defence Industry Interest Group, a lobbying group for new black arms companies.

The newcomers are aiming at the foreign market, particularly Africa. Miltech's Naidoo says that countries like the United States, Canada, Israel, India and France are keen to talk. "All of them are interested in working with a black-owned company. South Africa is the ideal base from which to service Africa."

RED TAPE BLAMED

CT 1/8/97

US-SA defence

programme stalled

(254)

THE ESTABLISHMENT of a defence committee under the Binational Commission to facilitate a compliance programme between the US and SA should be operational within a year, the government claims.

DEFENCE Minister Mr Joe Modise is adamant that there is no tension between South Africa and the United States and that the formulation and establishment of a defence industry compliance programme will go ahead.

The programme will pave the way for the lifting of the US arms embargo slapped on Armscor and its affiliates because of apartheid-era arms smuggling indictments.

Modise said, in an exclusive interview, that the launch of the programme had been "caught up in red tape".

The compliance programme is part of last February's settlement of the six-year-old US arms smuggling case against Armscor. At the end of the case, Armscor, its subsidiary Kentron and private company, Fuchs Electronics, agreed to pay the US government \$12,5 million (R57 million) in fines.

They pleaded guilty to scores of charges, including breaking the arms embargo against South Africa and several other US laws, including the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, for more than a decade by smuggling weapons parts from a Pennsylvania company.

Lawyers from both countries say it may take a year to finalise the programme.

The delay would "force retrenchments at Denel" according to unnamed sources.

But Modise said: "There is no connection. If there are any retrenchments going on at Denel, they have absolutely nothing to do with the compliance programme or the United States."

Modise was in the United States to launch his country's defence committee, the seventh such committee for the US-South Africa Binational Commission (BNC), co-chaired by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and US Vice-President Al Gore.

The defence committee is expected to clear the way for US-South Africa defence relations after the two countries settle the Armscor case.

Mbeki agreed with Modise: "There is no link between Denel and the finalisation of the compliance programme. It is impractical to say this arms manufacturer is unable

to keep its staff because the compliance programme has not been completed."

When the Armscor case began in 1991 successive US administrations, South Africa's transitional authority and the government of President Nelson Mandela toiled in vain to resolve the Armscor case.

Before the impasse was broken, the US was demanding about \$37m (about R168,7m) in fines and wanted to monitor possible future exports of its arms to Armscor to ensure they did not end up in the hands of undesirable end-users such as Iran, Libya, Cuba and Syria, who are friends of South Africa.

However, as part of the settlement, the US and South Africa agreed to negotiate and establish a mutually agreeable SA defence industry compliance programme which would ensure that the two countries do not pass on secrets to third parties or other countries.

Explaining what he said was a complex process to complete the programme, Modise said "When the agreement was reached, there was already a draft of the document with the broad outline of what the compliance programme will be. What was then necessary was to do further detailed work on it. That detailed work was done.

The document was communicated to Washington. Washington responded and said we disagree on this and that and the other.

"The team in South Africa made the necessary changes, but then decided rather than sending the documents back and forth, the best thing would be to meet.

"The South Africans are doing some more work on the document. Therefore any notion that there has been a standstill is quite wrong. There has been a lot of work that has gone into this matter since March this year. Our US counterparts say this process will take a year. There is no dragging of feet about it.

"Even after the document has been completed, it is still going to be scrutinised by lawyers from both countries, my ministry, foreign affairs ministries and then ratified by the presidents," Modise said — Independent Foreign Service.

The compliance programme is part of the settlement of the arms smuggling case brought by the US against Armscor in which the US and SA agreed not to pass on military secrets to third parties such as Libya.

Navy wife fights anomaly in medical-aid benefits

By JACKIE CAMERON

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) plans to take the minister of defence to court for gender and marital discrimination - unless the SA National Defence Force changes regulations to allow the inclusion of women's partners on medical aid.

The SANDF currently does not allow married women, whose partners do not have medical aid, to include spouses and children on their SANDF medical fund.

SANDF members receive free medical treatment from the SA Medical Services, a division of

the SANDF which employs doctors and nursing staff, and has hospitals and its own drugs supply.

The SAHRC has stepped in to fight for women's rights within the SANDF after a complaint it received from Chief Petty Officer Penny Janes, of Simon's Town, who has a husband and two young children to support.

Janes, of the Naval Logistics Base, told the *Saturday Star* she found the regulations "very unfair" and said she had spent thousands of rands on medical care.

◆ Navy wife

The 32-year-old uniformed finance clerk, who has worked for the navy for about 10 years and earns about R5 000 a month, said she had requested the inclusion of her first child when her husband was unemployed and she was the sole income-earner.

"They sent me a letter informing me that they considered my husband the breadwinner, even though he was unemployed.

"Then I applied to head office in Pretoria, and received a similar answer. At that stage, my husband was employed but not on medical aid. Last year I asked for permission, as a matter of courtesy, from my officer commanding to go to the SAHRC. The SAHRC told me they would take the matter to court."

Janes said it was "incredibly unfair" that her male colleagues could include their spouses and children but that she was not entitled to do so.

"I could go to state hospitals, but I don't have time to sit in a state hospital all day where it's first come, first served. State hospitals are very crowded down here. I cannot afford to pay for a private medical aid," she said. "Also, there are military sick bays closer to my office than state hospitals. It seems so ludicrous."

SAHRC spokesman advocate Liesel Gertholtz said "The navy seems to admit that the regulations are discriminatory, but they are concerned about the financial consequences of changing them."

"Navy staff have access to free medical treatment. Men are identified as breadwinners, and single and divorced women qualify for the medical service. Their children also qualify."

"We are waiting for the results of an investigation into regulations and an explanation from the SANDF before we make a final decision on what action to take," she said.

A spokesman for the SANDF said the cabinet had ordered an inquiry into SANDF regulations and that there would not be any comment until the inquiry had been finalised.

"The regulations are being investigated with a view to bringing them in line with the constitution," she said.

Defence Force 'sent Bushmen to their deaths'

Rebellious trackers were 'executed'

ARG 2/8/97 (254)

PAUL OLIVER AND CHERYL UYS

In what could prove to be the most shameful chapter in South African military history, the old SA Defence Force allegedly ordered the murder of its own Bushmen soldiers, their wives and children.

A major investigation into the mysterious disappearance of Bushmen during the height of the border war has revealed claims that the SADF in the 1970s virtually treated its much-vaunted Bushman trackers like animals

During lengthy investigations, a Saturday Argus news team interviewed dozens of San people, traditional Bushmen leaders, academics, former defence force personnel and highly-placed Angolan government officials. A local film maker who has been documenting the Bushmen involve-

ment in the SADF over a period of five years supplied Saturday Argus with extensive videotaped testimony on the alleged atrocities of the past

According to reliable witnesses, the SADF apparently summarily executed any Bushman tracker who "stepped out of line" by taking them into the bush at night, shooting them in the back of the head and burying them on the spot. The standing "joke" in the SADF at the time was that the executioners were going out to "hunt jackrabbits"

Evidence has also emerged that the Bushman soldiers of 31 Battalion in fact never volunteered to join the SADF - the !Xu Bushmen were forcibly removed from their villages in southern Angola

They were told that unless they came to Namibia to work for the SADF, their villages would be bombed. But the most shocking allegation to emerge from the investiga-

tion was that a group of "mutineering" Bushman soldiers of the SADF 31 Battalion Bravo Company, their wives and children were taken to Unita, South Africa's Angolan ally at the time, to be killed

Ex-Unita soldier and current foreign affairs deputy-minister for the Angolan government, Jorge Chikoti, confirmed from Luanda this week that this was not the only incident where the SADF used Unita to "finish off" operations

"The Bushmen soldiers were massacred by Unita at Cuando Cubango in Southern Angola. Their women and children were also wiped out

"There were more atrocities, especially in 1979, when the SADF used Unita to finish off many of their operations"

Agostinho Victorino, a prominent !Xu

To page 3

SADF 'ordered massacre' of Bushmen

ARG 2/8/97
From page 1

leader who served in 31 Battalion, said the

SADF gave them two choices: "Either join the army or we will bomb your villages." He said they were presented with four pages written in red ink, in Portuguese

"I was only 14 when I was beaten with a slambok and kicked when I refused to join the army. I was taken across the river in a Land-Rover one night and told to start walking. I heard the soldiers arguing whether they should kill me or not. I expected the black night to descend on me permanently at any time and realised that I did not have an option but to join up," Mr Victorino said.

An eyewitness, doing his national service at the time, said that 27 Bushmen soldiers who were taking part in an SADF operation in Zambia in October 1979 were involved in a mutiny 70km from the Angolan border. "After they were found guilty the SADF sent them to Unita head quarters in southern Angola. Their women and children were collected at Omega base in the Caprivi and reunited with the men. We never saw them again

"On their return, horrified drivers said they witnessed how the men, women and children were killed by black Portuguese-speaking soldiers who slit their throats with knives," he said.

Both the !Xu and Kxwe traditional leaders, Matoka Mateus and Kamama Makua, at the Schmidtsdrift settlement confirmed some of the killings

A spokesman for the Department of Defence late yesterday said he carried no knowledge of the allegations and would need time to establish if they were based on fact.

SA's grisly arsenal of chemical destruction

Officials fight to keep our
deadliest 'weapons' secret

(254)

ST 3/8/97

MARLENE BURGER

THE chemical and biological warfare programme developed by South Africa is one of the most sophisticated in the world and, in the wrong hands, could threaten millions of lives.

This emerged from papers filed with the Pretoria High Court on Friday when the Minister of Defence, Joe Modise, joined a phalanx of government officials who are desperately trying to keep details of Project Coast one of South Africa's most closely guarded secrets.

The Sunday Times and its sister publication, Business Day, are among newspapers seeking access to classified military documents found in two steel trunks at the home of chemical warfare expert Dr. Wouter Basson when he was arrested on January 29 allegedly in possession of more than 1 000 ecstasy capsules.

Vehemently opposing the right of the media to peruse the documents are the Transvaal Attorney General, Dr. Jan D'Oliveira, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alfred Nzo and the South African Council for Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Affidavits filed in support of the bid to keep the Basson documents under lock and key offer a glimpse into the astonishing level of expertise achieved in the top-secret project, which was launched by the military in 1981, and is now dismantled.

Government spokesmen insist the multimillion-rand Project Coast, headed by Basson, was a "purely defensive" programme. But it is clear from affidavits made by D'Oliveira, the defence force's surgeon general, Lieutenant-General Niel

Knobel, and National Intelligence Agency deputy director Mike Kennedy, that the expertise could just as easily be used for offensive purposes.

According to Knobel, documents found at Basson's home included formulas and procedures for the synthesis of "deadly" chemicals listed in the international Chemical Weapons Convention which, if they fell into the wrong hands, could be used to "develop with relative ease extremely dangerous chemical substances".

It was in order to "control" Basson's extensive knowledge of chemical warfare that Modise ordered him reinstated as chief cardiologist at 1 Military Hospital in October 1995, less than two years after he had been sacked by former State President F.W. de Klerk for alleged involvement in third-force activities.

So sensitive was Project Coast that not even Knobel, the project manager, by virtue of his post as surgeon general, knew "which people or foreign agencies" were used by Basson as agents and middlemen in acquiring technology, raw materials and equipment.

Failure to keep South Africa's chemical and biological ability secret could lead to the prosecution of foreign collaborators and allow other countries "to neutralise our ability to defend ourselves against chemical and biological attack", says Knobel.

D'Oliveira is opposing disclosure of the documents on the grounds that it could compromise his investigation into Basson's alleged abuse of the programme. He says that releasing the information would be a breach of the non-proliferation treaty to which South Africa is a signatory, since it "may enable third parties to manufacture chemical and biological armaments".

"The information is so dangerous that it could harm the lives and health of many innocent people if it fell into the wrong hands."

Basson's documents include "detailed information about end users, intermediaries and possible diversion destinations" used to circumvent the United Nations arms embargo. It will be decided on September 2 whether the documents will be made public.

Mandela vows to purge security forces

BD 4/8/97

(254)

Farouk Chothia

RICHMOND — President Nelson Mandela vowed yesterday to purge the security forces of the “tiny minority of traitors” who were part of a “third force”, saying their “vile plots” lay behind the “butchering” of people in the KwaZulu-Natal town of Richmond

At the funeral of five African National Congress (ANC) members — including two newly elected councillors — Mandela said their execution-style killing a fortnight ago was a “barbarous attack” on the whole of SA

The police needed to explain why a directive ordering that the councillors be placed under guard was not heeded
Mandela said the government

wanted not only to apprehend those who did the shooting, but also those who “recruit, train, arm, deploy, shelter and order these criminals”

In an apparent reference to National Consultative Forum KwaZulu-Natal chairman Sifiso Nkabinde and former ANC self-defence unit members who fell under his influence, Mandela said the killings were not simply the work of an individual or a small group of criminals. Instead, government was facing “experienced political criminals”, and a “highly co-ordinated network of people deployed in state organs such as the army and police”

They had a huge amount of resources at their disposal — including finances, weaponry, communication

networks and connections in key positions, Mandela said

He said the “third force” network faced a “strategic defeat” in the Richmond by-elections when the ANC won

He said that with the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) reaching out to each other, the enemies of peace would “try to use our political organisations or even new ones to promote their mission”

There was a “tiny minority of traitors” in the security forces, and some of them held senior positions. However, the overwhelming majority of security force members were “trustworthy upholders” of the constitution

Picture: Page 2

Press freed from gagging order over Denel sale

Star 6/8/97

(248)

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PRETORIA CORRESPONDENT

In what has been labelled a victory for freedom of expression, Denel yesterday asked the Pretoria High Court to discharge a temporary interdict gagging the Independent Newspapers group, including The Star

The feud between Independent Newspapers, led by The Sunday Independent, and Denel was sparked when the arms manufacturer used apartheid-era legislation to obtain a gagging order against The Sunday Independent, the Sunday Tribune and the Sunday Argus after they

disclosed information about a R7-billion G6 mobile artillery export deal with Saudi Arabia

Denel laid criminal charges against the papers, their editors and a reporter, under the Arms and Ammunition Development and Production Act of 1968

In terms of the interim interdict, the three papers were prohibited from publishing the name of the country buying the arms - despite the fact that the country's identity had been known overseas for some time.

The High Court upheld the interdict on July 26, restraining 12

papers and expanding the terms

Besides not being allowed to identify Saudi Arabia as the arms buyer, the newspapers were prohibited from publishing any particulars of the financial and commercial structure, conditions and composition of the deal.

The interdict and a similar one brought later against the Mail & Guardian were made by Mr Justice I W B de Villiers, who said Denel's privacy weighed more heavily than the press's right to publish

The newspapers argued it was in the public's interest to publish

details of the deal but Denel argued it had a right to commercial confidentiality because the contract contained a secrecy clause which, if broken, could see the deal fall through.

The Sunday Independent published details of Saudi Arabia's purchase last weekend.

After yesterday's court proceedings John Battersby, editor of The Sunday Independent, said "This is a victory for the freedom of expression enshrined in our constitution."

Denel reserved comment on the issue until tomorrow, when a press conference will be held

Caprivi-trained IFP group — 'murdered Natal leaders'

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members trained by the SA Defence Force in the Caprivi had assassinated, among others, ANC leader Reggie Hadebe and Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) president Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, former IFP paramilitary soldier Daluxolo Luthuli said yesterday.

Luthuli told a truth commission human rights violation committee hearing that African National Congress-sympathising chief Msinga Mlaba and businessman Zazi Khuzwayo were two more people who had been assassinated in KwaZulu-Natal between 1987 and 1992.

He said orders for all assassinations carried out by the SADF-trained group came from either him or Zakhele Khumalo, the newly appointed IFP general sec-

retary for administration, who was then personal assistant to KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Luthuli said he did not want to reveal at this stage which assassination orders had come from him, and which came from Khumalo. In an interview Khumalo denied Luthuli's claims.

Luthuli said the killings of Hadebe and Maphumulo was a joint operation carried out by the Caprivi-trained group and the then KwaZulu Police's bureau of security and intelligence.

Luthuli said four units — contra-mobilisation, defence, VIP protection and offensive — reported to him and he reported to a planning committee. The SADF's Brig Cor van Niekerk was among those who served on the planning committee, he said.

Luthuli was a former Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier who defected to the IFP.

Schools braced for strike by teachers

Renee Grawitzky

6/8/97

GOVERNMENT schools face major disruptions today as thousands of SA Democratic Teachers' Union members are expected to join a 48-hour strike for a 9% increase, a minimum wage of R1 750 and a management wage freeze.

Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu questioned the union's motivation as teachers had been offered a minimum increase of 7.5% plus an additional 2% linked to performance.

The union said no formal proposal had been tabled on Bengu's 9% offer.

Education department chief director for labour relations Duncan Hindle said that since the strike was protected, all the departments could do was enact contingency plans.

The National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union and the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union are to start a 48-hour strike tomorrow.

Denel opts not to seek order against Independent

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — Lawyers representing arms manufacturer Denel chose yesterday not to seek a final order in the High Court to prevent the Independent Newspaper group from disclosing details of a \$7bn foreign arms deal.

Welcoming the move, Sunday Independent editor John Battersby said that it was "an encourag-

ing sign of a new mood within a parastatal corporation which has hitherto operated in a manner more closely associated with the apartheid era than a new democratic order."

Denel earlier obtained a temporary gagging order against 12 newspapers prohibiting the publication of the name of the country interested in purchasing G6 motorised artillery pieces and anti-

aircraft weapons from Denel. The Sunday Independent named the country this week as Saudi Arabia despite the court order, claiming it was in the public interest to do so.

A similar interdict was granted against the Mail & Guardian, but yesterday's move was not applicable to that publication, lawyers said, explaining that the Mail & Guardian case would be before court again only on August 18.

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Govt rejects 'conscription' in national crisis proposal

Wyndham Hartley

(254)

BD 7/8/97

CAPE TOWN — A recommendation in the defence review that all former military personnel should be "liable to serve" in a national emergency has been rejected by Defence Minister Joe Modise as conscription by another means, and has been withdrawn.

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils told Parliament's joint standing committee on defence yesterday that a liability to serve would be unconstitutional because the citizen force in the old defence force was made up of conscripts. Current policy is that the service in the military establishment, whether full time or part time, is voluntary.

Committee chairman Tony Yengeni said he was concerned about a crisis of such magnitude that the SA National Defence Force might have to gain access to skilled people outside its ranks, whether they wanted to serve or not.

Kasrils told the meeting that the issue of "liability to serve" would be discussed again on Monday at a seminar following the withdrawal of the clause.

Arm Scor exports plunge

8/8/97
BY STAFF REPORTERS
AND SABA

(254)

Exports by arms producer Arm Scor in the past financial year have dropped by R435-million to R302-million from last year, according to the company's annual report released yesterday.

Arm Scor executive chairman Ron Haywood said "some very large" pending orders were in the pipeline. "But these transactions are time consuming. They are government-to-government, so there are a lot of sensitivities."

The report said arms acquisition by Arm Scor for the SA National Defence Force had dropped by R121-million to R483-million since last year. The company's net income decreased by R8-million, Arm Scor received R190-million from the state in the form of a defence budget allocation for the past year.

Speaking at the same briefing, Defence Minister Joe Modise said he would fly to the Middle East to plead with two countries not to cancel deals he claimed were jeopardised by the press. An angry Modise lambasted the media for potentially running arms deals with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, saying he was doubtful he would succeed. "I'm going there to plead. I'm going to go down on my knees," he said.

Armaments manufacturer Denel last week obtained a court interdict against The Sunday Independent and other newspapers to prevent them from divulging the name of the country involved in a R7-billion deal to buy G5 and G6 artillery systems.

Responding to Modise's criticism, John Battersby, The Sunday Independent editor, said the decision to publish details of the deal was in the public interest, and it allowed them to participate in the debate about to whom South Africa is selling arms.

Staff want to tell TRC about Beeld's apartheid-era activities

By MATTHEW BURRIDGE

A group of journalists at the Afrikaans daily Beeld say they want to make a submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on their newspaper's activities during the apartheid years, despite the fact that Beeld and its parent company Nasionale Pers have refused to make submissions. Later this month, the TRC is holding a hearing into the role

of the media during the apartheid years. Nasionale Pers chairman Ton Vosloo has said the group did not commit any human-rights violations and had nothing to confess.

A senior journalist at Beeld, who asked not to be named, said that during the apartheid era, the Afrikaans public had not been as well informed by their newspapers on the situation in SA as they should have been. "The Afrikaans newspapers

were closely aligned to the National Party which paralysed their critical function.

"It's an important lesson ... that other newspapers find out how seductive it is to be closely aligned with the government of the day," he said.

"We've been close to the beast - and we should tell them, (the TRC) what it was like.

The journalist said Naspers journalists had been subjected to "hidden censorship".

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Star 8/8/97

"If I stand by my principles, we should go to the TRC, but then I'll lose my job. Even if we don't make a submission, we should at least have another internal discussion with management."

Beeld editor Johan de Wet declined to comment, referring The Star to an editorial of his in the newspaper this week.

In the column, De Wet said although Beeld was "very sorry" that it had made "errors

of judgment" and "possibly contributed to a climate in which human-rights violations could be committed", the newspaper had acted to the best of its ability within a system of media censorship.

He said neither he nor Vosloo could speak on behalf of all the newspapers in the group or former editors of the newspapers, and it would therefore be futile for one of them to make a submission to the TRC.

Air Force

Wings

cf. 8/8/97
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cf 8/8/97

the Cheetahs, as they were cheaper to run and required less sophisticated facilities. Also, the loss of the Mirages would leave South Africa with one fighter squadron — not enough for it to play a meaningful regional role.

"This cuts into our ability to set up a crisis response force, which Foreign Affairs says we are fast-tracking," Heitman said. Another analyst said that Modise's assertion that there was growing pressure for South Africa to play a regional and continental military role would not be possible with these reductions, coupled with the wide-ranging cuts to the SA Army's fighting capability, and this could damage the country's standing on the continent.

"What worries me is South Africa's status in Africa. Everyone thinks we are the regional power, but here we have nothing," said the analyst, who did not want to be identified.

Heitman said South Africa would also have only one type of fighter in service, raising questions about operational capability should an aircraft crash and others be grounded pending an investigation.

Heitman said another problem was that the SAAF would have "no real lead-in" training jet to bridge the gap between the Astra training aircraft and the sophisticated Cheetah. This could lead to a drop in SAAF pilot training standards, perhaps necessitating sending pilots overseas for training.

WHILE DEFENCE MINISTER Joe Modise remains upbeat about the intended sale of the Air Force's Mirage jets, defence analysts see the move as a chink in the country's armour. **WILLEM STEENKAMP** reports.

SOUTH AFRICA intends selling a large amount of excess defence equipment, including its Mirage F1 fighter aircraft — a move experts say will further undermine the country's plans to act as a regional peacekeeper.

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise announced yesterday that after a decision by the Council on Defence — comprising himself, Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Armscor chief executive Mr Ron Haywood, Defence Secretary Mr Pierre Steyn and SANDF chief General George Meiring — the Defence Force was to do away with a wide range of equipment.

This included obsolete anti-aircraft guns, portable ground-to-air missiles, excess Buffel troop-carriers and excess Puma helicopters.

"Naturally helicopters like the Alouette will go eventually," Modise said. "But they can only go once we have addressed the problem of a replacement for them."

He said the SAAF's Mirage fighter jets would have to be "scanned very carefully", but SAAF spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Derek Page announced yesterday that the SAAF would be withdrawing its Mirage, F1AZ ground-attack and FICZ multi-role fighters and putting them up for sale by March next year — two years earlier than had initially been planned.

Page said the aircraft would probably be sold to a developing country, on condition that such a deal was approved by France, in accordance with an agreement made when South Africa bought the aircraft from that country in 1975.

It is uncertain how many Mirage F1s there are in SAAF service, but the number is reliably understood to be around 20 or 21, based at Hoedspruit in Mpumalanga.

The SAAF's 37 Cheetah multi-role fighter aircraft, based at Louis Trichardt, would remain in service, said Page.

The cuts are almost certainly as a result of a sudden decision by Finance Minister Mr Trevor Manuel, taken the day before he announced his latest budget, to slash

defence spending by R700 million — money that the defence community was counting on.

Because there is a moratorium on retrenchments, the SANDF cannot reduce an already bloated force, thus forcing it to cut back on equipment.

Modise, although "not thrilled" about the cuts, remained upbeat about their implications, saying the SANDF would ensure South Africa "remains protected all the time" and that the country could still play a significant role in the region.

Although he supported the government's focus on socio-economic issues, defence was necessary to guarantee South Africa's status in the world, he said.

"There are growing pressures on South Africa to play a role in peacekeeping in other countries in regional and in continental structures in Africa."

But defence analysts took a different view to the implications of the cuts, particularly when it came to South Africa's role as a regional power and its intention to build a crisis response force to take part in African peacekeeping missions.

Mr Helmoed-Romer Heitman, Southern African correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, said the loss of the Mirages would — along with a decision to get rid of the SAAF's C-160 Transall cargo aircraft — put paid to any chance of conducting rapid deployment operations.

South Africa needed at least 20 transport aircraft to fly enough paratroops, troops and equipment in a crisis response mission, but without the C-160s would have only 12. "There just won't be enough aircraft," Heitman said.

Also, unlike the C-160 the remaining C-130 Hercules aircraft could not carry helicopters, and needed longer airstrips — hampering the tactical and overall flexibility of such an operation.

South Africa would then also have to rely on countries such as the US, Britain or France for transport aircraft, he said.

Similarly, the Mirages were better suited to deployment in forward operations than

US wary over Modise's man

CF (GR) 8/8/97 (254)

JONATHAN ROSENTHAL

Washington — The US has a new ally to the people's government in the country, but the US is wary over the man who will be in charge of the relationship.

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Staff shortage at SAAF 'critical'

BD 12/8/97 (254)

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — Air traffic controllers at Waterkloof Air Force Base have warned that VIP flights routinely taken by top government officials, including President Nelson Mandela, could be endangered by a critical staff shortage in their ranks.

The warning follows the resignation last week of seven of Waterkloof's 17 controllers and four of the five approach controllers.

Waterkloof Air Force Base handles an average of 488 military and VIP flights each month. In emergency situations, passenger jets can also use the military base.

SA Air Force (SAAF) spokesman Laverne Machiné yesterday confirmed that the situation at Waterkloof reflected the critical situation at all military air bases in the country.

"We are being hit hard by a major loss of skilled personnel to the private sector and continuous budget cuts have tied our hands

"We simply cannot give our staff the financial incentives offered outside," she said.

According to Machiné, the air force was urgently recruiting staff, not only air traffic controllers, but also pilots and other skilled personnel. The air force has a shortage of almost 200 pilots.

It takes three years to train airfield controllers and six years for approach controllers.

"Because the VIP Squadron, which transports the president and cabinet ministers, is based at

Waterkloof, the control tower at the base has to be manned 24 hours every day for 365 days of the year to accommodate the irregular hours of the VIPs," a source said.

The latest resignations would, without a doubt, negatively affect the operational abilities at Waterkloof, he said.

"The resignations will also lead to a higher workload on the remaining controllers which will be detrimental to air safety."

Staff shortages had affected other military air bases with controllers at Hoedspruit each working about 35 hours overtime each month, Louis Trichardt controllers working 25 hours each, Swartkop controllers 40 hours and Ysterplaat 26 hours, all without pay, the source said.

The majority of controllers left the air force to join the Air Traffic and Navigational Service Company at a much higher salary and overtime pay.

The company — which is apparently also experiencing serious staff shortages — in turn lost employees to foreign countries such as Hong Kong and the United Arab Emirates.

Meanwhile, last month, the SAAF was engaged in anti-crime operations with the SA Police Service in which 73 stolen vehicles were recovered and four car hijackers were arrested.

Three weapons and 1 588kg of dagga were also confiscated. More than 100 illegal immigrants had been arrested in two border control operations, a spokesman said.

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KAP
Properties Limited
Incorporated in South Africa

CMC
Consolidated Mining Corporation Limited
Incorporated in South Africa

New debate on conscription begins

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

(254)

The debate on future conscription for South Africans reopens today at a special seminar hosted by Parliament's joint standing committee on defence

The seminar will be presided over by Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils, who last week said it was against Government policy, and probably the Constitution as well, for those

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liable for military service before 1994 to be called up

The Defence Review, which sets the framework for the country's military future, has opted for South Africa to have part-time forces

However, the question arises whether this would be enough should the country find itself, as the current Defence Act puts it, in an emergency or, as the constitution puts it, in a state of national defence

Arms industry 'under attack'

(254)

Wyndham Hartley

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CAPE TOWN — African National Congress defence specialist Tony Yengeni yesterday expressed concern that there might be an "agenda" involving the media which was aiming to destroy the country's defence industry.

Yengeni, speaking at a meeting of the joint standing committee on defence, which he chairs, also expressed concern about the way "we are being pushed into a corner of not doing business with certain countries by the press" and the US.

Armcor chairman Ron Haywood told the committee that the press was mature, but in matters of business there was a need for confidentiality. He argued that some business deals which could harm share prices if prematurely announced were kept confidential and that this should apply to Armcor.

Old-style army call-ups to get the boot

It's volunteers into the breach in times of trouble and strife

CLINE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Current and future volunteers for the SA National Defence Force may be called up in times of national emergency or war, but for ordinary civilians the days of conscription are over, if policy proposals by the Ministry of Defence are accepted.

Specifically ruled out from the call-up are those who were in the "statutory forces" of the former SA Defence Force and TBVC armies before April 1994.

Not all the skirmishes on the issue may be over, however.

Proposals for reservists to be eligible to serve for 16 years after completing their

initial service are to be canvassed with organised business, with concern being expressed that some employers might discriminate against those still eligible for service.

The new SANDF will be an all-volunteer force, but its members will be bound by contract and a wholly new Defence Act to render additional military service.

The new act will provide for the minister of defence to call up reservists for a maximum of 90 days' continuous additional service, and that Parliament will be authorised to extend this for six months.

Other policy proposals unveiled at a seminar yesterday chaired by Deputy Defence Minister Romie Kasrils included:

- The new act will allow personnel

able to additional service, but who have conscientious objections, to render non-military alternative service.

■ Eligible personnel may also apply to an exemption board to be excused from service for "compelling personal reasons."

■ A database will be set up for up-to-date details of all those in the reserve.

■ Volunteers who have completed their contractual period of service will remain on the reserve for varying lengths of time depending on the length and nature of their service contracts.

"We are committed to an all-volunteer force and, therefore, an end to conscription," Mr Kasrils said.

However, a guarantee of service from those who had been trained was needed,

Mr Kasrils added: "The principle is that the individual who wishes to freely join the SANDF must be prepared to contractually bind themselves to serve when so required."

Most participants in the seminar, including senior military officers, representatives of business and non-militarist organisations, welcomed the volunteer nature of the new force.

However, there were several queries about whether the proposed 16-year period of eligibility for a call-up was appropriate.

Mr Kasrils agreed that the views of employer organisations should be canvassed on the issue, and said that the defence ministry was keen to protect the interests of small business.

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14/8/97

Plan for military service in a crisis supported

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — A proposal that volunteers to the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) be legally obliged for call-up over a 16-year period to perform up to nine months of active service in the event of a national emergency or crisis found broad support within the defence family yesterday. The defence ministry proposal was outlined during a day-long seminar on the controversial "liability to serve" clause in the defence review. The clause, in its original form, was rejected by civil society organisations on the grounds that it was a form of conscription, which was not policy in SA. The version of the defence review which was approved by cabinet in June did not contain the controversial clause.

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils, who chaired the seminar, said Defence Minister Joe Modise was committed to a volunteer force and an end to conscription, and that the seminar had been called to find an alternative. The problem with the old draft was that old order conscripts would have been compelled to serve because they had military experience. Kasrils also unveiled a new defence view of conscientious objection and confirmed that those who were

contracted to the military and had a liability to serve in a crisis could still apply to a board on the grounds that they had changed their beliefs. He said it would also be possible for someone with a liability to serve to apply for exemption on specific grounds of conscience to a specific war, rather than because of a more general rejection of military service. Those owing service to the state would be allowed to do this in a nonmilitary capacity. Brig Joan van der Poel, in a detailed briefing on the staffing policy of the SANDF, stressed that the defence force had a constitutional obligation to have a force available should a state

of emergency be declared by the president, or a state of national defence be called. For this reason, those who received voluntary training would be included on the national reserve for a period of 16 years or until the age of 65, or whichever came sooner. They would then be liable for active service, if needed, for a period of 90 days which, should a national crisis demand, could be extended by a further six months by Parliament. Concern was expressed at the seminar about SANDF members who had volunteered to serve before these suggestions were made. Their positions would have to be renegotiated.

Defence force members, particularly Gen Andrew Masondo, expressed the view that if the situation was so critical that SA was about to be taken over, all able-bodied persons should be liable to serve. This was rejected as planning for doomsday. Kasrils said he was sure that South Africans would volunteer to defend their country if the situation became that serious. Once approved by Parliament's joint standing committee on defence, and the National Assembly, the provisions will be included in new defence legislation, together with refinements made during the process.

Derby-Lewis drops attempt to block statements

Stephen Laufer

CHRIS Ham's murderer Clive Derby-Lewis yesterday dropped his opposition to the introduction into his amnesty hearing of statements he made while detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Derby-Lewis's about-face came after truth commission members — visibly irritated by his rambling tales of political successes, meetings with foreign right-wing groups and speeches during by-elections — told him to get to the point of his verbal submission.

Derby-Lewis apologised for having resisted the introduction of the evidence-for-three days after it was presented by lawyers for the assassinated SA Communist Party (SACP) leader's family, who are opposing the amnesty bid. He had been wrongly advised by his lawyers that the documents were irrelevant, and had been "terribly shocked" to hear that failure to address them could be interpreted as not making full disclosure, necessary for amnesty to be granted. "Your client knows better than anyone what the truth is, he doesn't need

documents," committee member Bert Ngoye told Derby-Lewis's counsel Harry Prinsloo after another attempt to block the statements. "You don't want your client to commit himself until you've seen the documents," committee member Andrew Wilson charged, an apparent hint that Derby-Lewis's credibility was being damaged. Derby-Lewis said that his readings from Die Patriot were aimed at illustrating how the threat of violence in defence of white privilege had become central to CP policy. It had been clear the party was calling on its supporters

to mobilise for war. As part of the mobilisation, he obtained a 9mm pistol. He later gave it to Janusz Walus, who shot Ham after the two had agreed to target the SACP leader. He had been shocked when the news of Ham's killing had been telephoned to the house of a friend he was visiting on Easter Saturday, because he told Walus not to commit the murder during the holiday weekend. Thinking the death had been perpetrated by others, he was relieved "that we did not have to do it", and he and his wife had finished their tea before going shopping.

Forum fails to attend KwaZulu security meeting

Farouk Chothia

MARRITZBURG — The National Consultative Forum failed to attend a meeting yesterday hosted by KwaZulu-Natal safety and security MEC Nyanga Ngubane to discuss an end to violence between its supporters and those of the African National Congress (ANC) in Richmond. Forum KwaZulu-Natal chairman Sifiso Nkabinde said Ngubane had not given him sufficient notice of the meeting. This made it

It's official: compulsory army callups are history

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Volunteers, not conscripts, will be used to bolster defence force regulars in the future, says deputy minister while clarifying status of apartheid-era soldiers

BY NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

Thousands of white males who underwent compulsory citizen-force training with the former South African Defence Force over the past 30 years are now no longer liable to serve in the South African National Defence Force

They can, however, volunteer for service. If they do, they will be obliged to make themselves available for callups. About 500 000 men, now aged between 22 and 55, are affected.

Conscription was officially suspended in 1994 but the status of apartheid-era conscripts had not been clarified until now. The requirement remained on the statute books because sections of the Defence Act relating to conscription were never repealed.

A new defence act - scheduled to be tabled for comment this year - is expected to con-

tain a provision for conscription in the event of a national emergency or state of war.

The president, as the commander-in-chief of the defence force, will have the authority to reintroduce conscription.

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils told a Defence Review conference in Cape Town this week that former SADF personnel would no longer be required to serve in the SANDF, but that volunteers would be sought to sign up.

They would be contractually obliged to make themselves available for callups, possibly for up to 16 years.

The last, whites-only, national-service intake took place in July 1993.

Conscription was originally introduced in 1953 as a selective ballot system, and became compulsory in 1968.

It was originally for nine months but was later increased to two years and then reduced to a year.

Draw 15/8/97

Conscripts also had to attend three or four-week camps in alternate years for between eight and 12 years.

At its height in the late 1980s, 20 000 men a year were under training.

Kasrils said a proposed recommendation in chapter 9 of the Defence Review had given the impression that conscription would be one way of ensuring continued manpower for the SANDF.

"Consequently, Defence Minister Joe Modise withdrew the recommendation," Kasrils said

Modise also "stated that the policy of the Ministry of Defence is that we do not support conscription and that any future approach would be based on a volunteer system to complement the regular force".

Kasrils said: "Our policy is that conscripts who served in the former SADF prior to April 1994 are not liable to render military service"

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Arms industry is not exempt from transparency

(254)

BD 15/8/97

Political correspondent Wyncham Hartley looks at parliamentary debate on confidentiality for the arms industry, and, below, columnist Thami Mazwai takes issue with white journalists over the same issue

THE SA arms trade, like its inseparable partner foreign policy, has undergone profound change since the democratic election. Before 1994 the only thing most people in SA knew about the arms trade was that it happened.

The arms industry itself was more obvious for the simple fact that — in the propaganda war to convince South Africans they should be prepared to offer their lives for the cause — the weapons were trotted out at parades and celebrations. Scarcely an agricultural show anywhere in SA went by without the defence force exhibiting weapons of war.

Also, most white SA males were compelled to serve in the military, many in combat situations, and would return home with stories about the weapons used against the "communist enemy". Thankfully, 'conscripted' and the absolute secrecy of arms trade are no longer with us. The Nation-

al Conventional Arms Control Committee, consisting of a large number of cabinet ministers, was established to consider all arms deals which the SA weapons industry might want to pursue.

The committee came about as a result of embarrassing, indeed shameful, incidents involving SA weapons. The Rwanda genocide was one, a ship full of AK-47s (captured in the SA conflict) ending up in the Middle East — in apparent contravention of international embargoes and without government's knowledge — was another. Indeed, these two regions, central Africa and the Middle East, have continued to dominate controversies about the arms trade. For example, the arms committee decided that it was in order to

trade arms with the new Rwandan government. There was an outcry in the media, particularly because of the apparent involvement of Rwandan troops in the rebel army of Laurent Kabila who was about to take over Zaire.

Then it emerged that arms manufacturer Denel was negotiating a deal to sell sophisticated tank sights to Syria. There was another uproar and the US became involved because Syria was on its "black list" and US law prescribed arms sanctions against any nation selling arms to countries on the list. The committee apparently left the matter in the hands of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, and it seemed to fizzle out. The latest planned deal — with Saudi Arabia and involving R7bn

— has caused an even bigger furor. Denel threatened newspapers with legal action if they published the name of the client country. The company obtained a High Court interdict against publication of the name, but one went ahead anyway.

The information had been available on the Internet before it was formally published in SA.

Defence Minister Joe Modise told a news conference that he would have to go on his knees to Saudi Arabia to make amends for it being publicly identified. But Modise missed the point. If the defence industry promised Saudi Arabia and Kuwait absolute confidentiality, it was its responsibility to ensure that there were no leaks, not the responsibility of the

press to ignore the information.

Now in Parliament some members are saying there exists a "pro-American agenda", of which the press could be a part, aimed at destroying SA's arms industry. They claim the failure to respect the right to business confidentiality for Denel could affect the industry's growth potential and hence its ability to provide jobs and foreign exchange for South Africans.

It is difficult to see how disclosing details of arms trade is not in the public interest — aside from the unfortunate damage done to an already beleaguered judicial system. Unfortunate because publication of the client country's name came in defiance of a court order, instead of by simply telling a government agency to get lost.

When presented with possible publication, Denel chose confrontation rather than explanation. It is also unfortunate that the press action of trying to force the press to obey dominated Denel's response — rather than an appeal to editors, explaining to them why publication would be harmful. Denel could have promised an official release of information at a more appropriate time. The legal threat was like a red rag to a bull. This, of course, begs the question of whether or not the press should determine if national interest should delay or halt publication. Some would argue delay-ing publication would be co-opting. Others might argue that the "publish and be damned" attitude displayed by the media was inherited from the repression of old and was irresponsible. But there seems to be insufficient evidence to demonstrate an orchestrated plan to harm the defence industry.

Policy

Time South Africa reined in the dogs of war

CT 19/8/1977 (254)

THE FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE Bill which will be discussed by the Parliamentary Defence Committee today is necessary to curb South Africa's "dogs of war", writes **LAURIE NATHAN**. But the legislation needs to be strengthened by defining and banning mercenary activity and incorporating provisions of international conventions.

THE foreign adventures of groups such as Executive Outcomes have generated much local and international concern about South African mercenaries employed in conflict in Africa and elsewhere.

Long-awaited legislation to deal with this problem has now been tabled in Parliament under the Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill.

The bill has two significant aspects. First, it defines foreign military assistance broadly to encompass not only active involvement in combat but also the provision of logistical, intelligence, training, personnel, operational and other forms of military support to a party engaged in armed conflict.

Second, the bill stipulates that South African citizens, residents and companies who wish to render such support must first obtain the approval of the Minister of Defence (acting on the recommendation of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee). In the absence of formal approval, the support will constitute a criminal offence with a maximum penalty of R1 million or 10 years in jail.

The broad definition of foreign military assistance is one of the strengths of the Bill. By casting the net widely, it covers the potentially dangerous activities of Executive Outcomes and others who claim that they are "private security companies" and not mercenaries.



GORY BOYS: The mercenaries Michael "Mad Mike" Hoare (right) with Peter Duffy (left) and an unknown soldier of fortune during their trial in Durban in 1981.

Yet the broad definition is also the main weakness of the bill because it loses sight of the critical problem posed by mercenaries defined narrowly as soldiers hired by a foreign state or rebel movement to participate directly in armed hostilities in their private capacity.

Mercenary activity is prohibited by international conventions and should therefore be outlawed in domestic legislation. It should not be possible for South Africans to apply for, and be granted, permission to act as mercenaries.

Parliamentary controls in democratic countries. These controls are intended to ensure that the military does not undermine the political process, usurp the authority of government, abuse the rights of citizens or exercise excessive force.

Consider the effort that South Africa has made to introduce or strengthen control over the SANDF constitutional provisions on defence, amendments to the Defence Act, an emphasis on civil supremacy in the white paper on Defence; the creation of a civilian Defence Secretariat, strong parliamentary supervision, and training military personnel in the provisions of the Bill of Rights and international law.

Mercenaries, by definition, are not subject to any of these processes and controls. They are not accountable to a properly constituted authority and there are no sure means of preventing or punishing the commission of human rights abuses. Executive Outcomes claims that it respects human rights and will only serve democratic governments. But since this claim cannot be checked by a competent authority, it amounts to this "trust me, I'm a mercenary."

Citizens who volunteer for military service in democratic states are generally motivated by a desire to serve their country and to do so with honour. Mercenaries, in contrast, are typically motivated by profit and are therefore driven mainly by self-interest. As a result, and given the absence of strong control, the political reliability and military discipline of mercenaries are inherently suspect.

Machiavelli raised this problem in 1513. "Mercenary captains either are or are not skilful soldiers. If they are, you cannot trust them for they will always seek to gain power for themselves, either by oppressing you, their master, or by oppressing others against your wishes. If, on the other hand, they are not skilful soldiers, they will still be your ruin in most cases."

Acts of terror, looting, pillage, rape,

theft, mutiny and desertion by mercenaries in Africa have been well-documented, giving rise to the term "dogs of war" in the popular media. In the 1970s and early 1980s mercenary strike forces were involved in coups or coup attempts in Guinea, Equatorial Guinea, Benin, Togo, the Comoro Islands and the Seychelles. More recently, mercenaries were reported to be propping up the Mobutu regime in Zaire and to be fighting on both sides of the civil war in Sudan.

For the reasons outlined above, mercenary activity has been condemned internationally. The 1977 Geneva Protocol stripped mercenaries of combatant and prisoner-of-war status in armed conflict and, in 1977, the Organisation of African Unity adopted the Convention for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa.

In 1989 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries. The convention makes mercenary activity an international crime. It prohibits states from recruiting, using, financing and training mercenaries and obliges them to extradite or prosecute any mercenaries found on their territory.

The Foreign Military Assistance Bill is a necessary and important piece of legislation. It should be strengthened by defining and banning mercenary activity and by incorporating the provisions of the international convention of 1989.

Let me end by way of domestic analogy. In the Western Cape Pagad claims that it has been forced to go to war with criminal gangs because the police have failed to deal with the gangsters. But we will not tolerate vigilantes who operate outside the law, no matter how righteous their cause. And if we will not tolerate this in our own country, how can we tolerate it elsewhere?

□ Laurie Nathan is the executive director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution.

Modise 'not yet in control of department'

BD19/8/97 (254)
CAPE TOWN — Defence Minister Joe Modise was not yet in control of the affairs of the defence department, defence secretary Pierre Steyn told Parliament's joint standing committee on defence yesterday.

This was due to the defence review and white paper not yet being translated into a manageable defence plan and budget as a basis for decision making, control and accountability.

Steyn said neither was he himself, as head of department and accounting officer, in control of his statutory powers and duties because the civilian staff

capacity, which was built under the auspices of the defence secretariat, was not performing to standard.

Although the establishment of the head office placed staff capacity at his disposal, this capacity was predominantly military and loyal to the chief of the defence force, who controlled the system of military personnel management and development. Staff would either have to be "civilianised" or replaced with civilians.

The issues would have to be resolved soon to "avoid adverse accountability issues, which are emerging" — Sapa

'SA must control mercenary action'

Wyndham Hartley

(254)

BD 20/8/97

CAPE TOWN — SA had a moral and legal responsibility to stop "greedy, avaricious and unsavoury characters" from engaging in mercenary and other military-type activities internationally, National Conventional Arms Control Committee chairman Kader Asmal said yesterday.

Asmal told the National Assembly's defence committee yesterday that the Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill was designed to give meaning to the clause in the constitution which forbids South Africans from becoming involved in international armed conflicts.

Introducing the bill to the committee, which was also expected to be briefed by controversial company Executive Outcomes, Asmal said mercenary, military and security type involvement of South Africans abroad had a direct impact on foreign policy and had to be controlled.

"We cannot turn a blind eye to these activities. We cannot knowingly allow our territory to be used to launch operations in other countries," he said.

Bona fide transactions between SA security-type companies and foreign

countries would have to be vetted, he said, and authority granted if the type of activity and contract country were acceptable to government.

South Africans had the right to these transactions but would have to apply for authority. He said non-governmental organisations involved in legitimate conflict resolution activities would also have to register, but would have no problem getting the required authority.

Training to democratic countries would be approved on the payment of a fee which would not be applied to non-governmental organisations.

Executive Outcomes, which came to Parliament to brief the committee, was precluded from doing so because members of the committee insisted that they should study the bill before entertaining submissions.

In spite of chairman and Freedom Front MP Pieter Groenewald's explanation that he had invited them in order to save time, African National Congress members objected to the submission taking place immediately after the introduction of the bill.

In their written submission, Executive Outcomes welcomed legislation to regulate foreign military assistance.

SANDF defrauded by 939% in overpayment

Linda Ensor

CAPE TOWN — The SA National Defence Force (SANDF) had been defrauded into overpaying by as much as 939% for the purchase of spares, Parliament's joint standing committee on public accounts learned yesterday.

Financial management chief Lt-Gen Ben Raubenheimer said a defence force official had collaborated with four associated companies to win a Tender Board contract to supply spares at hugely inflated prices. Another company had raised the alarm and the matter was now in the hands of the police, Raubenheimer said.

The amount involved was not available through the auditor-general's report noted that millions of rands were involved.

Other officials noted the same problem had been found at airforce bases and in the navy and a fully fledged investigation was being undertaken, together with the department of finance, into weaknesses in the tendering system. It sometimes happened that bogus companies traded for a while and then disappeared.

SANDF chief Gen Georg Merring said attempts were being made to change the system to prevent fraud.

The SANDF's ineffective controls over its medical supplies also gave rise to grave

concern among members who suggested that the trading account in medical stock — which notched net purchases worth R65m in 1995/96 — be terminated.

The auditor-general was not able to form an opinion about the finances of the account. "I am extremely concerned by what is going on," African National Congress (ANC) MP Lalloo Chiba said while questioning the defence panel on the accounts.

"The trading account for medical stock should be closed down. There is every possibility that losses will escalate further over the next few years. The financial management and control systems are not in place." Chiba found it "very serious and highly

unsatisfactory" that payments for medical stock were made against issue and not against delivery.

He noted turnover from the sale of medical supplies had fallen from R146m in 1994/95 to R122m in 1996/97, while profit had fallen from R3,8m in 1994/95 to R1,6m the following year and a net loss of R3,3m in 1996/97. At the same time, expenses had escalated from R5m in 1994/95 to about R10,8m in the 1996/97 year.

The committee was not satisfied with the replies given by defence officials. ANC MP Barbara Hogan complained that the problem of medical supplies recurred year after year, yet nothing was

done to address the resolutions passed by the committee.

Defence secretary Pierre Steyn said the SANDF would prefer not to be involved in the supply of medical stock to other clients, but, before terminating the service, would have to investigate the effect on other institutions such as the provincial governments, health authorities and correctional services department.

However, Gen Rinnus van Rensburg, chief of medical force applications in the office of the surgeon general, said after a departmental evaluation it was decided to carry on with the account. Another investigation would begin in September and

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should be completed in three months. He noted that the SANDF had 471 suppliers of medical stock delivering to 179 supply points inside the SANDF and 239 outside of it.

Regarding the implementation of the voluntary severance package, Merring said the permanent force had fallen from 103 000 at the beginning of last year to 99 000 by June 1 this year. Steyn said the system had hurt the force which was not able to choose which people would leave.

Missing medical stock, repeated spillage of aviation fuel and inadequate debt control systems were also highlighted by the committee's questions.

For spare parts

Housing capacity offer for arms deal

0022/8/97

(173) (254)

Stephen Laufer

GERMAN arms manufacturers have told the SA government they will create the capacity to build 20 000 houses a year as part of a countertrade deal if they win contracts to supply ships and aircraft to the defence force.

Presenting a package including corvettes, submarines, helicopters, and jet and maritime patrol aircraft yesterday, representatives of the German consortium promised substantial investment in SA and an increase in trade between the two countries if the deal goes ahead.

Daimler Benz Aerospace and Thyssen shipbuilding consortium representatives met Defence Minister Joe Modise, Trade and Industry Minister Alec Irwin and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Penuell Maduna, who is a member of the cabinet committee on arms exports, in Cape Town. Senior defence force officers were also present.

The scheme to build specially designed 46m² prefabricated houses would create 2 000 jobs. The offer includes assistance in setting up small, medium, and micro-businesses, with emphasis on black empowerment.

Five commercial parks built as part of the deal would provide 500 jobs in car repairing, retail, carpentry, plumb-

ing and baking. There would be training schemes for SA workers.

It is understood that Daimler Benz Aerospace is negotiating with 38 potential partners in SA to build the AT 2000 jet fighter-trainer in a three-way deal including Hyundai of Korea. The worldwide market for the advanced aircraft is about 2 700.

SA defence industry participants in the AT 2000 partnership would supply cockpit avionics, communications technology, attack, and other systems and have access to German-advanced technology. Experts believe about 150 aircraft could be assembled in SA for worldwide sale over 25 years.

Four Cougar maritime helicopters would be built with Denel aviation and Eurocopter would supply light utility helicopters to replace the SA Air Force's ageing Alouettes.

German navy U-206A submarines would be transferred to the SA navy, possibly as a stopgap until the supply of new U-209s next century.

Meanwhile, it was confirmed yesterday that a Spanish arms package is likely to be tabled soon. Sources said it would include a proposal by the Bazan shipyard, which won the cancelled corvette tender two years ago, to supply ships, and a proposal for maritime patrol aircraft from Casa.

Defence ministry in disarray

Marion Edmunds (254)

MTG 22-28/8/97

The government's attempts to establish civil control of the defence force are floundering

And the head of the Defence Secretariat, Pierre Steyn, has antagonised the African National Congress and Defence Minister Joe Modise by publicly saying so

Steyn shocked members of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Defence this week, by baldly stating that Modise, was "not in control", because his budget did not match his policy commitments

His statement earned him a rap over the knuckles, and he has been obliged to put out a statement subsequently, admonishing himself

Insiders acknowledge that Steyn and his small civilian component, are waging a turf war inside the Defence Ministry, against the old fashioned, uniformed military bureaucracy which has dominated defence administration for decades

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils hit back this week, saying Steyn's comments were an admission that the defence secretary was not capable of supporting Modise

Steyn's provocative comments were made to the defence committee to which he is constitutionally accountable — when he briefed members about his secretariat's progress in the past six months

The committee chair, ANC MP Tony Yengeni, has called for a follow up meeting with Modise and Kasrils to discuss Steyn's statement which he says has very serious implications for Parliament

Warding off angry criticism from ANC MPs, Steyn said he was failing in his task of establishing civilian control of the military because government regulations were preventing him from hiring non military staff and because civilians in his secretariat were not in control of the budgets

There must be a programme in place to create civilian capacity and it should not be evolutionary but assertive I can't create a division from nothing I need to recruit civilians, we must have a needs analysis to do this. I am disappointed at the lack of progress, in fact, I am embarrassed Am I alarmed? No, I am impatient."

From Steyn's account, the military is winning the war against the civilians, and government's commitment to creating civilian control is undermined by its own red tape, and bureaucratic indifference

"The resistance comes from just acting in a lethargic manner, by doing what is done for many

years I could, as secretary for defence, be much more accountable I could rely on the unqualified support of civilians, but people are human and the principle of who pays the piper calls the tune comes to mind

"The secretary of defence should be serviced by military and civilians Let the military fly aircraft, sail ships and run guns — thank heavens for loyal soldiers — but I'd prefer not to have them working for me I am not ploughing with my own tools the rate of change is too slow

Steyn is bitter about the Cabinet moratorium blocking the appointment of public servants to new posts,

because it directly prevents him from recruiting appropriately skilled civilian staff Those he could recruit from the military are not tempted to move to his secretariat, because they lose substantial pension benefits when they shed their uniform for suit and tie, even though they remain in the employ of the Department of Defence

The cauldron of troubles has been simmering for months in the defence department, but even Modise and Kasrils were taken aback this week by Steyn's straight talking

Kasrils said that his ministry was not trying to hide the problems in the

defence department and that they were constantly under discussion

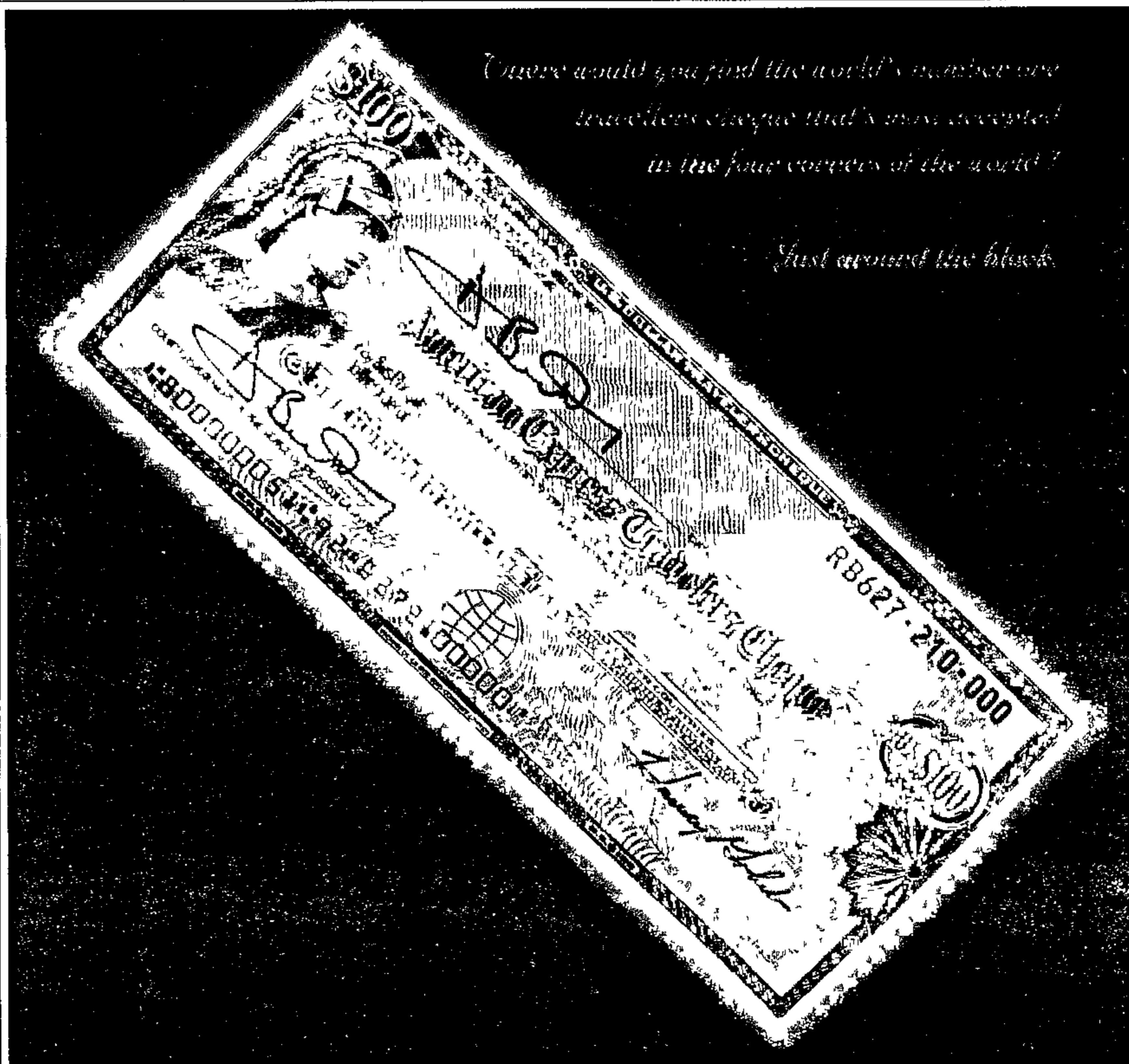
"We are going through a very delicate transformation process, we're talking years, not days and months" he said "We are not trying to hide anything We are not a Stalinist bureau"

But parliamentarians were taken by surprise by the bleak picture of failure painted by a pragmatic Steyn

"I have been very disappointed at the extremely slow progress It is quite clear that there is some sort of turf battle going on," said DP MP Douglas Gibson who asked why Modise was not knocking heads together



Modise: Troubles are simmering in the Department of Defence

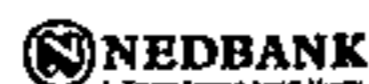


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SA seeks sweetest deal as defence bids begin

Arms manufacturers are clamouring to fill the defence force's orders, write **DON ROBERTSON** and **ANDREW TRENCH**

BIDDING by German, British and Spanish armaments manufacturers for SA National Defence Force orders totalling R10- to R15-billion kicked off in earnest this week, with countertrade options set to play a major role.

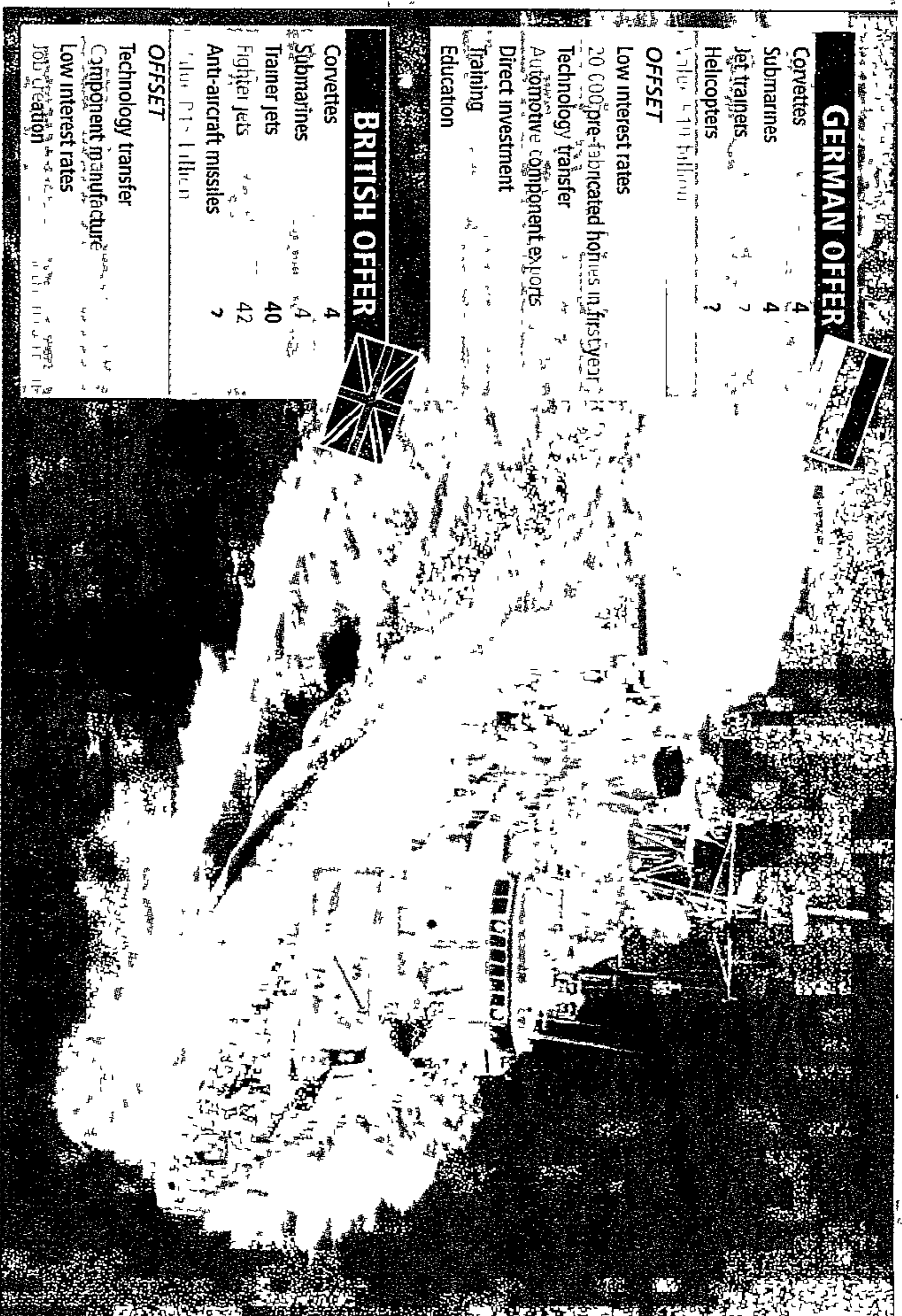
This week a German alliance made up principally of Thyssen SA, Daimler-Benz Aerospace AG and a British consortium offered to supply corvettes, submarines, jet fighters, helicopters and aircraft, each adding a sweetener in the form of significant offset packages. Spain, favoured to win the corvette contract two years ago

before it was scrapped, is also likely to enter the bidding. The order follows last month's cabinet acceptance of the Defence Review. The review sets out plans for the defence force which will see troops cut from 100 000 to 69 000 and the purchase of military equipment. Among requirements are four corvettes, four submarines, about 60 helicopters and 35 to 40 jet fighters and trainers.

The German consortium will offer corvettes from Thyssen's Blohm & Voss shipyard and state-of-the-art submarines from the Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft AG, part of the Preussag group. Daimler-Benz Aerospace's proposal involves

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MANOEUVRES ... The Germans are hoping to sell four corvettes like this one to the SA National Defence Force



advanced jet trainers to replace ageing Impalas included in the package is a new generation of light transport helicopters built by the Franco-German Euro-copier group to replace the SA Airforce Alouette fleet. In April, Eurocopier signed a joint go-operation agreement with Denel Aviation for the international marketing of the locally developed Rooivalk attack helicopter. The agreement also provided for engineering exchanges and joint procurement and development. In addition, SA Airforce C160 Transall fleet will be upgraded as long-range maritime patrol aircraft. The jet fighters will be assembled and equipped in SA, cre-

ating jobs and strengthening the local aerospace industry. In addition to sourcing material and equipment locally, the German proposal guarantees markets for SA goods. It also provides for direct investment, technology transfer, training and education. Light industrial complexes will be erected and a low-cost housing scheme capable of providing 20 000 pre-fabricated units in the first year will be established.

It is expected the counter-trade proposals will, in time, cover the cost of the deal. The British package includes corvettes, submarines, jets and missile systems as well as training for the military. The four corvettes will be built by the Yarrow Shipyard, with the same number of second-hand diesel-powered submarines supplied by Vickers Shipbuilding. The submarines were decommissioned in 1993 following British defence cuts, but had been in use for only about a year.

British Aerospace has offered 40 Hawk trainer jets as well as 42 JAS Gripen fighters, to be built by Saab of Sweden. The aerospace group will also supply batteries of Rapier anti-aircraft missiles, while Short Brothers in Belfast will offer Starburst anti-aircraft missiles. In its offset package, the British will offer technology transfer, component manufacture and job-creation proposals. The British government has offered easy repayment schedules at low interest rates with some repayments in gold. This week Defence Minister Joe Modise said the SANDF would consider strategic packages which provided quality equipment at fair and competitive prices and soft loans with long-term repayment options at low interest rates. "The defence acquisition will be trade and industry-led, which should delight the Minister of Finance," he said. It is expected that a decision on the successful bid could be made by the end of the year.

Govt planning to revise military discipline code

BD 26/8/97 (254)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Large sections of the military discipline code and justice system — including court martials without legal representation for the accused, and summary trials — were unconstitutional and would have to be revised, Parliament's joint standing committee on defence heard yesterday.

Defence department chief of legal services Pieter de Klerk said he felt that an entirely new Defence Act would have to be developed because it would not be efficient to force the "ungainly" present act into a "new matrix". He said that the drafting of a new defence act would be dependent on the final approval of the defence review.

A report from the defence review drafting team on the "legal defence environment" found that the review of the military discipline code "would especially have to ensure that the military criminal justice system was constitutionally sound".

Foremost among the practices which would have to change were the denial of constitutional rights of representation for the accused, as well as the rights of those arrested, detained and accused.

The report said that there could be no doubt about the need to retain the military justice system in respect of civil and military offences committed within the country and offences committed while training or serving beyond the country's borders.

It said that clear provisions establishing the right of accused to be legally represented at all trials before military courts would have to be incorporated in the new disciplinary code. The constitutional right to appeal to the high court would also have to be included.

The report said the new act to govern the defence force "would have to reflect the SA government's strategy for containing aggression from external and internal threats to the constitutional order. It would have to be clearly stated that the use of force for self-defence must be resorted to only where necessary and after other applicable measures to resolve the matter had failed."

Customary international laws governing armed conflict and humanitarian behaviour would also have to be embodied in the new legislation. It would also have to acknowledge the multitude of military-related treaties to which SA was now a party.

US undermines treaty

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IS THE United States reneging on its promise to end the qualitative improvements of its nuclear weapons? On July 2, the US Department of Energy (DOE) conducted a high-explosive underground test involving nuclear materials

The experiment was hardly a confidence-building measure. It undermines efforts to bring the hard-won Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) into force.

Had nuclear powers accepted legally binding time frames for nuclear disarmament, perhaps the US would desist from technically refining its nuclear arsenal.

The DOE described the July test, nicknamed "Rebound", as "subcritical" because the chemical explosion did not initiate a self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction.

"Rebound" and other planned tests are integral to the DOE's Stockpile Stewardship and Management Programme of maintaining the reliability and safety of the US nuclear arsenal.

These tests were originally scheduled for last year, but they had to be postponed to avoid jeopardising the test ban negotiations at the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament (CD).

Although subcritical testing is in keeping with the CTBT, the unavoidable conclusion is that the US is exploiting the technical loopholes in the treaty.

During the CTBT negotiations, one of the controversies was over the degree of comprehensiveness of the test ban. The non-aligned countries advocated a strict ban on "nuclear explosions under any pretext, whether for peaceful or other purposes".

The nuclear powers, on the other hand, wanted a treaty that permits low-yield and peaceful nuclear explosion tests. The resulting compromise was a treaty banning "nuclear weapon explosion or any other nuclear explosion", but not subcritical testing.

Technical refinement

India, one of the 44 countries that must ratify the CTBT, has vowed not to sign the treaty "in its present form". The Indian view is that this treaty allows technical refinement of nuclear weapons.

Since subcritical testing is part of a programme to develop computer simulation tests, it violates the spirit of the CTBT.

The US action gives credence to the Indian argument that the CTBT is another non-proliferation treaty – not the hoped for nuclear disarmament measure – because it allows continued nuclear weapon proliferation by the technologically advanced nuclear powers.

Will subcritical testing not create a new avenue for the nuclear arms race? After all there is a historical precedent. Soon after signing the partial test ban treaty in 1963, the nuclear pow-

er South Africa will have to tread carefully not to break ranks with non-aligned partners on nuclear disarmament issues. **Zondi Masiza** explains why ...



Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo... SA became the first country to completely renounce its nuclear weapon capability under his leadership.

ers intensified underground nuclear weapon testing.

Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) enjoins all its signatories "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race and to nuclear disarmament".

These "effective measures" are specified in the South African-inspired "Principles and Objectives for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament".

However, an inherent flaw here is the assumption that those measures could be negotiated without time-bound frameworks.

At the 1995 NPT Extension Conference, the nuclear powers committed themselves to concluding the CTBT by September 1996. It was unprecedented that the nuclear powers should agree to negotiate within a specified time.

They ought to show the same political will regarding negotiating a ban on fissile material production for nuclear weapons, and legally binding security assurances to the non-nuclear powers.

Since the 1995 NPT conference, the South African Government assumed the role of a bridge-builder on various aspects that divide the West and the non-aligned countries.

However, it is Western officials and academics who praise South Africa for its role in arms control talks.

From the non-aligned quarters there is a certain degree of restrained criticism for what is perceived to be the Government's pro-Western stance on nuclear disarmament issues.

One wonders therefore if the Government is working together with its non-aligned partners. It is on the necessity of time frames that the Government differs with its non-aligned partners.

A political will to renounce nuclear weapons will have the effect of persuading India to relent on its stance on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament discussions. This is one way to achieve a universal NPT.

There are several proposals for step-by-step nuclear disarmament negotiations. A more radical version of these proposals calls for talks on the nuclear weapons convention.

Its advocates have in mind as a model the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) of 1993. The CWC bans the production, possession and use of chemical weapons, and it enjoins its signatories to destroy their chemical weapon stockpiles.

Its appeal, therefore, is that it is a non-discriminatory treaty, unlike the NPT.

It behoves the South African Government to engage the nuclear powers to honour their NPT nuclear disarmament obligations under legally binding time frames.

The moral edge

Here one is not necessarily asking the Government to punch above its weight. As the first country to completely renounce its nuclear weapons, South Africa is widely regarded as having a moral edge on nuclear disarmament questions.

Since the 1960s, the over 110-strong non-aligned countries have continuously focused the world's attention on the urgency of nuclear powers honouring their Article VI obligations.

There are masses of constituencies – including nuclear scientists and retired military generals – campaigning for nuclear disarmament.

South Africa is poised to assume the leadership of the non-aligned countries next year. The Government will do well not to break ranks with its non-aligned partners on the question of urging the nuclear powers to honour undertakings.

(The writer is an international relations researcher at the Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg.)

sewelan 26/8/97

Kasrils considers frigates over corvettes

CT 27/8 197 (254)

HAMBURG: Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils yesterday examined the Meko light frigate proposed by Germany for the South African Navy.

The frigate is part of a package of proposals presented to the South African government and SA National Defence Force last week by a German industrial consortium.

Other items in the package include submarines, helicopters and a jet fighter trainer.

Britain and France have also laid their proposals on the table for a R10-15-billion deal designed to dovetail with recommendations in the defence review for a capital acquisition programme for the SANDF, which faces obsolescence in the air force and the navy by the year 2005.

Kasrils is on a part-business and part-private visit to Germany. He is to attend the publishing of his autobiography in German by the German Communist Party in Dortmund later this week. He did not attend the opening of the MECON 97 conference here yesterday but let it be known



OUT SHOPPING: Ronnie Kasrils is looking at a German naval package

privately that South Africa was as interested in the German proposal as it was in those of Britain and France, and the Spanish proposal which is due to be tabled soon. SA Navy officers at the conference were

also non-committal.

The navy is part of a joint government task force including representatives of the departments of finance and of trade and industry which will take a decision on capital projects once the cabinet has approved funding.

It became clear here yesterday that one of the big plus-points for the German proposal is the multi-national component of the Meko class frigates.

Seven countries — including the US which is now normalising its military links with Pretoria — play a role in its development, along with the 12 European Union countries, all of which are key trading partners of South Africa.

US Admiral Robert Sutton described the Meko frigate as "a fine example of collaborative action" demonstrating "a long-standing and successful programme among many nations".

The frigate was also said by German Rear Admiral Frank Ropers to be of "considerable value to countries wishing to acquire or maintain a navy".

In a direct but unstated reference to SA

and regional concerns, Ropers said the ship was better value than the traditional corvette punted as the replacement ship for the SA Navy's ageing strike craft.

"Corvettes are regional by nature but restricted through a variety of conditions, including weather. The frigate, however, is specifically designed to be multi-purpose and for operations on the high seas.

"It represents the core capabilities of a navy which is to defend territorial waters and supply lines."

The navy has said on several occasions recently that it could defend only the Durban/Richards Bay and Cape Town/Saldanha supply lines owing to a lack of capability and the danger of obsolescence.

If the go-ahead is given for the frigate, SA would be acquiring a specially built version, the 124 class, delivered to Simon's Town naval dockyard as so-called "clean hulls".

Weapon systems, electronics and other South African-designed equipment would be provided by navy suppliers.

Bagwa calls for action on disclosure bill

BD 29/8/97

(264)

THE Open Democracy Bill needed to be processed speedily, the recent conflict between government and the media over the disclosure of armament sales had shown, Public Protector Selby Bagwa said yesterday.

The bill guaranteed the public's right to information subject to certain restrictions, he told a seminar on the bill organised by the Institute for a Democratic South Africa.

Bagwa said that the proposed Open Democracy Act would facilitate enforcement because transgressions would be clearly defined. Legislation guaranteeing an open democracy or freedom of informa-

tion did not have to be threatening to anyone, he said.

"Neither the government nor citizens need fear that it will unnecessarily interfere with their lives," Bagwa said.

All that needed to be ensured was that the legislation was simple, comprehensible and capable of being carried out in practice.

He described the legislation as progressive in that it not only streamlined the process of providing information, but also sought to empower citizens to participate in government policy formulation.

However, the legislation was cautious in

that it did not seek to impede government and provided justifiable grounds for refusing access to information.

This was the case where, for example, disclosure might prejudice effective law enforcement, harm national security, or invade an individual's privacy.

"For as long as official documents remain unavailable, so long as those who make them public can be legally prosecuted, the scope of efficient public interest action will remain extremely narrow."

"This is one of the shortcomings this bill seeks to remedy," Bagwa said. — Sapa

Defence force spends R200m on cutting numbers by 7 800

Kevin O'Grady

MORE than 9 000 applications for voluntary severance packages in the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) had been approved up to August 15 and 7 819 people had already left at a cost of about R200m, the defence department said yesterday.

A spokesman said more than 850 senior officers, including a lieutenant-general and 21 major-generals, were among those leaving the SANDF on a "staggered" basis this year.

All the packages had been approved by Defence Minister Joe Modise and SANDF chief Georg Meiring on the basis of merit, the spokesman said.

Civilians were the biggest group for whom packages had been approved as part of the rationalisation process in the SANDF. The process is due to end in 1999 when downsizing of the military would have reduced personnel numbers by about 20% of the 90 000 total earlier this year.

The spokesman said other senior officers for whom packages had been approved were 36 brigadiers, 167

colonels, 383 lieutenant-colonels and 247 majors

(254)
BD 31/9/99
It was "obviously not a good thing" that so many senior officers were leaving but applications were approved on the basis of "what the organisation can afford" The fact that they were leaving on a staggered basis would lessen the effect of their departure.

The department had received 14 142 applications from all four arms of the service as well as the intelligence division and the chaplain-general Of these, 2 890 were turned down and 850 were withdrawn, the spokesman said.

The highest number of applications (10 555) was received from the army, of which 8 264 were approved. In the air force, 674 applications were approved from 1 853 received, while the navy received 710 applications (219 approved), the medical service 800 (536 approved) and the intelligence division 207 (24 approved). All 17 applications from the chaplain-general's department were approved

A further 517 applications had been recommended and were awaiting approval by Modise

ANC calls for extension to claims period

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — In a controversial

the amendment unacceptable and warned it would prolong the uncertainty in the rural land market. He said

ARMS TRADE

The moral dilemma of Frankenstein

(254) CT (BR) 3/19/97

RICHARD MEARES

South Africa's first politically correct government has got itself in a tangle as it tries to sell deadly weapons without getting its hands dirty

After plans to sell arms to Rwanda, Syria and Turkey ran into fierce criticism, fresh controversy now surrounds what would be two of the country's biggest arms deals, worth more than \$2 billion, being hammered out with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia

When he defeated apartheid in 1994, President Nelson Mandela found himself with a powerful and technologically advanced state arms industry which had been built up to keep blacks down

"We inherited a Frankenstein," Kader Asmal, Mandela's arms-control chief, once said. But it was too lucrative an inheritance to shun, despite its unsavoury origins

Now, on state visits abroad, Mandela appears at arms shows and sings the praises of the products tested on apartheid's foes in neighbouring states, and in raids on the liberation movements

Howitzers, attack helicopters, landmine-resistant vehicles and other state-of-the-art niche products earned more than R1 billion last year, for a country needing cash to help meet the high expectations of a long oppressed underclass.

It is the most successful manufacturing export sector behind the largely foreign-owned motor industry — but accounts for just 0,33 percent of a trade dominated by the US

Mandela ignored calls for an end to the sales but, trying to marry high idealism with realpolitik, demanded moral rules

The guidelines of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC), aimed at cleaning up an industry that under apartheid sold to many a vile regime, sound laudable. But it is having trouble sorting out the good guys from the bad

The rules bar arms sales



which could escalate conflict, harm human rights, aid terrorism or damage South African interests

Government critics, in both pro and anti-arms lobbies, say it is farcical to bring morality into the deadly business

Opponents say the whole Middle East, a priority sales area, is a conflict zone and a no-go area — complaining it is just the latest example of how the guidelines have been ignored.

Sales of equipment to Rwanda, approved then blocked because of the war in neighbouring Zaire, are now on again, despite rising turmoil in the country where hatred between Tutsi and Hutu lives on

Another big deal, for Denel, the state arms maker, to sell Syria \$650 million worth of sophisticated guidance systems for Soviet-made tanks, came to naught this year after US anger. A reported plan to sell Turkey a batch of Rooivalk attack helicopters, admired for their unsurpassed manoeuvrability, was blocked, approved and then blocked again

Asmal, the NCACC chairman, said last year that trade with Iran, Kenya and the Koreans was under review, while Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Nigeria, Sudan and Zaire were blacklisted. Algeria and Malaysia are on a list of approved buyers

Ethical restrictions and government indecision have limited potential sales for Denel, 700 smaller arms-related firms and Armscor, the state body that helps market their goods.

Competitors step in gladly, but Asmal defends his policies. "The only policies that would not involve contradictions would be cynical, full-scale supply to all who seek arms from us or a pacifist position"

But Joe Modise, the defence minister and an ardent advocate of a trade which provides 50 000 jobs, worries about its future. "We have imposed restrictions on ourselves that have impacted negatively on sales," the former military leader of the ANC said last month

Modise is a very keen salesman. He flew to Kuwait to plug a deal for G6 155mm self-propelled howitzers worth hundreds of millions of dollars and is also playing a key role in trying to sell Saudi Arabia similar big guns worth an estimated \$1,5 billion

Fresh US figures show arms sales grew last year, for the first time since the end of the Cold War, to \$32 billion — a third of it by US firms. Next is Britain, itself pledging to clean up its sales criteria on moral grounds, then France and Russia

Denel earns about R1 billion a year but aggressive marketing

since 1994 has raised its share and nudged it up to 50th place in a world league led by Lockheed Martin

Isolation led to the apartheid industry's growth by triggering an embargo in the 1960s that stopped South Africa buying from its traditional suppliers in western Europe. In a quarter of a century the industry grew to the 10th largest in the world, reputedly developing nuclear technology

Armscor tried secretly to sell weapons abroad, breaking sanctions and triggering a US ban on arms and military technology trading only now being lifted

That should boost an industry dependent on exports now that defence budget cuts, and the military's new freedom to shop abroad for better deals, have depressed home sales — and, industry sources say, dented South Africa's technological edge

"We have 0,3 percent of the world trade in arms. If we can double that to 0,6 percent, which is infinitesimal, you could create another 50 000 jobs," said Ron Haywood, the executive chairman of Armscor, which aims for such growth by 2000.

"There is no other sector in the manufacturing industry that has the potential to create jobs as quickly as we can" — Reuter

'Pariah' using SA arms

Marion Edmunds

Government intelligence services are investigating reports that South African-produced weapons have been recovered on both sides of the conflict in Sudan

The National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC) — the committee that regulates South African arms exports — denied this week that the government had authorised arms sales to the Sudanese government

A representative added that the country, viewed as one of the world's pariah states, was on South Africa's "black list" However, government documents seen by the *Mail & Guardian* say the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) captured South African-made military hardware from the Sudanese government forces three months ago

It is understood that President Nelson Mandela, who is trying to pave the way for mediation in Sudan, had to do some fast talking last weekend when the reports surfaced during his meeting in Pretoria with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and Sudanese President Omar al Bashir Mandela succeeded in smoothing the matter over

The investigation, being quietly undertaken by the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee and overseen by the Ministry of Defence, is likely to focus on whether the hard-



Fast talking: Nelson Mandela had to explain South African-produced arms in Sudan to Robert Mugabe, Yoweri Museveni and Omar al Bashir. PHOTOGRAPH: ADIL BRADLOW

(254)
ware was part of a batch South Africa sold to Museveni — an ally of the SPLA — and if not, where it could have originated

"The equipment was detailed quite comprehensively and the source had already verified the end-user certificate of the specific item from the Ugandan military establishment," the document says "It remains difficult to trace a specific log number in a large export batch, but it is possible that the specific item was not included in the official export to Uganda, thus raising further questions about the origin of the equipment"

The NCACC is already awaiting a report from intelligence services about how armoured vehicles, ammunition and anti-aircraft missiles South Africa sold to Museveni in 1995 and 1996 had been found in SPLA hands

This latest incident of South Africa's failure to rein in its arms industry — reports of our weapons have surfaced in other African hot spots including Congo (Brazzaville) — provides an embarrassing backdrop to Mandela's peacemaking efforts

The meeting in Pretoria was convened principally to discuss Uganda's extensive and overt support for the Sudanese rebels, and the faltering peace talks between the warring parties Despite earlier talks with Mandela, SPLA leader John Garang refused to discuss peace initiatives with Bashir in South Africa Gov-

M+G 5-11/9/97
ernment observers say Mandela is motivated by a desire to help heal troubled central Africa, and to establish peace-making as one of the central planks in South Africa's developing foreign policy

The government has introduced draft legislation in Parliament to curtail the activities of South African-based mercenaries The NCACC, run by Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Kader Asmal, would regulate the private sale of military assistance to foreign governments if the Bill is passed. The NCACC, however, has only been operating for two years South Africa's arms sales before that were kept under wraps — leaving the possibility that weapons sold years ago can still surface in the worst places at embarrassing moments

The Sudanese government alerted Pretoria earlier this year that South African weapons sold to Uganda had ended up with the SPLA "The arms referred to included medium armoured vehicles, anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles, ammunition and mine detection systems," the committee's representative said "The NCACC records reflect that, excluding the anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles, the items mentioned had been exported to Uganda in 1995 and 1996" He added that Museveni had undertaken not to embarrass South Africa by disobeying the conditions set for any arms sale on an end-user certificate

SA sells arms for R590m in 6 months

ET 9/9/97 (254)
SOUTH AFRICA sold arms worth R590 million over the past six months, chairman of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee Mr Kader Asmal has said

Addressing a media briefing yesterday, Asmal said it was important that there should be the "largest amount of public accountability".

He said the rationale for having an arms industry was that the Constitution required South Africa to defend its democratic freedoms and the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) was "an inextricable part of our constitutional order"

"We are not a pacifist country and we must provide the SANDF with the arms necessary to do the job.

"The local arms industry requires the economies of scale that exports imply — but exports must be done with restraint, bearing in mind human rights "

Asmal said that no government in the world had a policy of "total disclosure" on arms.

He said what was sought was an "enlightened middle way" — Own Correspondent

Once feared and envied by its African neighbours, the SA arms industry has become a tattered effigy of its former self

During the siege years of apartheid the Nationalist government pumped billions of rand into developing the finest technology for the sector

At the height of the NP's *swart gevaar* scare campaign, more than 2 000 private-sector firms were involved in arms production

Today there are fewer than 700 More than 120 000 jobs have been shed in the past eight years, leaving around 40 000 employed in the sector, says Armscor GM for planning André Buys Of these about 14 000 work for State-owned Denel

The reasons for the shrinking of the industry are many The end of the Cold War, which put an end to superpower rivalry in southern Africa, resulted in numerous disarmament measures

Severe budgetary constraints were added to by the arrival of the new, democratic government It has slashed defence spending as it focuses on more pressing socio-economic projects

Heavily reliant on State subsidies and accustomed to a cosy relationship with government, arms manufacturers have been hit hard To survive, they have had to turn to commercial technologies and exports — with mixed results

Last week, two of the largest JSE-listed armaments firms announced losses Grn-tek said headline earnings dropped 12% to R61,3m for the year to June It blamed severe cutbacks in the national defence budget and heavy research & development costs for losses of almost R500 000 at electronics defence subsidiary Grnaker Electronics

Meanwhile, Reunert, the largest armaments manufacturer after Denel, issued a cautionary that its EPS, before abnormal items of about R70m, will drop by a third on 1996 figures, which showed no growth

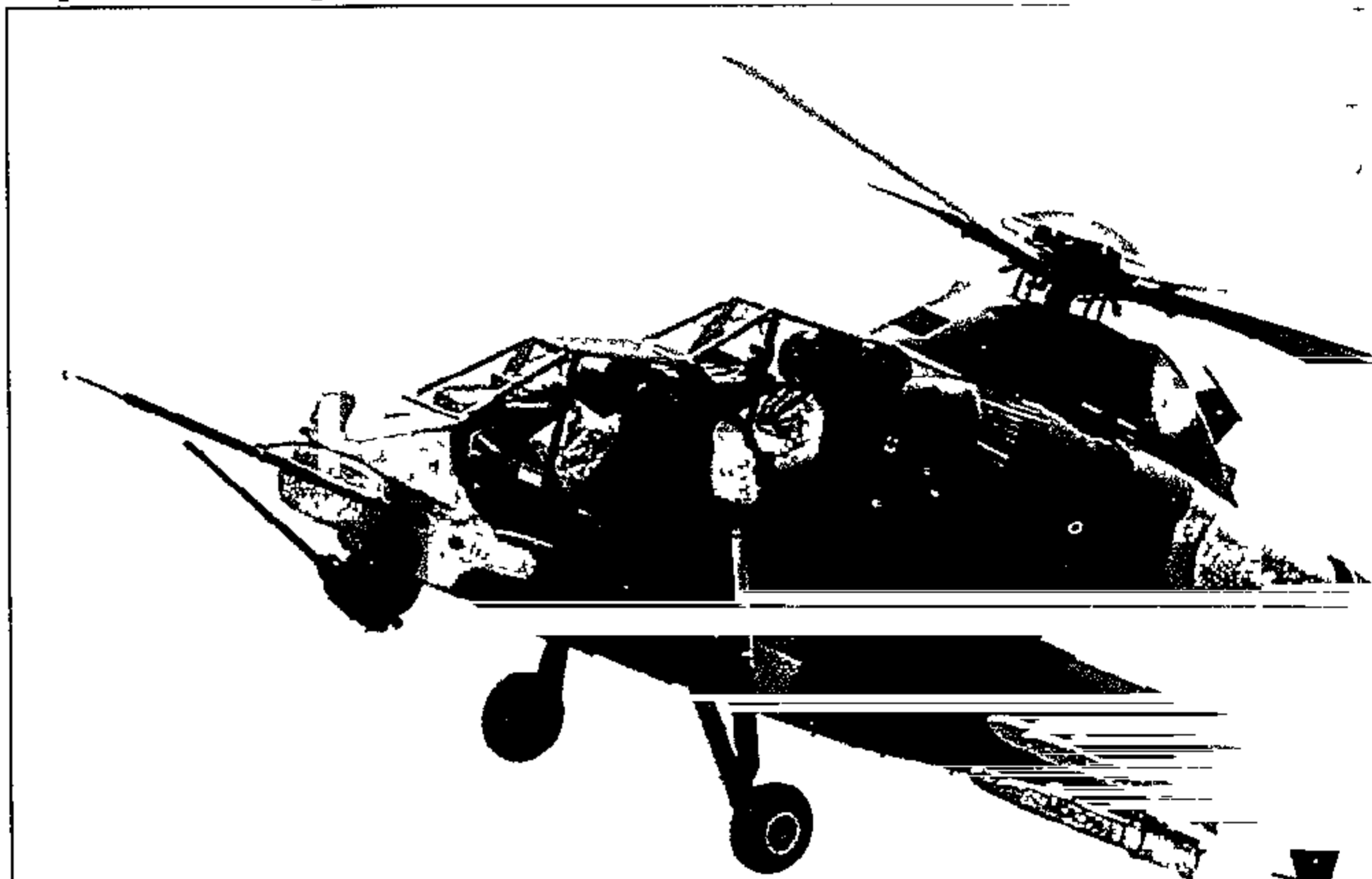
The poorer-than-expected results follow cuts and restructuring at most Reunert operations Consolidation of Reunert's armoured vehicle and defence & security businesses resulted in the retrenchment of 1 300 staff Competition from Denel, which was hived off from Armscor in 1992, has been a factor



ARMAMENTS INDUSTRY

A graveside

Exports vital if previously vibrant industry is to survive



Rooivalk airborne weapons platform battling to find a home

in tougher trading conditions But finding out whether the State company has fared better than its private-sector competitors is difficult, as Denel's last published results are for the year ended March 1996

"Denel will wait for the approval of major sales before announcing its results," says Institute for Security Studies deputy director

and former brigadier Bill Sass These include the R9bn-plus artillery deals with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, and the possible sale of 12 Rooivalk gunships to Malaysia and another 16 units to the defence force Government's attack on the media

Few companies have successfully converted weapons factories to produce civilian products

following leaks of a R7bn G6 howitzer deal with Saudi Arabia, however, suggests that Denel cannot afford to lose any orders

Such a large contract would retain 1 100 jobs within Denel and up to 4 500 jobs downstream over five years, says Denel communications director George Masoek

"The fact that our defence industry still survives is a modern miracle," says Armscor's Buys, who says SA's cutbacks have been among the most severe in the world

The local defence budget has declined 57% in real terms since 1989, dropping to R9,6bn That is 1,6% of GDP (down from 5,4% in 1989) — 2% is generally accepted in developing countries at peace, say defence economists In real terms equipment expenditure has plummeted 87% from R11,5bn in 1989 to R1,4bn R&D spend has fallen 79% from R2bn to R420m

"We produced some of the most advanced military technology in the past Now

salute

PM 12/9/97 (254)



hardly any new development projects are under way," says Buys

With nothing left to cut on equipment, there needs to be a major reallocation of resources. Don't be surprised to see the SA National Defence Force's staff levels of 100 000 being cut to 70 000, says Buys. However, retrenchment costs will place a further burden on the budget.

Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's R1,4bn cuts to the 1997/1998 defence budget in May to R9,6bn caused panic in the ranks.

However, Cabinet's endorsement of the Defence Review in June, followed by its ratification in parliament last month, has somewhat heartened the beleaguered arms sector. The review has given the nod to acquisitions of major new systems such as tanks, missile systems, combat and mine protected vehicles, anti-aircraft systems, Rooivalk helicopters, fighter aircraft, corvettes and submarines.

But hard negotiations must still take place between Finance, Defence and Trade & Industry over what procurements must be made and how the benefits of technology transfers and loans obtained will affect SA's socio-economic needs. Defence, ultimately, must fall in line with government's commitment to the Gear macro-economic strategy and to reducing the Budget deficit.

Peter Batchelor, defence economist at Cape Town University's Centre for Conflict Resolution, says the Defence Review does not consider whether the defence force structure is appropriate for SA's needs. Instead of a conventional and expensive European-style defence force, he suggests, the force should focus on peace-keeping, policing, border patrol and disaster relief functions. "Such a defence force would require transport aircraft, not fighter jets," says Batchelor.

Even if the funding is forthcoming, much of the equipment is likely to be sourced abroad rather than manufactured locally.

"Most new generation equipment will be imported as it is no longer strategic or affordable to design and develop this locally," says Buys. He adds that the Defence department should immediately start with equipment replacement projects, which will help local manufacturers survive by means of counter-trade (now known as industrial participation) programmes.

All contracts over US\$2m are subject to industrial participation requirements of at least 50%. Those of \$10m and up require a further 30% to be directed towards national economic and industrial development, says Buys. Industrial participation credits of R2,9bn have been allocated so far. Armscor is administering a further 18 such contracts with seven countries to the value of R3,8bn.

Another option would be to organise credit deals and long-term loans. But this could put SA in debt for decades, points out Reunert CE Boel Pretorius.

As local sales have declined, there has been a major drive on exports. Through international partnerships, Denel and some

private-sector manufacturers have made inroads here.

Denel recently stated it wants to increase exports — now 30% of revenue — by at least 20%/year.

Kader Asmal — chairman of government watchdog body the National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC), formed following embarrassing revelations of shady arms scandals — says SA sold weapons and military technology worth R590m in the first six months of this year. These include the R50m sale of "nonlethal hardware" to Rwanda. Major deals — including more than R9bn worth of potential sales to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia — are still in the pipeline, says Asmal.

A White Paper on the defence industry is being compiled under the direction of the NCACC. This is expected to be tabled in parliament in 1998.

Sass expects the White Paper will look at the general future of a smaller defence industry, privatisation of Denel and a guideline on which foreign sales are acceptable.

Though arms exports now exceed R1bn/year, substantially up on 1992's

R684m, sales have been slow, as indicated by the recent poor showing of JSE-listed companies.

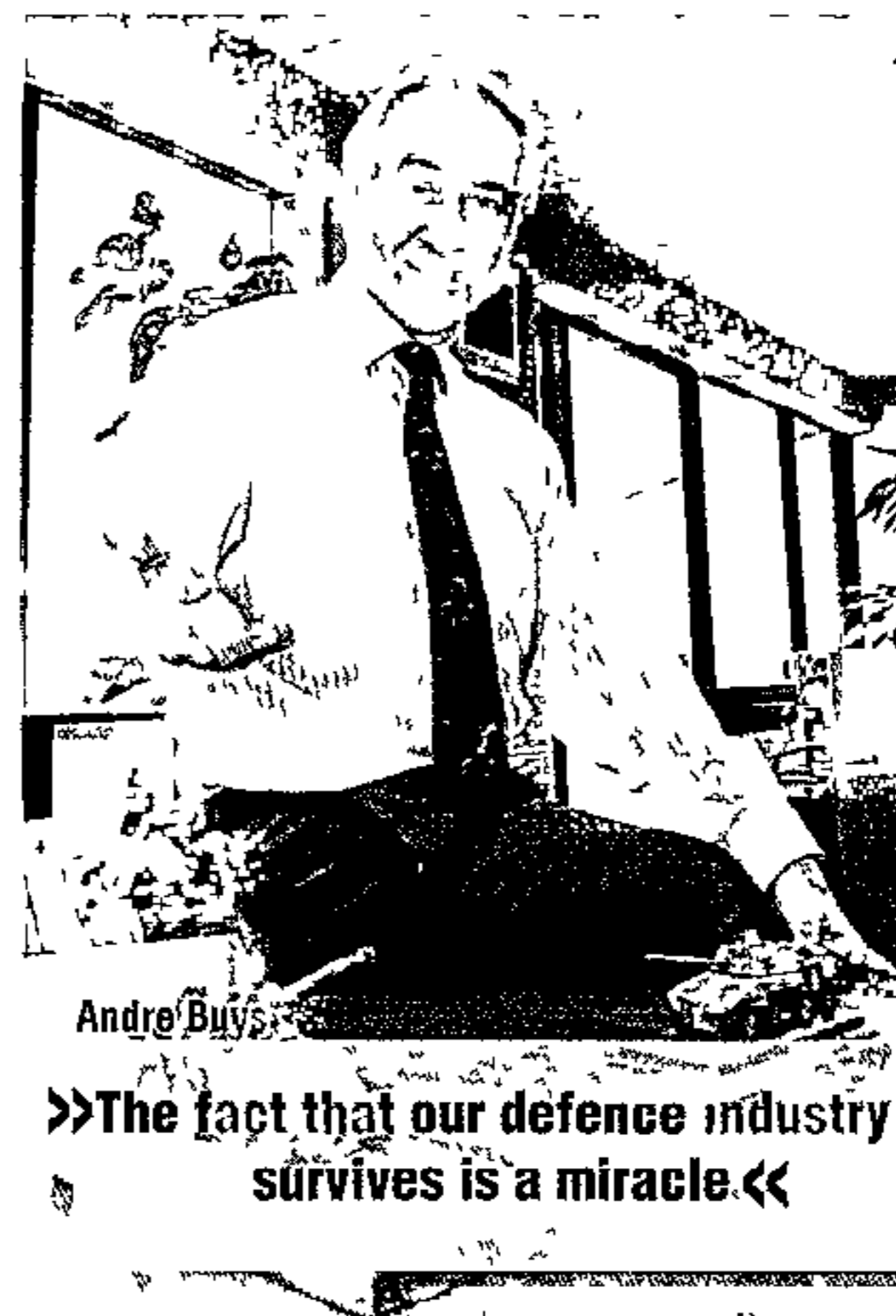
Another strategy to counter the declining domestic market has been for manufacturers to scale down armaments production in favour of civilian activities. Reunert's emphasis on defence is down from more than 60% in the Eighties to 20%.

Through acquisitions and mergers, Denel, too, is focusing on commercial activities. Almost 60% of its business now is targeted at civilian use in civil aviation, IT, mining,

agriculture, automotive technology, chemistry and paramedical equipment.

But Sass points out few companies have successfully converted weapons factories to produce civilian products. "I don't know of any company that has done this successfully," says Reunert's Pretorius.

"We are heading for a disaster. If government does not provide some form of protection, the military sector will be destroyed forever," warns Pretorius. *Martina Bidoli*



Andre Buys

»»The fact that our defence industry survives is a miracle.««



Arnold Prinsloo

Johan Koekemoer . . . alchemist caught up in drug furore

DELTA G SCIENTIFIC

Nat govt's missing ton of ecstasy

FM 12/9/97

Chemist's inside story reveals shadowy world of apartheid's chemical warfare plans

(254)

Mystery surrounds the whereabouts of nearly a ton of the designer drug ecstasy manufactured on the orders of the previous government

The huge "rave drug" consignment, with a street value of more than R700m, was made in 1993 at an estimated cost to the taxpayer of R3m. It was part of a government-funded, covert chemical warfare programme Project Coast, headed by Dr Wouter Basson.

Government investigators refuse to comment. And the ecstasy, regarded by experts as one of the world's most dangerous amphetamines, remains unaccounted for.

However, the organic chemist who made the lethal consignment has given an exclusive account of the operation to the *FM*.

Johan Koekemoer was research director of Delta G Scientific, a company which made commercial products such as herbicides, when he was asked to develop a method to manufacture ecstasy for the army.

He says an order from Surgeon-General Niel Knobel gave Delta G the go-ahead to produce the drug as a potential incapacitating agent.

Koekemoer (56) had been professor of chemistry at RAU for nine years before he joined Delta G early in 1986. "We were supposed to be a private company, but I found out that Delta G was a front organisation for the army," he says.

"I was given to believe that we were to do some defensive research on chemical warfare. I signed a document relating to the Official Secrets Act.

"Our main emphasis was on the development of analytical methods and a database to identify chemical warfare agents."

He describes how Delta G's research programmes were formalised into an official contract with a company called Medresco, which he believed to be "possibly another front company for the army."

He names his contact at Medresco as Dr Wouter Basson. Basson was dismissed

from the SA Defence Force by former president F W de Klerk, but reinstated as chief cardiologist at 1 Military Hospital by Defence Minister Joe Modise in 1995.

"From about February 4 1992 to January 5 1993 we delivered quantities of pure ecstasy to the army," says Koekemoer. "We couldn't manufacture a whole ton, but made about 900 kg."

Deliveries, he says, were made to Delta G's parent company, Medchem Consolidated Investments, where the substance was stored in basement premises at Hennopsmeer, in Verwoerdburg (now called Centurion).

"The ecstasy was packed in quantities of 10 kg-12 kg, in white drums. The financial department was informed about the correct masses and I did the deliveries of the material. Invoices were made out to another front company called Kowalski International.

"Normally each consignment was accompanied by a certificate of analysis. I used to take it over in powder form in my car, except one large consignment of about 200 kg, which I took over in Delta G's truck.

"It was a highly confidential project. I was given to understand that the ecstasy was to be a potential incapacitant in chemical warfare terms, and would be used in hand grenades or whatever the army would formulate this stuff into."

The big mystery is what happened to the 900 kg of ecstasy?

Knobel, who retires in November, was not available to discuss the matter. A member of his staff says "He won't be able to speak to you in this regard, due to the fact that the whole case is sub judice."

He was referring to drugs charges pending against a former high-ranking army officer.

Though ecstasy was not a banned substance at the time, Koekemoer admits his initial doubts about the legality of the project. "Prior to its manufacture I was made research director of Delta G and attended board meetings. I mentioned my reservations about using ecstasy as a potential incapacitant.

"In my research reports I mentioned I was worried about the legal implications of our manufacturing it."

In February narcotics police raided Koekemoer's office at Delta G in Midrand and took possession of a number of red and yellow capsules that were found to be ecstasy. Koekemoer was arrested for possession.

He led police to the Hennopsmeer basement where he had delivered the surgeon-general's order. Detectives broke down the doors — but the cupboard was bare.

Guns-for-hire bill under fire

By ANTON FERREIRA

Cape Town - South African guns-for-hire group Executive Outcomes asked Parliament yesterday to clarify a planned anti-mercenary law, complaining that the proposed fines and prison terms were too harsh

Executive Outcomes, set up by former apartheid-era soldiers, is the biggest-known group in South Africa providing military assistance to foreign governments

It is credited with helping to turn the tide of Angola's civil war in favour of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, but is regarded with suspicion by many who recall South Africa's efforts to destabilise its neighbours in the apartheid years

Executive Outcomes was among organisations and individuals who submitted written comments yesterday to a parliamentary committee dealing with a draft bill on "foreign military assistance" presented last month by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal

The bill does not outlaw mercenary activity altogether, but requires those involved in it to first obtain permission from a committee headed by Asmal

Executive Outcomes, which refuses to regard its staff as mercenaries, said the legislation should clearly define such terms as "armed conflict", "direct combative participation in armed conflict" and "destabilising military capabilities"

Referring to proposed penalties in the law of a R1-million fine or 10 years

in jail or both, the company said "The sentence in this regard is deemed by us to be excessive in both the amount and the jail term"

It questioned a clause seeking to make the law apply beyond South Africa's boundaries and said proposed fees for applications to Asmal's committee should be only nominal

Another group, calling itself the Swat Urban Survival Academy, said its economic viability would be harmed by the bill because it would prevent the academy training non-South Africans to use guns

Swat, based in Pretoria, said it was attracting increasing numbers of foreign customers because of the weak rand

"Overseas clients, such as embassies, their military attachés and their undisclosed clients, are entitled to learn the art of marksmanship," the group said

Defence analyst Jakkie Cilliers, director of the independent Institute for Security Studies think-tank, criticised the legislation for failing to distinguish between mercenaries and "legitimate and peaceful outreach programmes".

He said the legislation cast its net too widely and could affect universities, non-governmental organisations involved in conflict resolution, and aid workers

"There can be no doubt as to the repugnance of mercenary activity," Cilliers said. "But NGOs and academics should protest against an approach that potentially paints them with the same brush as mercenary outfits" - Reuters

Star 13/9/97 (54)

A SIGNIFICANT milestone in South Africa's new defence programme was assessed when Parliament unanimously endorsed the first phase of the defence review last month after cabinet's approval in June.

Since then the government has focused on implementing the review and, in particular, on the acquisition of major arms to replace ageing equipment in the defence inventory.

Priorities include naval patrol vessels, submarines, jet fighter trainers and light utility helicopters.

Our new democratic era has opened the way for strategic economic cooperation with major international partners.

Many countries are offering attractive defence procurement packages that provide for substantial investment in the South African economy. These offer tremendous opportunities for us as it is a buyer's market.

But we will carefully consider our options.

The evaluation and acquisition process will be supervised by a joint team of our defence, finance, and trade and industry departments, guided by the ministers. They will assess the

Guns, butter, peace and security

Boosting SA's military power will benefit all in Africa, writes RONNIE KASRILS

ST 14/9/97

(254)

merits of the packages to ensure quality equipment on favourable terms, facilitated by soft loans with long-term repayments, at low interest rates and backed by credit guarantees. The department of finance will play a key role in determining the best financing model.

This team will also ensure that the acceptance of a prospective package hinges on substantial participation by local industry in the development, production and sale of defence systems, and the related access to major global markets.

Agreements will also ensure that previously disadvantaged business groups are given opportunities to participate. Most significantly, we

will ensure that these packages promote social and economic projects leading to industrial development and employment opportunities.

These requirements will be effected through a co-operative basis of production — including major technology transfers — between ourselves and our strategic partners.

Industry will benefit by offset agreements in which, for instance, South African materials and locally produced components and equipment will be used in production.

As Joe Modise, the Minister of Defence, has said of these agreements: "For every rand spent abroad, the same amount, or even more, will be invested in South Africa." The overall

counter-trade commitment from abroad, therefore, will more than recover the costs of the funds we spend.

These terms will resolve the "guns or butter" debate that has raged since 1995, when Modise first announced our need to acquire deep-sea patrol vessels for the navy.

It is no longer a question of guns or butter, but guns and butter. The packages on offer enable South Africa to acquire military hardware while creating jobs and training and education opportunities for our work force, as well as other benefits, such as housing construction.

These agreements will benefit our Gear strategy

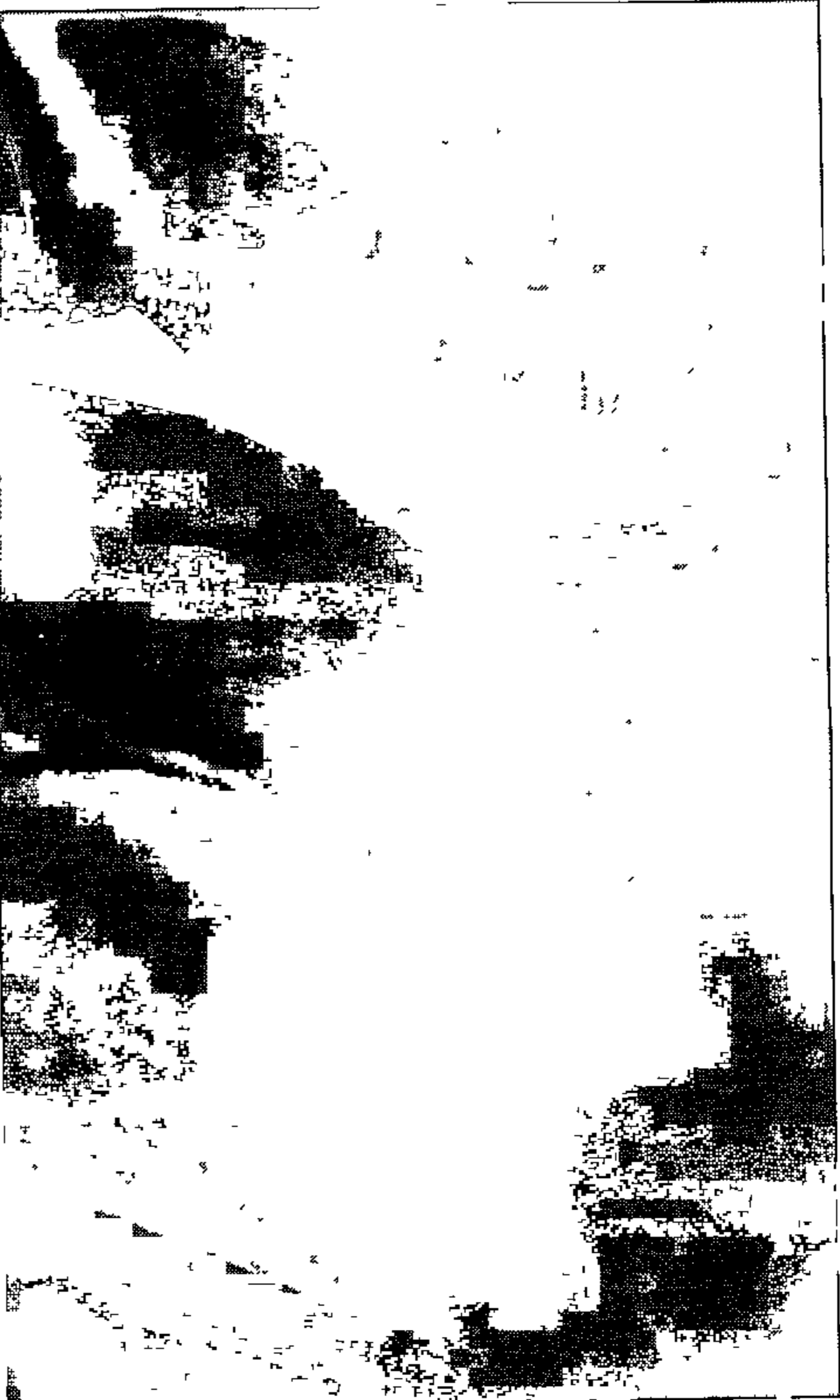
enormously by giving our economy and industry a major boost.

The scope of these packages clearly extends beyond defence alone and, therefore, beyond conventional defence funding as provided for in our current budget.

This budget does not specifically make provision for these items, but that does not mean procurement will be put on hold. The funding for these packages is at the discretion of cabinet.

The evaluation process is well under way and will provide cabinet with the grounds to make the necessary decision soon.

The endorsement of the defence review marks the culmination of a historic process of national



ARMS FOR ALL: Ronnie Kasrils and Joe Modise, whose defence review spells out SA's military needs

deliberation and participation. It is the first comprehensive and fully consultative defence review conducted in South Africa, and the most consultative, inclusive and wide-ranging review conducted internationally.

There have been three national consultative conferences, regional workshops in all provinces, public hearings in Parliament, and a special con-

ference on the issue of the liability to serve in times of crisis of our volunteer servicemen and women.

The parliamentary joint standing committee on defence played a particularly significant role in the process. The input from different quarters led to lively debate.

A significant attribute of the review was the opportunity created for anti-militarist organisations to

present their case. Their contributions added legitimacy to the process.

The review has, therefore, brought into being a real defence community representing views from across the spectrum.

This is reflected in the healthy dialogue between the ministry, including the Department of Defence, and the anti-militarists. We agree on many fundamental issues.

of gross domestic product. Today, the defence budget amounts to 1.6 percent of GDP, but some still argue it is too high.

Although they accept the right of self defence, as the archbishop has pointed out, they fail to indicate what level of equipment they would find acceptable for that purpose. This is precisely what the review does.

The review workshops and

peace and security, the prerequisites for a successful rebirth and an age of enlightenment.

We can play a major part in protecting our region and continent which has been ravaged by colonial conquest that has left a legacy of poverty, conflict and foreign economic domination.

African states must be able to protect the people, resources and sovereignty of the countries on the continent.

Our national defence force can be among the champions of this renaissance, jointly performing a role as guardians of peace and guarantors of stability, and standard-bearers for democracy and progress.

A military role commensurate with Africa's renaissance will see our constitutional vision for defence influencing the continent with the democratic policies formulated in our White Paper and Defence Review influencing military thinking in the region and beyond.

It will see such principles as civilian control of the military and a new, democratically inspired culture informing Africa's defence community and promoting co-operation for the security and wellbeing of Africa's people. We must, therefore, be able to fly our flag proud-

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14/9/97

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● Concern for human security and for meeting the socio-economic needs of our people,

● That the defence force's composition should be representative of our population, and

● That military force should be used only as a last resort

We agree to differ, though, on certain matters, primarily related to the budget and defence industry. And in this respect, we appreciate the concerns expressed by the Anglican Church.

A memorandum presented by Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane to the National Conventional Arms Control Committee on August 21 calls on the government "to rescind its decision to purchase corvettes and other military hardware."

But their concern needs to be judged in the context of massive cuts to the defence budget — nearly 60 percent in real terms since 1989.

After the election of our government in 1994, anti-militarist bodies argued defence spending should be pegged at two percent

hearings have, furthermore, permitted a thorough airing of this matter

The packages enable us to acquire military hardware while creating jobs and training opportunities

The result has been a substantial consensus on maintaining an effective defence capability.

This new approach to defence raises an interesting angle to the concept of an African renaissance, raised by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Some might question the paradox that defence has a role to play in this grand vision. But defence reinforces this renaissance by guaranteeing

ly when projecting peace in this way.

Our defence force urgently needs modern equipment to perform this historic task. We need the ships to help our neighbours protect their precious marine resources, their harbours and sea lanes of trade and communication.

We need an air force that can help train Africa's pilots, and fly aid and mercy missions to all parts of the continent. And we need an army and medical service that can participate in peace support, in our region and further afield.

The review has built consensus on the need to restore our material capacity and intellectual vitality, and provides the government with the guidelines to do that.

It is the blueprint for a defence fit for the challenges of the 21st century. And in that century, the African Century, we must have the right values and equipment for reinforcing our renaissance.

● Ronnie Kasrils is the deputy defence minister

German arms deal package revealed 15/9/99

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

Sowetan
(254)

FOREIGN countries are lining up to secure arms deals in this country. Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise has told Parliament that discussions were ongoing and that various offers were being evaluated. He also revealed details of a comprehensive German package.

It comprises five modules — the MEKO 200 Corvette, four class 209 type 1400 submarines, advanced fighter trainer aircraft for assembly in South Africa, EC 135 light utility helicopters and AS 532 Cougar maritime patrol helicopters and the Dornier 328 medium-short range maritime patrol aircraft.

The German offer includes refurbishing the country's three Daphne submarines and converting the C160 Transall aircraft for long range maritime patrol roles.

also prevent...

Region's defence forces to club together

(254) (257A)
BY NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

Southern African governments are laying plans to restructure their defence capabilities through limited integration of existing national forces, to save money and to promote the security and reconstruction of the region.

A start will probably be made with various air forces and air wings, followed by other arms of service.

Negotiations are expected to take some time before a final decision is taken by the region's Inter-State Defence and Security Committee and ratified by the 12 Southern African Development Community governments.

Defence Minister Joe Modise told the Sir Pierre van Ryneveld air power symposium - organised by the SA Air Force

- in Pretoria yesterday that air power, in particular, was expensive "and few states in the region will be able to afford extensive air capabilities".

He said "the end of apartheid and the birth of a new democracy in South Africa" heralded a new dawn for the African continent and emphasised that defence, including military and civil air power, could make a significant contribution to the general revival of Africa, and the vision of an African renaissance supported by President Nelson Mandela and his deputy, Thabo Mbeki.

"This may sound like a paradox to some who might question how defence can be part of a renaissance I submit that development and progress cannot come about without the fundamental prerequisites of peace and security," Modise said

Star 17/9/97

Joint outing for SANDF task force

Sowetan 17/9/97

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By Khangale Makhado

A SOUTH African naval task force has been deployed in the western Indian Ocean to exercise with the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC) and other African countries.

Defence spokesman Captain Louis Kirsten said yesterday the task force, including members of the Army, SA Air Force and SA Medical Service, left Cape Town on Monday and would return on October 20.

This deployment is in accordance with the department's objective of enabling regional defence and to prove its ability to deploy and sustain deployed forces in tropical conditions.

Among the objectives would be the promotion of confidence building and cooperation between the countries in the region and also to strengthen existing ties with the navies of the ISDSC countries and other African states, Kirsten said.

Other objectives would include conducting joint search and rescue exercises with elements of the air force and the army in Mozambique.

The forces will conduct seamanship, patrol and boarding exercises with ISDSC countries and report fishing vessel concentration to local authorities, said Kirsten.



Bill to crack down on SA mercenaries

Star 19/9/97 (254)

New legislation comes at a time

when dogs of war are thriving

in Africa, writes Khareen Pech

The Regulation of the Foreign Military Assistance Bill comes at a time when mercenarism and private security are thriving in Africa – as it has for five years. Across the length and breadth of Africa and even in several Asian states, South African hired forces and arms dealers are embroiled in civil conflicts.

The rise of a new commercial trade in private intelligence, which feeds sensitive information to clients with business – political and even military interests in Africa, is also of concern to the Government.

These corporate intelligence units, mostly staffed by former SADF and SAP intelligence officers, are prospering as a result of the demand for risk assessments on strife-torn mineral and energy-rich regions in Africa.

Private security companies have mushroomed. In Angola alone, between 80 to 100 private security groups have contracts to protect assets, installations, embassies and diamond mines. The majority of these are run by South Africans, according to the Institute for Security Studies (ISS).

Post-Cold War trends such as globalism, the demobilisation and rationalisation of armed forces, a boom in mineral and oil exploration, shifting power balances, a rise in crime and banditry, a glut in small arms trading, and increasing instability in Africa have created need for private security.

The construction of effective and enforceable legislation against mercenaries is a challenge that has thus far defeated the efforts of international legal experts. The difficulty lies in establishing a water-tight definition of what constitutes mercenary activity and then proving it has been committed.

International law, ratified by the UN General Assembly in 1989, offers a narrow definition of a mercenary as any person who is recruited to fight in an armed conflict for money or private gain, who is not a member of the armed forces of a party to a conflict, who is not a national or resident of the territory controlled by the party and who is paid a much higher remuneration than the soldiers who are members of the armed forces.

But this definition is ineffective when applied to the best-known prototype of Africa's new age armies, Executive Outcomes (EO), which stands to be most directly affected by the new bill and has managed operations in such a way as to glide through loopholes in the existing definitions.

EO has seldom been paid directly by the government or party to the conflict that they assist. In Angola their initial fee was paid by an oil company and in Sierra Leone their fee was largely covered by proceeds from an affiliated company. EO is part of a network of about 20 to 50 affiliated front companies which are often registered as local entities and which often include the leaders of the party to the conflict as business partners.

“We want to catch the big fish ... the greedy, avaricious and unsavoury characters” that run the highly lucrative commercial aspect of the business, Kader Asmal, chairman of the NCACC, said.

The bill states that any citizen or permanent resident or any company registered or incorporated in SA that wishes to provide any type of “foreign military assistance” to a party that is involved in an armed conflict must have the authorisation of the NCACC and the Minister of Defence.

Any person or group that provides such services without the state's permission will be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine of R1-million or imprisonment for 10 years, or both. The bill, therefore, does not prohibit mercenary activities, but seeks to regulate a wide range of military-related services.

The ISS says that the bill “blurs the distinction” between legitimate outreach programmes and the activities of mercenaries and “merchants of death”. This infringes on the basic constitutional rights of individuals and organisations to “freedom of trade, occupation and profession”, according to the ISS. The ISS said the wording of the bill could be challenged in court.

Likewise, the Centre for Conflict Resolution says the bill will hamper its work in Africa and “dilute the Government's power to prevent” mercenary activity. Such activity should be prohibited rather than regulated, said CCR executive director, Laurie Nathan. Amnesty International has welcomed the bill.

■ *Khareen Pech is a freelance journalist*

List of bidders for SA's arms contract continues to grow

GT(PT) 21/9/97 (254)

Canada, Brazil, Sweden and Italy join Britain, Germany, France and Spain in bidding for SA's arms contract, writes DON ROBERTSON

FOUR more countries have entered the race to supply the SA Defence Force with military equipment and arms, all with an exciting array of countertrade options.

This week Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said Canada, Brazil, Sweden and Italy had joined Britain, Germany, France and possibly Spain in the bidding for the contract worth an estimated R10-billion to R15-billion.

It is expected that detailed proposals will be ready for a cabinet decision by the end of the year or early next year.

Kasrils says that all the offers are extremely favourable in terms of equipment and loan facilities and that a decision will have to be made soon or, "they (the bidders) are bound to lose interest".

Although the French bid was made at the end of May, details of the offer have only now become available. The French arms package is being conducted under the authority of the Delegation Generale pour l'Armeement, the equivalent of Armscor and under the co-ordination of the Aerospatiale group. It includes long-term co-operation in the operational, technological and strategic fields as well as an attractive financial package.

The offer also makes provision to extend the life of existing French equipment in use by the SA National Defence Force and involve the local defence industry.

The proposal suggests the Daphne class submarines be refurbished and the Cheetah and Mirage aircraft be fit-

ted with new engines and weapon systems. France will ensure support during the extended life of this equipment.

The French consortium has also offered the navy four multirole corvettes manufactured by a DCN-Chantiers de l'Atlantique consortium, four shipborne maritime helicopters and three second-hand Agosta submarines from the French navy.

The offer to the airforce is for 60 light utility helicopters from Eurocopter, HOT missiles for the Rooivalk helicopter and a basic pilot training centre.

Main battle tanks based on the Leclerc, Eryx short range anti-tank missiles and Mistral short-range air defence missiles are on offer to the army.

The French companies will share their expertise and technology with local companies and engage themselves in any export opportunities.

Commercial offset programmes will be involved, including participation in telecommunications, infrastructure and training projects. The French government is supporting the offer and will provide attractive finance packages.

A bureau has been established in Pretoria to represent all the French companies involved in the proposals which are described as modular, allowing the defence force to select any or all of the proposals. Kasrils says the government will probably not give the entire contract to one country, but would rather use the opportunity to forge long-term ties with the large number of important companies involved.

'Although the French bid was made in May, details of the offer have only now become available'

No comment on arms-for-oil deal

(254)
Vuyo Mvoko

BD 22/9/97

THE defence ministry would not comment yesterday on a Sunday newspaper report that SA was offering to buy oil from Saudi Arabia as a countertrade arrangement in a R7bn arms deal which was about to be finalised, and which included the sale of G-6 mobile artillery pieces and anti-aircraft missiles from SA parastatal arms corporation Denel.

The ministry confirmed that Saudi Arabian Defence Minister Prince Sultan Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud is scheduled to arrive in SA on Wednesday for talks with his SA counterpart, Joe Modise, as well as President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

However, ministry spokesman Puso Tladi refused to be drawn into details of the trip, saying it was up to the Saudi ambassador to SA to speak as the ministry did not want "to burn our fingers again".

The Sunday Independent said the move to import oil from Saudi Arabia was an indication government wanted to reduce reliance on Iran, which provided more than two-thirds of SA's crude oil imports.

A row erupted last month when details of two multibillion-rand arms deals with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were said to have been jeopardised by disclosure in the media. Afterwards Modise, who was to fly to the Middle East in a bid to salvage the deals, mourned the fact that "I am now in the unfortunate position of having to beg and plead to rescue the deals and I have been placed in this embarrassing position by our own press".

He said he would "go on my knees to plead our case" even though he was "not optimistic" as the two countries had insisted on total confidentiality.

Modise said Denel and Armscor had spent millions over many years to promote and market its products in the Middle East, and he had been involved. He said he supported transparency, but there were limits to what could be revealed.

France offers a R10-bn defence package to SA

Nov 23/9/97

(254)

By NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

France has offered South Africa a R10-billion package for the supply of new equipment to the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) as the international race to win the lucrative business heats up.

It is the latest in a series of packages, including counter-trade proposals, by major powers which is being studied by the Government in terms of recommendations included in the new Defence Review.

Britain and Germany have put their offers on the table, while Spain is still to do so. Sweden, Canada, Italy, Brazil and Russia have also indicated interest, but defence sources say they are unlikely to be serious contenders.

The United States is not offering a package, but individual American

Countries compete for SANDF business

aircraft manufacturers are believed to be interested in various aspects of the South African Air Force's requirements.

This week, Tony Yengen, chairman of the parliamentary defence committee, and members of the committee are in Washington for top-level talks on a variety of topics, and are to use the occasion to visit manufacturers.

The French offer is described by Paris defence procurement officials as "a global offer devoted to meeting the (SA) defence needs", and has been designed as a

modular one which will enable Pretoria to select and choose the projects it finds most attractive.

It includes long-term co-operation in the operational, technological and strategic fields, the extension of life of French-origin equipment already in service with the SANDF, the acquisition of new state-of-the-art equipment, participation by the defence industry in all projects, and an attractive low-interest financial offer which can be adapted to the financing of contracts and the performance of the economy.

French companies will commit themselves to share experience and technology with their local counterparts, and co-operation on export markets will take place in every field as well as in countries where possible synergies exist.

The proposal includes commercial offsets as required by the Department of Trade and Industry and France says the "main goals of this programme is to boost South African industry by including long term and profitable programmes such as telecommunications, infrastructure and training projects".

A special industrial co-operation office has been established in Pretoria to represent the companies involved.

Extension of operational capability and modernisation of the SA Navy's existing three Daphne class submarines, and the SA Air Force's Cheetah and Mirage aircraft - including weapons systems and engines - forms a key area of the proposal, and France has also undertaken to ensure support

services are available for the modernised equipment throughout their extended life period.

It is offering to provide the navy with four multirole corvettes built by the DCN-Chantiers de l'Atlantique consortium, four shipborne maritime helicopters from Denel Aviation Eurocopter consortium, and the provision of three Agosta submarines now in service with the French Navy.

The possibility of second-hand Daphne submarines, such as those currently in use with the SA Navy, is also being investigated.

The SAAF will be provided with 60 light utility helicopters by Eurocopter, the newly-developed HOT-3 anti-tank missiles for the Rooivalk assault helicopter, and a basic pilot training centre, while for the army, it is proposing to supply a main battle tank, Eryx short range anti-tank missiles, and Mistral air defence missiles.

"These offers will significantly involve the South African defence industry, whose technological level is deeply appreciated by French industrialists," a French spokesman said.

South Africa, Togo sign defence co-operation pact

Star 25/9/77 (254)

South Africa has signed a far-reaching memorandum of understanding with Togo in regard to defence co-operation.

The agreement follows a visit by Defence Minister Joe Modise to West Africa this year and is expected to be the forerunner for similar agreements with other

states in the region in coming months

On Monday in Pretoria Modise and his Togo counterpart Bitokotipou Yagninim signed an agreement which covers co-operation in training, technical assistance and research, and also occasional combined military exercises.

It was further decided to set up a bi-national defence committee which will meet every three years.

Modise said strong ties were developing and the agreement with Togo was seen as building bridges between southern and west Africa. - Defence Correspondent

ARMS SALES POLICY

(254)

Gun-shop humanism

Anomalies persist in 'transparent'
weapons trade

fm 26/9/92

The controversy surrounding newspaper revelations that Saudi Arabia is the prospective client in a major SA arms sale has raised new questions about our arms trade policy

The National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC), which vets such deals, was established in 1995 to shed light on SA's arms deals and ensure that would-be buyers meet strict human rights criteria

But Saudi Arabia, which publicly executes death row prisoners, has a poor human rights record — which seems to trouble Pretoria less than the publicity about the deal NCACC chairman Kader Asmal explains that if a buyer wants secrecy, this is accepted — partly because jobs could be lost if a deal fell through

When vetting arms sales, the NCACC considers issues such as respect for fundamental freedoms, compliance with international accords on arms sales to nations that consistently violate human rights, and SA's foreign and national interests

The public has only the NCACC's assurance that it has been applying the criteria strictly As NCACC directorate head Fred Marais points out, though the human rights issue is "an important consideration, it is not necessarily a dominant one

"No single criterion is self-executing or transcends the others The committee considers proposed arms transfers against all the approved criteria and then arrives at a consensus decision "

In its two years "the NCACC has reviewed and approved over 500 contract applications from defence-related industries During the same period 20 have been refused," says Marais "The basis for these refusals is the application of the NCACC's rationale and principles as approved by Cabinet "

It seems, then, that "national interest" could prevail over all other considerations for an arms sale If SA arms were used in the Tutsi incursion into Zaire — now the Democratic Republic of Congo — they helped topple a dictator, but may also have been used against thousands of Hutu refugees who are now missing

Other such cases might come to light if the NCACC reported on a case-by-case basis Until now, there has been no such transparency

Peter Wilhelm

Report to Modise on victimisation

By JIMMY SEEPE

NEW TENSIONS are mounting within the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) over accusations by former members of the non-statutory forces that they are being court-martialled unnecessarily over less than serious issues, City Press can reveal

It is alleged that an average of between 60 to 100 cases are handled each month

Former members of the non-statutory forces - mainly from the former Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army - expressed concern that they were being court-martialled unfairly

Some of the charges the soldiers are alleged to have faced include allegations of improper behaviour within the army, insubordination, drinking at work, displaying signs that they had been drunk the previous day and being absent without leave

Reports of sexual harassment against women soldiers are also said to have increased

The soldiers claim to have filed their grievances in SANDF structures, but allege that these are not being properly addressed

The situation is said to be so serious that the minister of defence, Joe Modise, has asked senior divisional army generals to prepare a report on the growing number of courts martial

CP 28/9/97 (254)
But army officials are said to have refuted allegations that the courts martial are targeted at former members of the non-statutory forces

Claims are that the procedure is designed to build a professional and disciplined army

□ Ministerial and SANDF spokesperson confirmed that the report has already been passed on the Modise

On Friday, Modise and army generals were said to be locked in a meeting the whole day, discussing the report and other defence force matters

SANDF corporate communication chief, Col John Rolt, declined to respond to specific questions by City Press

Rolt said the defence force was "not able to provide answers to questions until the minister of defence has seen the report he commissioned

"It would be inappropriate for us to pre-empt our own minister by giving the information to you for publication before he has had an opportunity to study it"

□ Modise's spokesperson, Col Phiso Tladi, echoed Rolt's statements and said that, as much as the SANDF believed in transparency, they could not disclose the contents of the report since "matters contained in it were too serious and needed to be studied thoroughly before a statement could be released"

Hundreds of soldiers 'in limbo'

Sowetan 30/9/97
254

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

A SUBSTANTIAL number of former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) members have still not integrated into or accepted demobilisation from the South African National Defence Force.

Minister of Defence, Mr Joe Modise revealed in Parliament yesterday that only 25 233 of the Certified Personnel Registers of 42 266 MK and Apla members had so far exercised "their constitutional right" either to integrate or demobilise.

He revealed that a total of 4 313 demobilisation applications had already been processed, while a further 1 840 were currently being administered.

"The shortfall of 15 000 names on the Certified Personnel Registers who have to date neither reported for integration nor demobilisation are cause for concern," Modise said.

He said his concern stemmed from the fact that there had been repeated and widespread advertising of intakes but, despite this, huge numbers were still outstanding.

He said there could be an explanation for this.

"It is accepted that many of these names could result from duplications, various spellings of the same person's name or use of both actual and combat names," he said.

A breakdown of the 9 388 commissioned officers showed that the vast majority were from the old order.

He said there were 8 003 members from the South African Defence Force in the SANDEF and, of these, 1 652 were female, 1 079 from MK of which 108 were female, while 306 were from Apla of which 50 were female.

Amnesty report (254) labelled 'far-fetched'

M+G 3-9/10/97
Marion Edmunds

The South African government is seeking to play down a report by Amnesty International linking South African arms sales to recent bloodshed in Rwanda

The office of Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Kader Asmal, which oversees South Africa's international arms trade, questioned Amnesty International's findings that South Africa was Rwanda's largest arms supplier. The Ministry of Defence dismissed the report's conclusion as "far-fetched".

The report, released on September 24, is nevertheless potentially embarrassing to South Africa given Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's commitment just two months ago to re-open arms sales to Rwanda. The trade was frozen in 1996, but was re-opened mid-year to allow trade of non-lethal military *matériel*.

It is understood that the National Conventional Arms Control Committee — the arms sales watchdog chaired by Asmal — is poised to evaluate applications for permits for the export of more dangerous weapons to Rwanda later this year.

A committee representative refused to disclose whether arms sales to Rwanda were on the agenda at the committee's next meeting in October, saying disclosures could only be made after decisions had been taken.

The *Mail & Guardian* established that the report has surprised government officials, who have yet to commit themselves to discussing the report at the committee meeting — although it will probably be noted

The Amnesty International report urged South Africa to reconsider military aid to the Rwandan government because — the report says — it's Tutsi-dominated army had been involved in the deaths of 6 000 innocent people this year.

The report claimed that most of the victims were unarmed civilians. The figures were calculated from reports from survivors, witnesses and families of victims.

South Africa froze arms sales to Rwanda late last year, following reports that its Vice-President, Paul Kagame, had authorised troops to undertake raids into former Zaire. Mbeki argued months later that the trade should resume to allow Kagame to repel attacks from Hutus returning to Rwanda from Zaire.

Kagame personally assured Asmal this year that he would not abuse the conditions laid down for South African arm sales to resume. Non-lethal *matériel*, such as trucks, is now being sold to Kagame's government.

"The committee has no reason to reject assurances given at the highest level of the Rwandan government on conditions of sale," Asmal's representative said. "These assurances were very much in line with those sought by Amnesty."

Deputy Minister of Defence Ronnie Kasrils was more strident in his response to Amnesty International. "These thousands of deaths cannot be connected to weapons which were never delivered. What weapons were delivered came from South Africa in the apartheid era. I have not seen the report yet, but what you are saying to me sounds far-fetched."

Defence will apply affirmative policy

Wyndham Hartley

(254)
BD 8/10/97
CAPE TOWN — The defence department would apply an "affirmative" procurement policy in its acquisition of weapons and equipment rather than a simple lowest price tender system, Parliament's joint standing committee on defence heard yesterday

One of the last chapters of the defence review, the acquisition management process, tabled in the committee yesterday stresses tenders will not "necessarily be based on the lowest price but on value for money and industrial development goals"

The chapter, which has been substantially endorsed by the committee, says "life cycle costs, local industrial development goals, social responsibility (including economic empowerment of the previously disadvantaged) and subcontracting will be taken into consideration in awarding contracts"

"The defence department affirmative procurement policy will be administered by the defence secretary and

will be considered during contract negotiations," the document says

Also stressed is a commitment by Armscor, the state's arms procurement agent, that it will assist new companies owned or managed by members of previously disadvantaged communities in planning their development so that they will meet the criteria for accreditation as suppliers to the defence department

Ensuring this process goes ahead will also be the responsibility of Defence Secretary Pierre Steyn.

In regard to confidentiality in regard to defence procurement, the document says that a balanced approach between the right of access to information and the limitation of rights will be observed

Noting that the proposed open democracy bill makes provision for a refusal of access to information which could harm the security of the country, the document pledges that the defence department will observe its legal obligations to make information available.

Plan to tighten up on bail comes under fire

New bill 'may flout constitution'

ART 13/10/97

POLITICAL STAFF

Legislation which tightens up conditions of bail is in for a rough ride through the parliamentary justice portfolio committee this week, with opposition from human rights groups and opposition parties.

Questions are also expected to arise about the constitutionality of the measure, which places the onus on those charged with serious crimes - murder, rape and robbery - to show why they deserve bail

The Criminal Procedure Second Amendment Bill has already faced strong opposition from the Human Rights Committee, the Black Sash, Lawyers for Human Rights, the National Association of Democratic

Lawyers and the South African Institute of Race Relations.

While the National Party is likely to support the measure because it makes bail conditions more difficult, the Democratic Party is expected to oppose its stipulation that magistrates also have to consider the sense of shock that granting bail to someone accused of a serious crime would have on the community

But human rights groups are arguing that the bill may be unconstitutional, as the constitution enshrines every person's right to the due process of law - which is based on the principle of being innocent until proved guilty

Justice Minister Dullah Omar, however, is responding to a growing perception that criminals are being

allowed to roam free, and the measure is interpreted by human rights groups as an over-reaction to public sentiment about crime.

DP justice spokesman Douglas Gibson says the capacity of the courts and the police to deal with criminal cases is a far greater problem.

Indeed, existing bail legislation passed in 1995 - the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act - had led to 10 000 extra accused being brought to trial.

The human rights groups say that the existing law is adequate.

This legislation provides for a ban on after-hours bail applications, with an application to be postponed if the attorney-general issues a written confirmation that the accused will be charged with a serious offence.

SA role in arms trade under fire

Johannesburg - Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Njongonkulu Ndungane has criticised South Africa's involvement in the international arms trade

Speaking at the end of a mass peace march in Assisi, Italy, he said it was significant that many world leaders were questioning South Africa's role in the arms race.

"They are saying that we are sending out mixed messages in terms of promoting global peace," he said

"And they are adding that if we wish to be a forceful member of the southern hemisphere, we should not involve ourselves as a power broker in the field of arms," he said in a speech sent here. - Sapa

SA slams the door on illegals and smugglers

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg - Widespread smuggling and illegal immigration will be dealt a significant blow by a clamp on the number of land, sea and air entry points into South Africa, says Transport Minister Mac Maharaj.

It has been estimated that R17-billion a year is being lost in customs revenue, and that as many as 500 people are entering the country illegally every month

Commenting on Cabinet approval for measures to restrict the number of international airports to 10 - of a total of 36 countrywide - Mr Maharaj

said some airports would be able to negotiate concessions for certain international flights.

The airports that will be allowed to clear goods and passengers for or from international flights are Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban International, and Bloemfontein, Lanseria, Nelspruit, Upington, Pietersburg, Mmabatho and Port Elizabeth

The Safety and Security Department's deputy director-general, Bernie Fanaroff, said cross-border flights were at present allowed to land at virtually all airports. The restrictions would bring South Africa into line with other countries

Body subpoenas Meiring over army medical scheme

(254) ~~244~~ BD 15/10/97
THE Human Rights Commission has subpoenaed SA National Defence Force (SANDF) chief Gen Georg Meiring to appear before it to explain why medical benefits allegedly discriminate against married women army members.

The subpoena, served in Pretoria on Monday, summoned Meiring to appear next Monday, the commission said yesterday.

The subpoena requires Meiring to appear in connection with an investigation into the admission of the dependants of married female members of the army to the army's medical system.

Meiring is required to produce any documentation in his possession relevant to the commission's investigation from an earlier investigation ordered by the minister's committee on the improvement of conditions of service.

The commission's senior legal officer Liesl Gernholtz said any person failing to comply with such a subpoena committed an offence and was liable for a fine or six months in jail.

The subpoena arises from a complaint lodged by Penny James, an employee of the SA Navy in Simonstown, who asked the commission to request amendments of the army's regulations to permit dependants of married women members to use the army's medical facilities on the same basis as dependants of male members.

James, who is married and has one child, wanted to have her child placed on her medical aid, but was informed that as a married woman she was not entitled to receive any medical benefits for her husband and child, the commission said.

The commission is investigating discrimination on the grounds of gender and marital status, in violation of the constitutional right of equality.

"Although the SANDF is aware that the regulations were inconsistent with provisions of the constitution, it has failed to amend them."

The commission said Brig FW Fieldhouse, of the army's legal section, indicated after meeting the commission on July 23 that the army was investigating the complaint.

Fieldhouse had said the findings of the investigation were expected to be released by September 30, the commission said.

Last week the commission subpoenaed Health Minister Nkososana Zuma on an allegation of discrimination against three unmarried women who wanted to undergo artificial insemination. — Sapa.



President Thabo Mbeki's office, addresses on government's plans to replace the SA streamlined body, the Government Commu-

Picture TREVOR SAMSON

nelands 'not possible'

financial positions for the 1993/94 and 1994/95 financial years, a statement released yesterday said.

Northern Province provincial auditor Steve Lekutle said "the financial management of the territory (Gazankulu) is regarded as being doubtful".

More than R1,541bn in unauthorised spending for the 1992/93, 1993/94 and 1994/95 financial years had also been reported for Lebowa. — Sapa.

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Secret plan to shrink SANDF

CAPE TOWN — Parliament's joint standing committee on defence was briefed in secret yesterday on a plan to reduce the size of the defence force after the meeting was declared "closed" and the media asked to leave.

A ten-strong delegation from the defence secretariat and the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) asked committee chairman Tony Yengeni if the briefing on the "personnel reduction plan" could be considered closed. They stressed that the plan, not yet approved by the Council on Defence, was sensitive. The committee members, who were at this stage outnumbered by

the defence delegation, said they had no problem with the request.

It is understood the defence force has a targeted reduction of more than 28 000, beginning with a voluntary retrenchment this year of 4 500 members. An initial estimate, announced some weeks ago, was that defence spending on salaries should be cut 40% by 2001/02. The intention is to reduce the 100 000-strong SANDF to 70 000. The plan's latest details are unknown.

In a later submission, Gen AML Masondo told the committee that in the integration of the former liberation and homeland forces with the former SA Defence Force, 161 cases of fraudulent enlistment had been identified

Private teachers at public schools may be curbed

THE African National Congress (ANC) may seek to restrict the number of teachers that a public school may employ privately.

ANC MP Randall van den Heever told the National Assembly's education committee yesterday that his party was considering a change to the Education Laws Amendment Bill, aimed at capping the number of privately employed teachers at public schools. The proposal was among options put forward at last week's public hearings on the bill by the Centre for Education Policy Development, Evaluation and Management.

The centre's submission noted that if there were no restrictions on the private appointment of teachers, wealthy communities could have their pick of teachers, exacerbating inequalities. This inequity would be minimised by placing a ceiling.

"We must allow those communities who can collect additional funds to improve the teacher-pupil ratio at their schools," Van den Heever said. "However, we have to look at redressing the situation in our poor schools to bring some sort of equity."

Van den Heever, a former general-secretary of the SA Democratic Teachers' Union, said the proposed ceiling should be realistic. It had to be large enough to "make a meaningful difference to a school's teaching capacity, without being so large that it is in reality no restriction at all."

He also expressed concern at the "rocketing school fees" at certain public schools, which he said were aimed at, among other things, raising funds to employ additional teaching and nonteaching staff.

His view was shared by fellow ANC MP and committee chairman Blade Nzimande, who said some public schools were charging almost as much as private schools. "That is very serious as these schools continue to be inaccessible not only to poor black kids, but a sizeable section of the white community who also cannot afford these fees."

Nzimande said the proposed cap was still under consideration by the ANC, and urged minority parties to discuss the matter, so that it could be debated at tomorrow's committee meeting. The education department was also asked for input. — Sapa



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(Previously Manga-Chem Products Limited)
(Registration number 93/00460/06)

("Samroc")

Cautionary announcement

Shareholders in Samroc are advised that discussions are taking place which may have an effect on the price at which Samroc ordinary shares trade on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Shareholders are accordingly advised to exercise caution when dealing in their Samroc shares until a full announcement is made.

Pretoria

15 October 1997

INCE

SANDEF must testify on bias claim

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) has subpoenaed the SA National Defence Force chief to account for allegedly discriminatory regulations against women.

The subpoena was served on General Georg Meiring in Pretoria this week and he is set to appear before the commission on Monday, according to the commission.

The commission's senior legal officer Liesl Gerntholtz said the subpoena was the result of a complaint lodged by navy employee Penny Janes in Simon's Town.

Janes asked the SAHRC to challenge army regulations that prevented her from registering her family on the army's medical facilities.

Army administrators allegedly informed Janes that her husband and child would not be entitled to medical benefits because she was married.

Gerntholtz said the SAHRC would investigate the discrimination on grounds of gender and marital status and whether the defence force was in violation of the constitutional right to equality.

The Commission on Gender

Equality yesterday put its weight behind the complaint lodged by Youth for Islamic Enlightenment and Development to have the Radio Islam licence revoked if its management continued to discriminate against the employment of women broadcasters.

Commission chairman Thenjwe Mtintso said they would await the outcome of the Broadcasting Complaints Commission's hearing today on Radio Islam's violation of its licence regulations, which entrenched affirmative action and women empowerment, before taking action.

SAC 16/10/97

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~~SECRET~~

Role of SA's submarines would have a regional dimension

JPHOLDER, Ursula, Unicorn and Unseen. These four Type 2400 British submarines are tied up at Vickers Shipbuilding at Barrow-in-Furness in the north of England awaiting Pretoria's decision as to their future home. For these four boats are to be part of a British package deal with the supply of four orvette patrol vessels to be presented to the SA government on October 31.

The recently completed SA Defence Review calls for a core naval force of four patrol corvettes, six strike craft and four submarines. Yet the mooted purchase of vessels to fill this template raises questions about the SA Navy's future role and responsibility.

The navy's main role is protecting SA's access to the sea and the safeguarding of its maritime interests, including the out-of-area responsibilities of Prince Edward Island and Antarctica. Its secondary functions involve policing SA's waters to prevent smuggling, illegal fishing and other crimes.

Of course, as an important tool of foreign policy, the role of the navy has to be viewed from within Pretoria's international relations priorities. In this regard, the need for an "African renaissance" would appear to rank in first place, aimed at turning Africa around from a continent with vast potential which is currently under-utilised. This is linked to the need for multiparty democracy, good governance, and better-managed economies.

In this, the first challenge for SA is to remove impediments to economic growth and the second, to provide an environment that underpins that growth.

As a relatively nonthreatening form of military force, navies can assist in building a climate of confidence, trust and community in southern Africa. This may be achieved through co-operation in the fields of training, logistics, maritime policing, patrols and surveillance, search and rescue, as well as marine environment conservation and development.

But it is important, too, to note that given the virtual absence of naval capabilities elsewhere in southern Africa, the navy's primary role of sea control and deterrence automatically takes on a regional dimension. In this, as Prof Martin Edmunds of the

Why should SA be buying British submarines? Greg Mills provides some answers

(2574)

BD 20/10/97

Centre for Defence and International Security Studies in the UK has noted, "sea power and the conduct of operations at sea have been used for centuries to expand influence, protect national interests, exercise control, and threaten potential adversaries".

What can submarines contribute? Despite the changes brought to the bipolar world by the end of the

Cold War, this decade has not seen a reduction in the value of submarines. No nation is giving up this capability. Indeed, a number are striving to obtain it, or to enhance existing assets.

The 2 400-ton Upholder class were constructed in the early 1990s to create probably the most advanced diesel-electric submarine afloat today. Yet they saw

around just three years service because of British defence cutbacks and the standardisation of the British fleet to nuclear propulsion. Since that time, they have been mothballed on "care and maintenance" at Barrow, waiting for a buyer. And now they are being offered as a replacement for the SA Navy's 30-year old Daphne-class boats which have reached the end of their useful service life.

An undersea capability serves to put navies into a different league. Submarines are a poor country's stealth weapon. They are not necessarily hostile, yet they automatically alter the strategic calculation of potential adversaries. In the Falklands-Malvinas conflict, Royal Navy submarines succeeded in excluding the Argentine surface fleet from the islands for the duration of the war. In SA's case, this would mean that any nation wishing to abuse southern African waters would have to think twice before doing so.

And in an age when out-of-area operations are becoming the norm, this capability should have considerable strategic reach. The Upholders can be at sea for more than 45 days without replenishment, and can perform a versatile range of roles, including anti-submarine and anti-shipping warfare, mine laying, and special forces insertion. Even though these boats are ocean-going, unlike the coastal 1 000-ton Daphnes, modern technology means that they operate with a smaller crew, about 45 as opposed to more than 50.

All this would not necessarily have to come too expensively, and most likely

well below the cost price of the submarines. Given the expense of mothballing (which involves a full-time team of 40 personnel), the British defence ministry is known to be keen on selling the Upholders as soon as possible to a reliable partner such as SA. Thus they are likely to be reasonably priced (in this way, the "sweetener" to the corvette purchase) and, unlike some of the other offers on the table, could be delivered within three years along with the necessary know-how for SA to maintain them. The Upholders would not demand major revisions (and expense) to Simon's Town's dockyard either.

What stands in SA's way? First, there are a number of other potential bidders: Canada, Portugal, Chile and Pakistan have all been keen at one time or another. There is also a strong body of opinion within the UK which believes Britain should reactivate the Upholders, given that there is 30 years of life left in them, and also that they can go places barred to nuclear boats.

Second, the bids potentially tied to a wider package deal of SA arms requirements involving not just the corvettes but also helicopters, tanks, jet trainers and fighter aircraft. This could delay the decision-making process, particularly as it is not necessarily in the army's or air force's best interests to have it speeded up.

Finally, related to this, at this stage it is not clear how the money might be found from SA's shrinking defence budget (except perhaps from the army and air force allocations). The SA Navy receives around just 8% of the defence slice.

In today's media age, the manner in which nations are perceived by the international community is critical to investment and other political prospects. If for some reason Pretoria decided not to replace its submarines, one would have to question what signal SA would be sending out by relinquishing this capability at a time when other successful nations are re-arming in the naval domain.

□ Greg Mills is national director of the SA Institute of International Affairs



A British-made Trafalgar class submarine

No cash to change discriminatory medical aid in SANDF this year

(254) 24/10/97

Defence force chief Georg Meiring has told the SA Human Rights Commission that no changes would be made to sexually discriminating medical aid regulations within the force until next year.

Meiring told commission chairman Dr Barney Pitso the SANDF was aware regulations excluding the spouses of female defence force members from medical aid benefits was discriminatory, but said there were not enough funds to implement equality. He said amendments to the regulations would also involve a review of the Defence Act.

Research would also have to be conducted into the impact equalisation would have on male members of the force, he said.

Meiring told the commission he would do everything possible in 1998 to ensure equality was afforded to all members.

The SAHRC approached the defence force last year after a complaint was lodged with the commission by Simon's Town navy employee Penny Janes.

The commission said it found it unacceptable that the defence force would not change medical aid regulations before April 1998, especially since it was approached in October last year.

The commission will approach Minister of Defence Joe Modise to establish a specific time frame for the removal of discriminatory regulations. - Sapa

Arms sales can hit SA's moral stature — DP

Linda Ensor

CAPE TOWN — Some may justify SA's indiscriminate arms sales as an unfortunate though necessary violation of its human rights code if it is to keep its job-creating arms industry alive

Releasing a Democratic Party report, Morality vs Money: SA Arms Sales, yesterday, DP defence spokesman James Selfe said SA had built up a moral stature in the world through its stand on human rights. This had trade and investment spin-offs which could be threatened by selling arms to countries with poor records of upholding human rights. Selfe said President Nelson Mandela's efforts to forge a peace-making role for SA in Africa were also

being undermined by its indiscriminate arms sales. Among contentious countries with which SA had, or wished to have, arms dealings were Rwanda, Turkey, Syria, mainland China, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia.

The DP report slammed the "appalling inconsistency" of arms sales, likening it to a "drunken zigzag". It criticised the lack of openness and parliamentary oversight in the process and highlighted the poor control over endusers of SA arms which had resulted in at least one conflict.

"Sales of conventional weapons are currently governed by an ambiguous policy which wavers precariously between a commitment to human rights criteria and a desire to

fulfil various other agendas — particularly the promise of rich financial gains and the potential to pay off debts to old struggle friends," the report said

Selfe said the African National Congress (ANC) government had failed to live up to its 1994 promise that, unlike the previous apartheid regime, its arms export policy would be transparent and guided by human rights considerations.

Selfe believed that the national conventional arms control committee, established in 1994 to grant marketing and export permits for SA arms, was malfunctioning. Permits either took too long to process, or were processed in a way which bypassed the committee altogether. Moreover, the committee seldom

(254) BD 24/10/97

voiced opposition to the wishes of the cabinet and some members, such as Defence Minister Joe Modise, were committed to arms sales above all other considerations

The DP called for greater transparency in decision making on arms sales which had been subordinated to the perceived need to protect national interests and commercial confidentiality. Information leaked to the media was often the only way of knowing what was taking place.

"Our government resorts to assertions about the need for secrecy with unacceptable frequency," the report said

Arms sales of R968m were notched up between October 1995 and September last year and Selfe conceded that it would be difficult

for SA to turn its back on this rich source of revenue. Nor should it, except when potential sales conflicted with government's human rights criteria

The DP recommended that arms sales policy, including measurable and prioritised criteria, should be enshrined in law. The proposed legislation should provide for the full publication of the details of arms deals, except for sensitive technical information, before being confirmed by the committee.

Applications for arms purchases should go before a joint committee of the defence and foreign affairs committees and control over arms deals should be removed from Modise and vested instead in a parliamentary committee.

Interns may be able to fulfil community service by doing research

Josey Ballenger

THE health department would consider recognising medical interns' research as fulfilling community service obligations expected to come into force next year, a health department spokesman said yesterday.

Medical Research Council that interns be able to conduct biomedical and health research to fulfil their community service obligations.

However, the department recognised research as a critical aspect of medicine. "It would enhance the young doctors' experience greatly. But that (this be recognised as community service) will need to be worked out."

The department could not come up with regulations regarding community service which would include the scope of eligible activities — until it became law, and welcomed input "from anybody", he said.

See Page 7

Black navy recruitment at sea

Marion Edmunds

The South African navy's affirmative action drive is faltering, partly because black recruits resist going to sea, reject naval traditions and would prefer desk jobs in Gauteng to be close to their families

In a report to the parliamentary integration oversight committee, which monitors the transformation of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), the navy admits it is struggling to find suitable black recruits, and those it has found are often frustrated

While the navy says it is committed to black recruitment, it is finding it uphill work, particularly as it has concentrated its efforts in a land-locked province "The major-

ity of suitable African applicants emanate in Gauteng. This results in numerous requests for geographical transfers to Pretoria. Career development of many African members is thus often negatively affected by their area-boundness," says the report

While the first black naval employees saw service in the 1950s as "berthing attendants, drivers, fire-fighters and cleaners", blacks only became officers from 1990. Since then the uniformed black permanent force component has increased from 1% to 16%

"Some African members have had some difficulty in assimilating the naval way of life, in particular resisting service at sea," the report says, observing that this aversion is reflected in "breaches in discipline"

When the navy attempts to punish offenders, it is often labelled as "racist", the report reads

The navy has employed black psychologists to broaden the scope of entrance tests for recruits, is visiting black schools and seeking out model black sea faring officers to provoke interest among young people

"Selected African sailors with suitable profiles as appropriate role models, as well as non-white civilian personnel, have been placed at the various naval recruiting centres to convey the image of 'the like me' in inspiring new applicants," said the report

The navy has also asked for assistance from "influential African persons", including the vice-chancellor of the University of the North, Professor Njabulo Ndebele, to identify

likely candidates for fast-tracking

"The navy has earned respect and credibility among the African population for these initiatives," says the report. Only 14% of the navy is black, with a majority of coloured personnel — 41%. Whites make up 38%, and 7% is Asian. Only 9% are women

Military discipline is an increasingly contentious problem in all SANDF forces as members of the former non-statutory armies, former homeland forces particularly, express dissatisfaction about the way in which courts martial are conducted.

This week the Joint Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Defence was to discuss the appointment of a military ombudsman, who will work within the Public Protector's office, dealing with complaints from dissatisfied defence force personnel who find little relief within the current military judicial system. The meeting was postponed due to poor attendance by MPs

The SANDF will not release statistics on disobedience within the ranks. However, it has confirmed that almost 325 000 man-days were lost in the year to May due to absenteeism, most absent without leave (Awol)

An average of 1 366 employees were Awol each working day, with 258 claiming medical leave

Among the reasons given for members being Awol were transport problems, imprisonment, discipline, substance abuse and participation in traditional ceremonies such as initiation

Research is currently under way to redraft the country's military disciplinary code to make it more relevant to the new South Africa, and to create conditions to prevent Awol

The Defence Department is trying to keep a lid on dissatisfaction that is expressing itself in disobedience and low morale increasing resignations from the army and the navy

In the first half of this year, almost 3 500 SANDF members had voluntarily quit the forces, compared to 4 389 for the whole of 1996

DP report on SA arms sales unfair — Asmal

Thesy Reuttner

(254) BD 27/10/97
A DEMOCRATIC Party (DP) report on SA's arms sales was "mean-spirited if not grossly malicious", the cabinet's conventional arms control committee chairman, Kader Asmal, said last week.

The report, entitled "Morality vs money: SA armaments sales", produced to mark World Disarmament Day last week, claimed that the "appalling inconsistency" of SA arms sales was like a "drunken zigzag".

Responding to the DP's report, Asmal said it did not mention either the committee's commitment to "maximum restraint and openness in arms matters" or the international respect and support for the position which they had adopted.

The committee did not want SA's arms industry to be shut down and it agreed with the DP on the necessity for exporting, as the SA market was not large enough to achieve self-support.

Asmal, who is also water affairs and forestry minister, said "Like the DP, except we

do it more thoroughly, we ask to whom we should be exporting, and how can we ensure that our arms end up in the right hands?"

DP defence spokesman James Selfe claimed the committee was taking too long to process or grant marketing and export permits and that in some cases the committee was bypassed altogether.

Rejecting this, Asmal said the system had been speeded up, and with the full support of the industry.

There was no evidence of bypassing of the committee, said Asmal. "Gossip and tittle-tattle become substitutes for serious and critical analysis," he said.

The committee had extended its controls and had carried out the detonation of millions of rands worth of small arms. Much of its time was spent ensuring that "those who would seriously trample human rights" would not be armed.

Asmal pointed out that — by comparison with many western democracies — SA had a minuscule scope of arms transfers.

Farmers plant maize now to limit expected effects of El Niño

~~SAFIRE~~
THE National Maize Producers Organisation (Nampo) said on Friday farmers had begun to plant for the new season and a small shift to white maize, at the expense of yellow, was evident.

GM Giel van Zyl said most producers were sticking to normal planting dates, as advised by Nampo, in an attempt to limit any new risks ahead of a feared drought brought by the El Niño weather system.

"There is a lot of planting in Mpumalanga where they recently had sufficient rain. In the eastern and northeast Free State farmers are getting ready," he said.

Scientists have said El Niño, which results from the warming of water temperatures in the Pacific Ocean, may hit SA around December, bringing scorching hot and dry weather in the crucial growing period for maize.

Van Zyl said farmers seemed to be favouring white maize above yellow on hopes of better prices for white after a shortage this season due to large-scale exports into Africa.

A surplus of about 800 000 tons of yellow maize has depressed prices this season.

White maize is a staple in most African countries, while the yellow variety is used mainly for animal feed.

SA harvested a total commercial maize crop of 8,488-million tons in the 1996/97 season, which, although above consumption, is well down on last year's bumper crop of 9,694-million tons — Reuter

BD 27/10/97

Bid to 'censor' Basson

BD 28/10/97

(254)

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — The full power of state machinery has been mustered for the second time this year in a bid to keep secret SA's 14-year chemical and biological warfare programme

Despite claims by the ANC that Project Coast — the country's "purely defensive" germ warfare programme — was scrapped in 1992, the foreign affairs department, council for nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) and the Office for Serious Economic Offences yesterday sought an in-camera ruling for part of Wouter Basson's bail hearing in the Pretoria Regional Court. This application is supported by Basson's defence counsel

Basson, a cardiologist at a military hospital and Pretoria Academic Hospital, was the founder and leader of the top secret Project Coast launched by the SANDF in the early 1980s in breach of the arms embargo against SA at the time Basson, already facing

charges of being in possession of the designer drug Ecstasy, was arrested last Wednesday on 10 charges of fraud totalling R30m relating to the transfer of funds from Project Coast to various foreign bank accounts

Business Day and its sister paper The Sunday Times are opposing attempts to cloak Basson's testimony, which the state claims will breach the Protection of Information Act and the nonproliferation Treaty. The court heard that secret documents, not yet declassified, were likely to be used in the bail application

Theo Beckerling, representing the two newspapers, argued before regional magistrate FJ Pohlman that the court could not make a decision on whether Basson's Project Coast testimony would violate the two acts and should be behind closed doors, without knowing the details of his evidence

Pohlman's suggestion that the scope of Basson's evidence be divulged to him by lawyers in chambers was rejected by Beckerling

Officer calls for labour bill to cover army

Reneé Grawitzky

(254)

CAPE TOWN — The exclusion of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) from the ambit of the Basic Conditions of Employment Bill came under the spotlight yesterday when an SA Navy officer made an urgent appeal for the law to cover uniformed members of the public service.

A submission to Parliament's labour committee by an individual of the SA navy could force the labour department to review its position on the exclusion of thousands of members of the defence force from the scope of the bill, a source close to the process said.

W/O Kevin Bohling told the committee that the exclusion of the bill from covering the defence force further entrenched autocratic decisions taken with regard to employment conditions in the service.

Increasingly, SANDF members were engaging in policing activities yet police were covered by such legislation and were allowed to join trade unions. There was no justifiable reason why SANDF members could not be covered by the bill, except of course during war situations.

Bohling said that although the Defence Act of 1957 precluded trade union membership, it did not preclude SANDF members from being granted basic rights not subject to the whim of defence headquarters.

He explained that the defence force, defined as part of the broader public service, did not comply with public service employment conditions.

Standing committee chairman Godfrey Oliphant confirmed defence had not been consulted on the bill.

BD 28/10/97

Moment of reckoning is nigh for defence force

By **NORMAN CHANDLER**
Defence Correspondent

Defence Minister Joe Modise will this weekend be able to sit back and say to himself that three years of effort appears to at last be paying dividends.

The moment of reckoning for his defence force arrives tomorrow with the cut-off date for international proposals for the now-certain acquisition of new corvettes, submarines, jet fighter/trainers, and other main equipment needed by a South African National Defence Force (SANDF) which has stared obsolescence in the face

Eight countries were invited five weeks ago to provide national procurement agency, Armscor, with proposals to help re-equip an army, air force and navy beset by equipment problems.

The countries – Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Brazil, Sweden and Canada – were asked that an “incentive” would be to allow for the delay of the first payments on capital or interest for four years, something which caused a stir overseas.

The fact that the navy has been cranking along with suspect ships and subs, the air force with aircraft such as Impalas and Mirages which have seen better days, and the army without a credible anti-aircraft deterrent nor a main battle tank has been the reason why South Africans will now have to take a deep breath and agree that the time has finally arrived to re-equip with state-of-the-art material which will see to this country's needs until well into the 21st century

It will, of course, cost a lot of money – at least R12-billion at current prices, payable over an extended period of time – but the end result will be the ability to sleep easier in a volatile international climate

One has only to look at the Great Lakes crisis, Congo-Kinshaha, Congo-Brazzaville, Zambia and Bosnia to see how fickle peace really is

For Modise and his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, it has been an uphill battle to convince parliamentarians and the Cabinet that without a capable deterrent, the key to South Africa's front door may as well have been left in the lock for the use of any future antago-

There have been, and still are, many opponents to armaments procurement, but the Modise-Kasrils

combo has brought them together through a series of Defence Review consultative meetings to impress the need for a defence force in line with that demanded by the constitution.

The review has been accepted by Parliament and the Cabinet as not only necessary for the continuance of a civilian-run force, but also for procurement

By the end of November/early December, a joint task force of the Defence Department, and the Departments of Finance and of Trade and Industry is to recommend to the Cabinet which companies from which countries should be asked to provide the equipment

There is no doubt that there will be a political decision in regard to some suppliers, but military insiders hope defence recommendations will be accepted and that there will be few behind-the-scenes fights between possible vested interests

It is highly unlikely, argue senior sources, that any one country will provide a complete package – as has been punted by some of them – because of a fear that South Africa could eventually be held to ransom in terms of re-equipping, upgrades, or spare parts for equipment purchased at this time

What will probably occur is that certain countries will be selected as the suppliers of particular equipment, along with safeguards built into their contracts and almost certainly linked to socio-economic requirements as part of an off-set package – a prerequisite

Failure to supply off-sets and back-up will automatically debar the contender, and this has been emphasised by Modise

Leading the contenders appears to be Germany, which has offered all the material through a strategic alliance set up by its main players. There has been talk in the marketplace that Germany has emerged as the likely supplier of the four corvettes or light frigates and the submarines, but as has also been pointed out, the price tag is bigger than from, say, Spain or France

Britain has staked a strong claim,

but theirs is also a multinational proposal, which could help sway the issue part of the way

The Hawk 100 jet fighter/trainer is high on the list as far as the South African Air Force (SAAF) is concerned, while at the same time the British are marketing the Swedish-manufactured Gripen which could get the nod

Both aircraft have been evaluated by an SAAF project team, and the Hawk has also undergone successful trials locally but the Swedes appear to have a world-beater which is under evaluation by various countries. However, the Gripen is currently powered by an American-built engine and that is not to the liking of the local military establishment. Sweden is seeking a new engine which could appease South Africa.

The German-built AT2000 is one contender that should not be ruled out. Germany has proposed part-manufacture and marketing of this aircraft in South Africa

Britain's proposal, which apparently calls for part-payment in gold, also includes the Upholder-class submarines mothballed after a short period of service with the

Royal Navy.

There's a difference of opinion about these ships, particularly their suitability for Cape waters and the cost of infrastructure needed at Simon's Town naval base

The base's submarine facilities are tailor-made for the French-built Daphnes, in service with the navy for the past 30 years – and that could sway the issue for a joint Spanish-French bid to supply new submarines or a French proposal that the navy takes over reconditioned Daphnes soon to be decommissioned by the French Navy

There may be advantages to the Daphnes being put in service here because of the long association with these ships, the training of crews, and existing infrastructure

The corvette question has been the centrepiece of all discussions in recent years about the navy's blue water capability

The navy almost got new corvettes three years ago when a Spanish tender, from the Bazan company, was accepted but because of an outcry from parliamentarians and the disarmament lobby, the Cabinet cancelled the order

It took a visit to Madrid by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to smooth ruffled feathers but the Spaniards remain unhappy

Spain has again tendered for the corvette order, as well as for the submarines (with the French) and for the supply of up to 20 military aircraft (which doesn't appear on the order list so far published)

The Spanish corvettes are up against the Meko-class ships from Germany, and corvettes from the French DCNI shipyards and British shipyards on the Clyde

Brazil is also interested, but as has been pointed out by Orlando Galveas Oliviera, counsellor at its Pretoria embassy, the time limit of five weeks to provide specifications and the financial package is too short and may mean that unless an extension is granted (a suggestion dismissed out of hand by Armscor), Brazil has to all intents and purposes drop out of the race.

Canada is seeking to provide 60 light utility helicopters to replace the Alouettes currently in service with the SAAF and the South African Police Services. The helicopter they are suggesting is the Bell 425, almost custom-made for the job, but as the Canadian Bell operation's parent company is American, this could exclude it given the antagonism between Pretoria and Washington over the non-signing of an agreement which signalled the end of the sanctions-era illegal arms deals involving Denel, Kentron and Fuchs Electronics, as well as the US censure of President Mandela for his two visits to Libya in recent days

Italy is in the market for the helicopters as well as aircraft, corvettes, submarines and tanks

The first counsellor at the Italian Embassy in Pretoria, Dr Giorgio Marini, says his country will be stressing “the price/quality ratio, the financial conditions and the industrial off-set requirements” and at the same time, an Italian consortium is to follow the lead of Britain, France and Germany by establishing a permanent office in South Africa to handle the work.

Scan 30/10/97

Scheme will cost South Africa about R12-bn at current prices

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Canada lodges R5bn arms package proposal

Stephen Laufer

BD 3/10/97 (254)
CANADA yesterday lodged a R5bn arms package proposal with the SA defence ministry, one of at least nine due by close of business today

Canadian high commissioner Arthur Perron said it hoped to supply light utility helicopters built by Bell Textron, corvettes from the Saint John shipyard, upgraded CF-5 jet trainers similar to those supplied to Botswana, and electronic warfare systems

The package included a proposal for "imaginative long-term financing", including a significant rand component Pricing the deal as far as possible in rands would allow SA to cushion itself against the possibility of a further deterioration in the value of the local currency against major foreign currencies.

Perron said Canada's Finance Minister Paul Martin and his SA counterpart, Trevor Manuel, had discussed the package at last month's International Monetary Fund meeting in Hong Kong

Industrial participation and offset proposals would open the possibility for SA arms manufacturers to co-operate with their Canadian counterparts, possibly giving them access to the lucrative US defence market.

Canada has a defence co-operation agreement with the US which gives suppliers in the two countries parity when bidding for Pentagon contracts.

Besides military co-operation, Canadian companies would seek to fulfil offset obligations through joint ventures and other partnerships in the SA telecommunications and other civilian business sectors if they won the contract

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[Not quite a

maritime nation

(254)

The South African navy is underequipped, unappreciated and underfinanced writes Donald G McNeil

MGT 7-13 11/97

Until a year ago, the strike craft SAS *Joe Masego* was called the *Kobie Coetsee*. Coetsee, the former minister of defence, is still alive but the South Africa that named ships after apartheid-era leaders is not.

Joe Masego, a corporal in a black South African battalion, was a minor World War II hero. Captured at the Battle of Tobruk and put on a harbour work detail, he disabled a German supply ship before escaping.

One of the Masego's sister ships was renamed the *Shaka*, after Africa's most redoubtable military leader, the 19th-century Zulu king. It used to be the *PW Botha*.

Of all the parts of the state struggling to make themselves in the post-apartheid era, the South African navy may be having the hardest time. Although South Africa sits on one of the great naval choke points of the world, the Cape of Good Hope, its navy is under-equipped, underfinanced and largely unappreciated.

It is expected to patrol some 3 500 km of coastline and some islands near the Antarctic, waters famous for their ferocity. It has had requests to keep an eye on another 5 600 km of undefended Namibian, Mozambican and Tanzanian coast. To do so, it has nine strike craft built in Israel and designed to patrol the calm Mediterranean, three 30-year-old diesel submarines, a Soviet-made icebreaker it bought in 1993 because it was cheap, a couple of other transport ships and some very old minesweepers.

Its obsolete frigates and destroyers were decommissioned years ago. It has no submarine-hunting or amphibious ships, no aircraft carriers or jets.

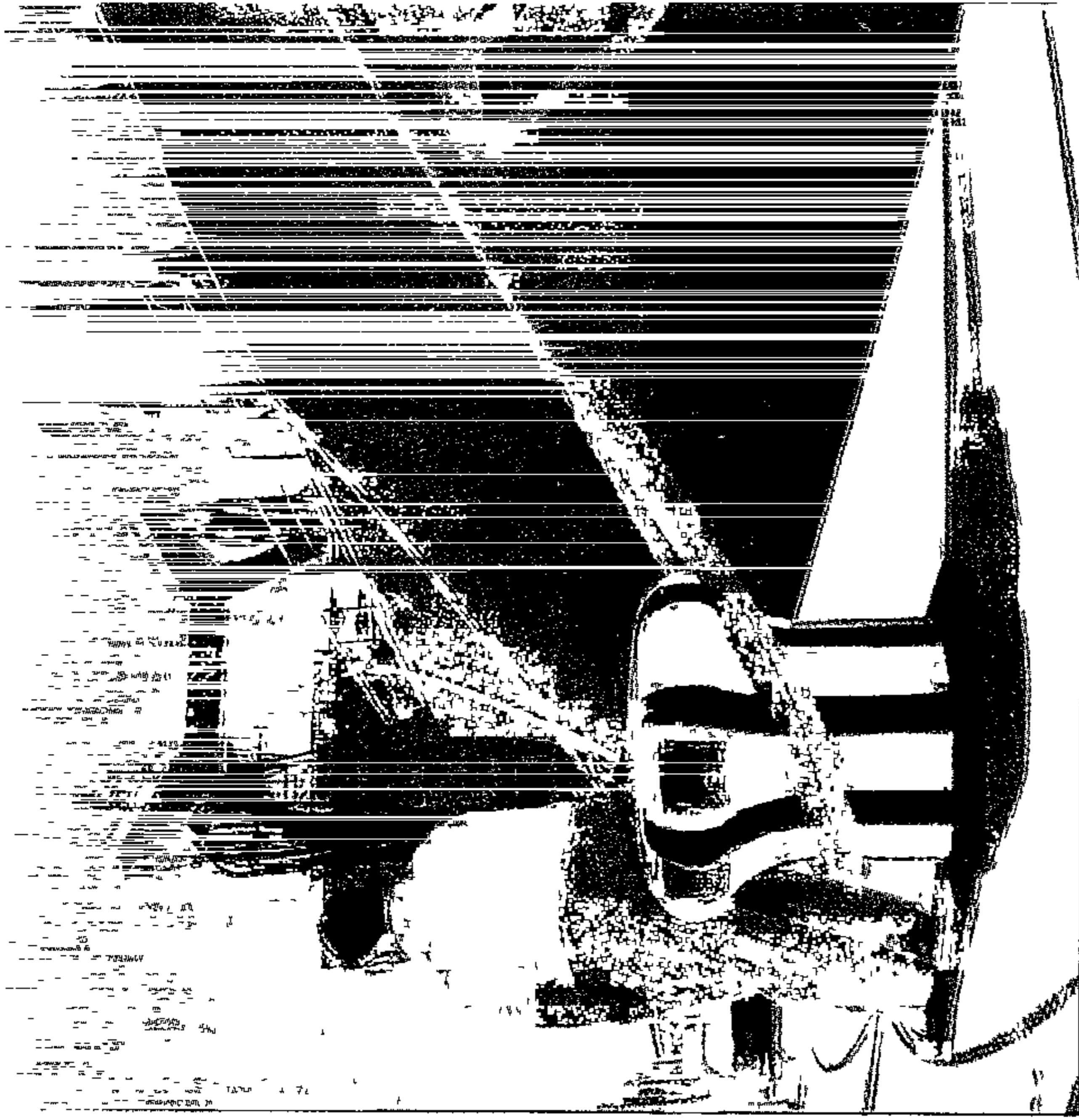
And it has almost no black officers. It wants them badly, but the Soviet military schools that trained black liberation movement guerrillas produced lots of infantrymen and a few pilots, but no sailors. It seeks black recruits, but it has also cut back from 15 000 personnel to 9 000 and, officers said, very few blacks volunteer for its elite units, the submariners and divers.

No major world navy keeps a fleet in these waters, which are an important fishery, said Commodore Douglas Allen, a United States naval attaché in South Africa. "We'd like South Africa to become more engaged in the maritime sector," he said. "But historically it's pretty inward-looking as a nation. There are not a lot of people here who realise the sea is their lifeblood."

The navy does, and manages to mention frequently that nearly 1 000 oil tankers and 30% of all cargo going to the United States and Europe pass the Cape each year. Ninety-five percent of South Africa's own exports go by sea. If war ever closed the Suez Canal, the Cape would be even more crucial.

The navy wants to spend up to \$450-million for four nearly new British submarines and \$310-million for four new corvettes. That would let the *Masego*, *Shaka* and their sister ships, which are about half that long, be relegated to coastal duty.

Standing on the windy bridge of the *Masego* as it bounced through even the relatively calm waters of False Bay, Captain Brian Hoffman said: "If you take one of these to the Prince Edward Island in the roaring 40s" — 40° latitude, 40° longitude — "you can barely do your job. You're exhausted from trying to keep your bal-



Not plain sailing: The navy is struggling to transform. PHOTO: RODGER BOSCH

ance, seasick and cold and the water is coming over the decks. And if you had to, you couldn't fire the missiles properly, because of the movement."

Critics ask why the country needs a navy at all, when there is no imminent threat and the country desperately needs houses, clinics and jobs.

To counter them, the navy jumps at every chance to seem necessary. Its largest vessel, the *Outeniqua*, a cavernous polar supply ship it bought from the Soviets for a mere \$10-million, was anchored near the former Zaire earlier this year so President Nelson Mandela could try to broker peace talks on board between Mobutu Sese Seko and Laurent Kabula.

Last year, navy divers worked for days to recover bodies from a crowded ferry that sank in Lake Victoria.

"And a little while ago, we had the pleasure of firing a shot across the bow of a fishing boat off Namibia," said Rear Admiral Martyn

Tramor, grinning at the memory. The waters off Southern Africa and Antarctica teem with fish and krill, and huge foreign factory ships try to "vacuum up everything in their path," he said. No other country south of Nigeria or Kenya has a navy to speak of, and South African navy ships stop dozens of trawlers to see if they are fishing illegally or with destructive gill nets.

Slowly, the service seems to be winning its argument.

Earlier this year, Parliament approved a "force-design statement" for the military that envisioned a navy with new corvettes and submarines. Where the money would come from was left unsaid. The change in attitude nonetheless came as a relief to Vice Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson, chief of the navy. "We're beginning to realise that we're dependent on the sea," he said. "Ten years ago, we didn't. I hope that in my lifetime people will refer to us as a maritime nation." — *New York Times*

If there's a mess-up, Messrs, spit it out - we'd like to know

Kader Asmal replies to an article by
Political Correspondent John MacLennan

Your writer had a field day retailing unsubstantiated gossip in his article "Ha'kish Modise bypasses conscience on arms sales" (Saturday Argus October 25/26)

MacLennan seems determined to manufacture dissent and inconsistencies within the National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC). This is, indeed, an unfortunate avenue of attack, seeing that he has based his article mainly on an ill-informed report by DP defence spokesman James Selfe, MP, which in itself consists of unsubstantiated allegations, gossip and tittle-tattle culled largely from press clips

The facts of the matter speak for themselves. The NCACC was established by Cabinet to provide broad, unbiased political oversight of arms transfers. There has been no short-circuiting or bypassing of the NCACC, as alleged by Messrs MacLennan and Selfe. The suggestion that Mr Modise has the "final say" is misleading. All exports must be preceded by an NCACC-approved contracting permit. Honestly-held differences within a body such as the NCACC are normal and healthy symptoms as they reflect that the democratic political process is functioning correctly.

Secondly, as the NCACC is a committee of ministers appointed by the Cabinet, it is bizarre that Messrs MacLennan and Selfe should suggest that the NCACC should consider opposing Cabinet decisions and, therefore, Government policy. For all intents and purposes, the NCACC is the Cabinet.



Kader Asmal: 'the facts speak for themselves'

The political decisions taken by the NCACC on arms transfers are formulated within the parameters of our foreign policy, our respect for human rights and our essential national interest. At least, that is the way the democratic decision-making process functions in our Government. It would seem that Messrs MacLennan and Selfe would prefer a more divisive role for this ministers' committee, though to what end is a matter of speculation.

The permit system for authorising contracts and arms exports ensures that all transactions have to follow the proper, auditable

and regulated route through the scrutiny process to the NCACC. Of course, if Messrs MacLennan and Selfe have evidence to the contrary, that the process is being "short-circuited", they should make this information public, as the auditor-general would be interested in whether such allegations have any factual content. Failure in this regard would indicate that the motive in the reporting is frivolous and mischievous.

The South African Government's position on Rwanda has been clearly stated on many occasions. It bears repeating. The Government supports the government of Rwanda in its commitment to establish stability in the country, the re-institution of state infrastructure and democratic order. South African government departments are actively co-operating to assist in the socio-economic reconstruction of Rwanda, including in the area of water supply.

In the execution of this policy, the NCACC will consider applications for arms transfers to the government of Rwanda. Allegations of human rights transgressions in Rwanda are given most serious consideration, and have had a direct and important bearing on past decisions and reviews of decisions. However, such matters cannot be considered in isolation, but in conjunction with South Africa's committed policies on Rwanda, effective guarantees provided by Rwanda at the highest level and our foreign policy objectives.

Messrs MacLennan and Selfe further infer that South Africa should not be dealing with Saudi Arabia and presumably other Muslim countries, as they apparently do not approve of governments founded on Muslim values and principles. This is arrogant and discriminatory

and an insult to South Africa's many Muslim communities

I pose the question is it South Africa's right merely to preach alternative moral values to another country, as a basis for refusal to trade in arms, when such a country wishes to take precautions to protect its sovereignty? I am obviously not speaking about states - any states - notoriously guilty of consistent and gross violations of human rights, in which case we are exceptionally circumspect in arms supply, in terms of our own guidelines.

Matters are considered on a case-by-case basis, and it is common knowledge that a number of applications have been rejected.

Finally, Mr Selfe would prefer a more prominent role for the Portfolio Committee on Defence in the arms transfer decision-making process. While this may appear commendable, providing decisions were not delayed, for instance, through the lack of a quorum, as happened recently, he misses the point that NCACC decisions on arms transfers are essentially political and therefore remain the responsibility of the executive. The legislature is there, apart from its critical legislative and other functions, to call the Government to account for its executive decisions. Let us not confuse functions.

Finally, if MacLennan thinks that imaginary galactic wars between ministers Asmal and Modise can secure my "quitting", he should think again. The only thing that could get me to "quit" chairing the NCACC would be the pressure of work on my portfolio line responsibilities.

■ Professor Kader Asmal, MP, is chairman of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee

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Battle school Deaths lead to call for inquiry

Yengeni wants independent probe

into 'massacre' at Lohattha (254)

BY RYAN CRESSWELL
AND PRISCILLA SINGH

Tony Yengeni, head of the National Assembly's defence portfolio committee, has called for an independent commission of inquiry to investigate two of the worst accidents yet seen at the Lohattha army battle school.

His call last night came after the SANDF announced it had set up two boards of inquiry to probe the accidents, and comes amid indications that financial cutbacks are beginning to have an effect on military operational readiness.

At least 10 soldiers have died as a result of a mortar disaster, an accidental shooting, a vehicle accident and a parachuting tragedy in the past six weeks at the army battle school in the Northern Cape. In the worst accident, eight soldiers were killed



and at least 20 injured during mortar and parachuting exercises at the weekend.

"To me, so many people dying at one go is a massacre. I would like the (defence) department to explain the facts, and I'd like a very serious investigation to be conducted," Yengeni said.

Every year since the 1970s, thousands of members of the army, air force and medical services have gathered at Lohattha for the huge Southern Cross battle exercise. But this year a string of tragedies struck while more than 8 000 soldiers and airmen practised battle manoeuvres.

About six weeks ago, a soldier was shot by accident during manoeuvres, and a short time later a gunner died in a vehicle accident.

Things really went wrong on Thursday, when a mortar blast killed five soldiers and in-

jured 12 others, and three paratroops died when, according to the SANDF, their parachutes became entangled.

Free State Medical Command Commanding Officer Brigadier Lourens Smith said the injuries the men sustained included shrapnel wounds, fractured limbs and internal injuries, and that the soldiers who died had suffered from serious internal bleeding.

Lohattha chief-of-staff Colonel Kobus Smit said yesterday there were almost regular injuries during battle school exercises because live ammunition was often used and paratroops jumped at night over rough terrain.

"But the mortar incident was the worst case we have ever had," he said.

Institute for Security Studies director Jakkie Cilliers said the string of military casualties was "unprecedented".

"I think our major concern is the indication of a lack of readiness and low operational standards within the SANDF, particularly when you look at the severe financial cutbacks.

So far the SANDF has released the names of Gunner Tekoetsile Aaron (27) of 1 Parachute Battalion, who died in the parachuting accident; Rifleman Joseph Lyuma (28); Rifleman Matshebiso Moses Gamma (27) and Rifleman Junior Jose (43), who were killed in the mortar blast, and Lance-Corporal Sanwaba Lucas Matrose (32) of 1 Parachute Battalion.

Several of the dead soldiers were from Pomfret in the Northern Cape. The small town is reportedly devastated by the deaths of the soldiers, especially the Portuguese-speaking former Angolans who had survived years of war during the Namibian conflict, only to die in a battle exercise.

The grieving family of trooper Kaptitan Manuel (36), who died at 3 Military Hospital yesterday morning as a result of injuries from the mortar blast, spoke about their loss.

His brother-in-law Juan Chipipa said his sister Sofia was very upset and her main concern was their five children.

"They have been crying all day and now Sofia does not know what to do. It is very sad," Chipipa said.

SANDEF probes death of 10 soldiers during

ST 11/11/97

OWN CORRESPONDENTS
AND ROGER FRIEDMAN

HEAD of the National Assembly's defence portfolio committee Mr Tony Yengeni last night called for an independent commission of inquiry into a spate of deaths and injuries at the Army Battle School at Lohathla in the Northern Cape.

At least 10 soldiers have died there in recent weeks, and scores more have been injured. Two fatal incidents last Thursday claimed eight lives. Five soldiers died during a night mortar exercise, and three more died in a parachute snarl-up. The other casualties are the result of an accidental shooting and a vehicle accident.

Every year since the 1970s thousands of army, air force and medical services soldiers have converged on Lohathla for the huge Southern Cross battle exercise. This year, as 8 000 members of the armed forces conducted manoeuvres, they have been struck by a string of tragedies.

Lohathla chief-of-staff Colonel Kobus Smit said yesterday that injuries at the battle school occurred relatively regularly because of the use of live ammunition during exercises, and the rough terrain for paratrobat jumping at night. "But the mortar incident was the worst case we ever had."

Free State Medical Command and commanding officer Brigadier Lourens Smit said five soldiers were

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killed at Lohathla on Thursday, with a further three men succumbing to their injuries after being transferred to 3 Military Hospital in Bloemfontein. A further eight soldiers were treated for various injuries. The injuries included serious shrapnel wounds, fractured limbs and internal bleeding.

Director of the Institute for Security Studies Mr Jakke Gijlers termed the string of casualties unprecedented.

"I think our major concern is the indication of a lack of readiness and low operational standards within the South African National Defence Force (SANDEF)," he said.

"It raises the question whether the massive cutbacks (in defence spending) are beginning to have an effect

on training, and therefore on operational ability."

While the army said yesterday it had instituted two boards of inquiry to investigate the mortar and parachute deaths, Yengeni said he wanted the incidents to be investigated by an outside agency.

"To me, so many people dying at one go is a massacre. I would like the (defence) department to explain the facts, and I'd like a very serious investigation to be conducted," Yengeni said.

Smit said the presidents of the two boards — who were considered specialists in their fields — started preliminary investigations last Friday.

"We usually take care to avoid accidents, for example if the wind is

too strong the parabats don't jump. Our officers also take part in safety planning."

He said several parabats had been injured during night jumps since the Southern Cross exercise began in September. He could not remember precise numbers, but some had suffered broken arms and legs.

"This is not ordinary training, these are field battle exercises done at night over rough ground and the parabats have to try to judge distances as they land," Smit said.

An army spokesman said the two inquiries would probably delve into possible negligence and equipment failure, among other things.

So far the SANDEF has released the names of Gunner Tekoetsile Aaron,

Training

27, of 1 Parachute Battalion, who died in the parachuting accident, Rifleman Joseph Lyuma, 28, Rifleman Matshebisso Moses Gamma, 27, and Rifleman Junior Jose, 43, who were killed in the mortar blast.

Lance-Corporal Sanwaba Lucas Matrose, 32, of 1 Parachute Battalion and Rifleman Junior Jose died later in hospital.

Several of the dead soldiers were from Pomfret in the Northern Cape. Mr Philip Francisco, whose father Francisco Jose is a full corporal at Lohathla, said yesterday that the small town of Pomfret was very sad about the deaths of the soldiers, especially the Portuguese-speaking former Angolans who had survived years of war only to die in a battle exercise.

Defence force considers its shrinking budget (254)

PRETORIA — The SA National Defence Force had taken no firm decisions on how to cope with its shrinking budget, a spokesman said yesterday. "We are still in a planning stage, and various options are being examined," he said.

The defence force said earlier that a range of austerity measures might be necessary to absorb an expected R400m overspending of its budget, which was cut by R700m at the start of the financial year. Options included grounding

aircraft except for emergencies and closing or merging units.

Finance head Lt-Gen Ben Raubenheimer has said the structures of the transformed defence force should be ready by April.

Other sources said this might result in the SA Navy, Air Force, and Army losing their independence as defence force units, to become staff divisions of a small, centralised defence force.

The spokesman said Raubenheimer had no further comment as the transformation process was

still under way and that no definite decisions had been taken yet.

Defence Minister Joe Modise said on Monday that his department was negotiating with the finance ministry to solve its immediate budget problems. Solutions would be found, he said.

Modise said SA was faced with social upliftment obligations and the defence budget problems should be viewed against that background. Shrinking budgets were a reality for defence forces the world over, he said. — Sapa.

BD 12/11/97

'Peace' scientists' shady past

Andy Duffy

A top scientist in apartheid's chemical and biological warfare programme, now employed by the international body committed to banning such weapons, should be called to testify at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, researchers into his activities believe.

Dr Brian Davey worked alongside Wouter Basson, apartheid's notorious specialist in biological warfare, for years in the South African Defence Force's Project Coast programme, and was involved in at least two of the project's front companies.

Davey has now resurfaced as a department chief at the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons — a Netherlands-based group set up six months ago to enforce a global ban on chemical weapons.

It is not clear whether Davey fully informed the organisation of his activities for the previous South African government before taking the job.

But the truth commission has received an independent report detailing his employment, and his alleged involvement in ensuring that Basson's work remained secret.

But his testimony could go some way to removing the shroud of secrecy the previous and present government have thrown over Project Coast.

The programme was set up in 1983, and run by Basson, the then chief of the army's 7th Medical Division.

It operated through a string of front companies, including the Midrand factory and research facility Delta G, Roodeplaat Research Laboratories and Protechnik, a defensive research laboratory near Harthebospoort Dam (for which Davey worked).

The Steyn commission, set up in 1992 to investigate "third force" activities, found all three front companies were involved in developing chemical and biological weapons. The commission also found evidence to suggest that Basson's team had armed Renamo with chemical weapons.

Project Coast was closed down at the end of 1992, and Basson left the army months later.

Basson has since been arrested on charges of possessing the designer drug Ecstasy, and, last month, of 10 counts of fraud totalling R30 million from Project Coast transactions.

The government, which re-appointed Basson into the army in late 1995, has insisted, so far successfully, that his court case be heard behind closed doors.

The truth commission is keeping the report under wraps until its own researchers have corroborated the allegations. The research was done on its instruction.

But the report's author, the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa, says the commission's attempts to investigate the apartheid government's chemical and biological war machine could flounder unless it calls Davey to testify.

Among the report's allegations is a claim that Davey posed as an independent investigator in an international probe five years ago into reports that chemical weapons were used against Frelimo troops in Mozambique.

Davey found no evidence of a chemical weapon attack. But at the time he was also quietly working for Basson's team — which was later accused of providing chemical weapons used against Frelimo. The incident is among hundreds of Davey's new employer has on its data base.

The organisation is the key mechanism used to enforce the ban agreed to by the Committee on Chemical Weapons. Nearly 170 countries have signed the agreement, including South Africa.

Davey, who runs the organisation's health and safety inspectorate, declined to comment this week.



Wouter Basson: Apartheid's specialist in biological warfare

MTG 14-30/1/97 (254)

Strife hits SANDF as soldiers are court-martialled

By JIMMY SEEPE

TENSION and discontent is once again emerging among former members of the non-statutory forces in the South African National Defence Force which could explode if not properly addressed, warned SANDF soldiers this week

Soldiers at two army bases – Lenz on the West Rand and Heidelberg on the far East Rand – told City Press this week that they were being subjected to unnecessary court-martials, with some of their colleagues being dismissed

On Thursday, 20 soldiers from the Lohat-

la army base in the Northern Cape were detained on arrival at the Heidelberg army base, where they are due to face charges of misconduct and of going AWOL

Colleagues at the base have interpreted the latest detentions as another attempt to deal harshly with members of the former non-statutory forces, who are allegedly being forced to quit the army

Army sources said some of the charges relate to incidents in September, in which some soldiers are alleged to have reported late during their staff courses

And at the Lenz Army base, there is

growing discontent among soldiers about discrepancies in their salaries

City Press was shown salary advice slips where certain soldiers had received a pertinence amount of R586 for October and November

The soldiers claim their salaries fluctuate between R550 and R1 500 a month, with no explanation

The soldiers told City Press that this could be an attempt to push them out of the army

At the time of going to press, attempts to reach army officials for comment had been unsuccessful

EP 16/11/97 (254)

Kasrils reflects on process of change in defence force

BD19/11/97

(254)

SA's need to transform its defence force radically should be balanced by the maintenance of stability and should be approached sensitively, Defence Deputy Minister Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference organised to reflect on the African National Congress's three years in office, Kasrils said the SA National Defence Force had undergone crucial changes that would bring it in line with the dictates of present day society.

The effect of some of these changes could only be recognised in the next few years, he said.

"We are transforming the SANDF into a motivated, disciplined and adequately equipped force to meet the challenges of the 21st century — a united, nonracist, nonsexist SANDF in which everyone

feels equally at home." Kasrils said.

The first significant change, he said, was the demilitarisation of the army and the creation of a nonaggressive defence posture.

"We have also made significant strides in the banning of antipersonnel landmines in which we were the first country in the world to destroy our stockpiles of antipersonnel mines," Kasrils said.

Cutting its role in the Inter-State Defence Committee, Kasrils said the SANDF had become a vital factor in the maintenance of peace in southern Africa.

Efforts were still being made to build up capacity and provide the necessary infrastructure. He said although continued employment and retrenching in the army made it difficult to formulate a trend in

its rationalisation, its reduction was still on course.

The SANDF has trimmed its troops from 105 000 to 97 000 soldiers. The cut-off was originally put at 70 000 soldiers. But Kasrils said the enrolment of former cadres of the two liberation movements and the TBVC states had resulted in the revision of the figure to between 70 000 and 75 000.

Black officers now accounted for 22,5% of the regular force officers. Of these, 15 were generals and included SA's first woman general, Jacky Sedibe.

On arms procurement, Kasrils said officials in the defence and trade and industry ministries were evaluating packages brought in by providers through their governments and would pass their findings to foreign affairs and the finance ministry to assess policy implications. — Sapa

Bae offers air force R16m trainer jet deal

BRITISH Aerospace (Bae) offered the SA Air Force between eight and ten new generation Hawk trainer jets yesterday as part of the British government's defence proposal to SA

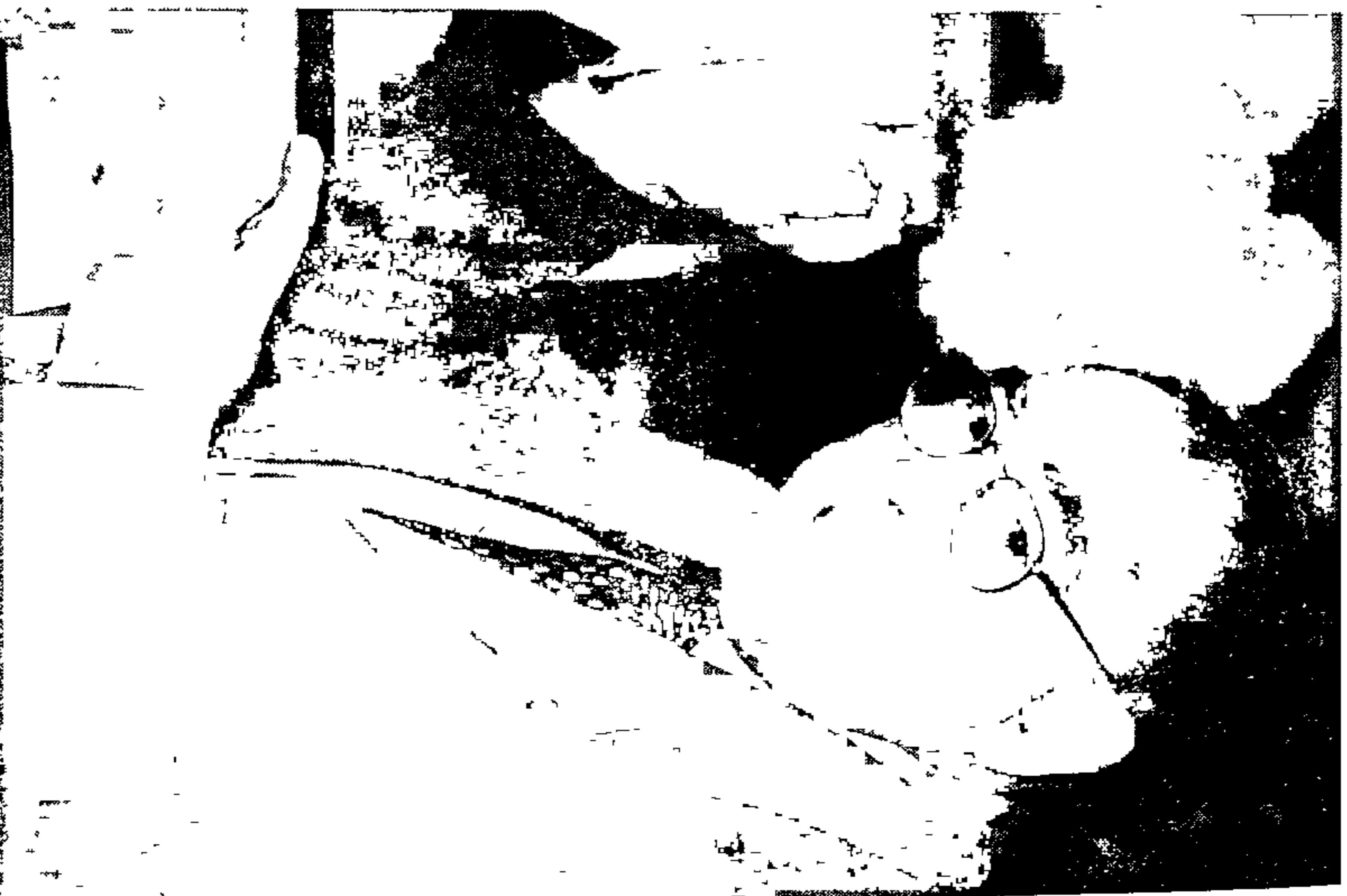
Bae spokesman Linden Burns said the latest model was equipped for mid-air refuelling and was able to undertake low-level night operations

"It also incorporates avionics derived from the Eurofighter and innovative onboard health usage and monitoring systems designed, developed and produced in SA," he said.

He could not disclose how much the jets cost, but sources put the deal at around R16m. The Hawks have been included in the bid to fulfil a pos-

sible requirement for a fast jet trainer as a "stepping stone" for pilots graduating from the Pilatus Astra basic trainer to supersonic fighters.

The offer was included in the bid with Sweden's SAAB to replace the air force's Cheeta/Mirage F1AZ fleet with an export version of the Gripen medium fighter — Sapa



Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils addresses a news briefing in Johannesburg yesterday

Picture: JEFFREY SAMSON

Hundreds in 'unenforceable' call-up over festive season

WILLEM STEENKAMP
SECURITY WRITER

THE South African Defence Force has sent out hundreds of call-up instructions to Citizen Force (CF) members to report for duty over the festive season because of a shortage of troops to patrol the Cape Flats.

But a question mark hangs over the call-up. It cannot be enforced because of a three-year-old moratorium on prosecutions of defaulters. In an effort to replace troops withdrawn

recently from the Cape Flats, the SANDF sent out call-up instructions to CF members to perform camps between the end of this month and the middle of January.

The call-ups were sent to CF members in all 14 units in the Western Cape-based 75 Brigade. The SANDF is hoping that at least 240 CF members, making up two full companies, will respond to the call-up.

Some of the units are the Cape Town Highlanders, Cape Field Artillery, Cape Town Rifles (Dukes), Cape Garrison Artillery, Regiment

Western Province, Regiment Orange River, 3 Field Regiment, 30 Field Workshop, 4 Maintenance Unit and 71 Signals Unit.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie Gerber, the second-in-command of 75 Brigade, said yesterday that reaction to the call-up was good so far.

SANDF sources privately admit the call-up was decided on because the Permanent Force (PF) cannot provide the troops, and it has been established that PF members' leave over the Christmas period has not been cancelled, despite the present situation.

who said "They have done nothing to make the CF work."

Gerber, who could not say how many call-ups had been sent out other than that it was not "a blanket call-up of 6 000 or 7 000 members", said elements of all 14 units had been called up according to their training and the army's needs — more infantry would be needed than mechanics or truck drivers, for example.

"You can't, in a situation such as this, use untrained members," Gerber said.

However, experts have said many of the

Army sources went so far as to say the call-up was actually "an invitation" to take part in a "voluntary" camp — and also pointed out that it was standard practice to call up more troops than were needed.

The CF members are, in effect, being asked to report for service because "the army has done nothing in the past three years" about dealing with the moratorium and drafting a CF service contract, a CF source said.

This was echoed by Jane's Defence Weekly correspondent Mr Helmoed-Romer Heitman,

units are under-strength because of a lack of recruitment — and members are not sufficiently protected by the law should they heed the call-up. At present, the Defence Act prescribes a maximum R500 fine for employers should they fire workers who go on camp.

"The fact of the matter is this. The army has ignored the CF for three years. Nobody must be surprised if there is a low turn-out," the CF source said.

Heitman agreed, saying "There's no compulsion

□ Turn to Page 3

Low turn-out seen for Christmas call-up

□ From Page 1
(254) CT 19/11/97
You could throw him out of the CF, but he could say 'So what?'
Retired Brigadier Bill Sass, a former director of personnel utilisation for the SADF and now defence policy project leader for the Institute for Security Studies, said that "even (the R500 fine) will be difficult to impose" because the camps were now strictly voluntary.

He said the SANDF had undertaken to negotiate with volunteers and their employers at least three months ahead of call-ups — and to disregard this would disenchant employers, who would then be loath to allow their employees to attend future camps and put CF members off reporting in future.

"If not (negotiated), then one should leave it — it only creates more problems," Sass said.

Calling up CF members over the Christmas period, when members were going on holiday or tied up with Christmas-related work, would probably mean a low turnout.

The call-up includes two three-week camps of 120 troops each between November 24 and mid-January, and allows CF members to choose which camp they want to attend. Sources expect the first camp to be more popular, as the second straddles Christmas and New Year.

The troops will participate in Operation Recoil, a joint police-army anti-crime exercise instituted about a month ago.

They will replace two companies of 120 troops each from 44 Parachute Brigade and 12 SA Infantry Battalion, who were withdrawn last month after two months of service in co-operation with the police on the Cape Flats.

This leaves a present army deployment of only one company, from the city-based 9 SA Infantry Battalion, on the Cape Flats. Another 9 SA company is deployed in the Nyanga area, but is not directly involved in policing the Cape Flats.

Although CF members typically earn the lowest level of PF pay, it is unlikely that they will be paid the operational allowance — or "danger pay" — that is presently paid to PF members deployed in the Cape Flats.

World's big guns are after SA's military weaponry

Star 19/11/97 (254)

Aircraft monitoring systems and a helmet sight top the list

By **NORMAN CHANDLER**
Defence Correspondent

Newly-developed South African military equipment is being eagerly sought by foreign defence forces.

The Royal Canadian Air Force's Nato flying training college is taking into service the South African-developed "health, usage and monitoring system" (Hums), while a helmet sight used primarily by assault helicopter and jet fighter pilots is under evaluation in Britain and Australia.

British Aerospace (BAe) is adding the SA-made Vulture unmanned air vehicle (drone) to its inventory and Denel, based in Pretoria, is developing a new 5,56mm assault rifle, the CR21, which is expected to be put on the international market soon. The rifle can use nine different types of ammunition and can also fire rifle grenades.

The Hums system contains a number of sensors throughout the aircraft to monitor fatigue and stresses on the airframe and engine, feeding back information to the pilot and ground crew. This

allows for preventative maintenance, rather than repair maintenance, resulting in huge savings.

They are to be used by pilots of Hawk 115 jet trainers which are to go into service with the flying training college, as part of a 20-year project between Canada and various Nato countries.

Evaluations of the Denel Kentron-designed helmet sight have been taking place at BAe's Warton facility in England, where test pilots are using it while flying Hawk jet fighters and trainers going into service with various countries, including Saudi Arabia and Australia.

A spokesman said this week "Use of the helmet has resulted in a huge increase in air-to-air combat capability, and a vast improvement in overall combat capability."

The Vulture drone carries electro-optical sensors, infra-red cameras, and other equipment which provide real-time battlefield reconnaissance.

The system is to enter service in 1999 with South African Army units operating the G5 and G6 155mm howitzers.

Hani regiment on parade

NORMAN CHANDLER
ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg - President Mandela has given the green light to the establishment of new army regiments bearing the names of famous fighters in the struggle against apartheid.

He told the newly-formed National Defence Liaison Council (NDLC) that it was imperative that all sections of the population should be represented in the SA National Defence Force and that a "vigorous, systematic and targeted recruitment campaign" had to be put in place.

The NDLC is a combined military-civilian organisation headed by the chairman of Barlows

ARG 21/11/97 (2511)
Ltd, Warren Clewlow, and established to draw business interests into the recruitment of personnel for the part-time forces.

He said new regiments such as the Luthuli Regiment (Soweto), the Tambo Regiment (Kwa-Mashu) and the Chris Hani Regiment (Khayelitsha) needed to be formed to work alongside traditional regiments such as the Cape Town Highlanders and the Natal Mounted rifles

Mr Mandela said there was "the challenge of building a part-time force that was credible and legitimate in the eyes of our people, representative of our population, forces (which) come freely from the ranks of our citizens, and dedicated to the defence of a hard-won democracy."

He added that the establishment of the NDLC was critical "by bringing together leading members of the business world, trade unions, and non-governmental organisations we are creating a unique partnership for galvanising public participation and support".

Military sources said the formal establishment of new formations in any of the arms of service had not yet been agreed upon by the Defence Command Council or the Department of Defence, but they were under consideration.

It was pointed out that a number of regiments and units had been closed this year or been amalgamated with other formations in order to meet Defence budget constraints.

Mechem's 'clean' image explodes

Mechem may be removing landmines, but its labour practices and apartheid past are a minefield, writes Stefaans Brümmer

South Africa's government-owned landmine-clearing company, Mechchem, facing new calls to make a clean sweep of its apartheid-era past, has become embroiled in a dispute with Mozambican labourers employed on one of its projects in that country.

Claims that Mechchem has maltreated the Mozambicans come on top of continued unhappiness in human-rights circles about Mechchem's relationship with some of the more notorious dirty tricksters from South Africa's past, and about its relationship with arms-manufacturing parent company Denel.

The Mozambican national news agency AIM reported last week that Mozambican sappers employed at a Mechchem demining project in Maputo province were threatening to go on strike.

They claimed to be working excessive hours, seven days a week — which is contrary to Mozambican labour law — and complained of low pay and being beaten by South African staff.

The strike threat came a day after Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano visited the project, stressing the importance of landmine clearance to allow citizens displaced during 16

years of civil war to return home.

The project, called Terra Limpa (clean land), is run by Mechchem on behalf of South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mechchem sometimes presents itself as a born-again member of the human-rights community for its unique skill in helping countries like Mozambique get rid of the scourge of unexploded landmines. But it has long been under attack by anti-landmine organisations, including the South African Campaign to Ban Landmines, for "double-dipping".

Campaign representative Sue Wixley said this week "The money earned from mine clearance is being circulated in the general pot used for the arms industry".

Before it started landmine clearance in 1991, the company was an innovative armaments developer — and designed landmines. Earlier this year, Mechchem acknowledged it still produced arms including rifle grenades and rockets, but said its demining division could be hived off completely if pressure continued.

This campaign is now calling for Mechchem to give full disclosure of the role it played in South Africa's apartheid past through, for example, a submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.



Explosive situation: Landmines are destroyed. PHOTO: SIDDIQUE DAVIDS

During the trial of hit-squad commander Eugene de Kock last year, it emerged De Kock had obtained large caches of weaponry from Mechchem property to be used by Inkatha Freedom Party imps before the 1994 elections.

To increase the company's embarrassment, Sakkie van Zyl — a former member of the notorious Koewoet and Civil Co-operation Bureau units who is regularly employed by

(254) MEF 21-27/11/97
Mechchem as contract manager — appeared before the truth commission recently to ask amnesty for his leading role in the 1985 killing of Eastern Cape activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicele Mhlaui and Sparrow Mkhonto.

And Mechchem general manager Vernon Joynt acknowledged this week that Mechchem has a business relationship with Garth Barrett, a former commander of Rhodesia's elite Special Air Services, later a member of the old South African Defence Force's special forces, and eventually something of a link-man for the Mozambican rebels Renamo. Barrett is now a United States resident.

Joynt said "The fact that we are employing people who do not have the best past is, of course, a problem for us — but the situation in South Africa today is that if you go to the truth commission, you get pardoned. The same applies to a job."

He said former members of elite military and police units often had the best experience of conditions encountered in demining and of the Caspir armoured vehicle, on which Mechchem's demining system is based. And he said the Mozambican labourers' work conditions were not in Mechchem's full control, as the workers were seconded by the Mozambican government's demining authority.

Mechchem would investigate the claims that Mozambicans were being beaten by his South African staff, he said.

Nzo gets in early on landmine ban

ARL 22/11/97

(254)

London — South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo will be among the first foreign ministers to sign the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel Mines and on their Destruction in Ottawa, Canada on December 3.

After several years of lobbying by the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and its country affiliates, a group of 50 countries gathered in Ottawa during October 1996 to discuss the practical implementation of the 1966 United Nations General Assembly Resolution to pursue vigorously an effective, legally-binding convention banning anti-personnel mines as soon as possible.

It was decided that regional and international efforts would be made to meet the challenge posed by Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy to gather again in Ottawa a year later to sign a treaty banning anti-personnel mines.

South Africa was among the 10 Core Group countries — with Canada, Norway, Belgium, Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Mexico and the Philippines — which banded together for this common purpose.

These efforts were bolstered by an Organisation for African Unity meeting on “a landmine-free Africa” which was hosted by South Africa and held in Johannesburg during May 1997.

At the closing ceremony of this conference Defence Minister Joe Modise showed video footage of the first phase in the elimination of South Africa’s stockpile of anti-personnel mines, in which landmines were destroyed in a huge explosion earlier that day.

This came after President Nelson Mandela’s Cabinet decided, in February, to prohibit the use, production, development and stockpiling of anti-personnel mines and to destroy South Africa’s stocks before the end of October 1997.

These national and southern

African regional efforts were recognised internationally when South Africa’s ambassador to the UN and the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, Jackie Selebi, was invited to chair the negotiations to finalise the treaty text at the Oslo Diplomatic Conference in September.

Mr Selebi set out to deliver a clear, unambiguous and comprehensive ban on anti-personnel mines. In a record three weeks his “decisive and skilful leadership”, as one observer put it, steered the conference to achieve just that.

Moreover, the treaty text provided for international co-operation to assist in the de-mining of mine-afflicted countries and provide help to mine victims.

A draft resolution welcoming the successful conclusion of the ban treaty at Oslo was recently passed by the First Committee of the UN General Assembly and is due to go before the whole assembly next week — Independent Foreign Service.

Turnout for army call-up larger than expected

(254)

WILLEM STEENKAMP

ET 26/11/97

CONTRARY to warnings of a poor turn-out, far more part-time soldiers yesterday reported for duty on the Cape Flats over the festive period than had been expected

The army recently issued call-ups — or invitations as they are

now called — to hundreds of members of part-time forces (PTF) units within the city-based brigade to perform operational duty on the Cape Flats between now and the middle of January

The camp is to be split into two three-week components, with the personnel requirement being a

company of 120 troops for each component. The volunteers spent the day yesterday attending briefings on the Cape Flats situation, doing paperwork, being issued equipment and having their hair cut

Colonel Faan Gerber, the officer commanding 75 Brigade, said 227 volunteers, including seven

women, had reported for duty. Of the total, 54% were unemployed

Of the 46% of volunteers who were employed, he said, 70% had taken annual leave to attend the camp. The reasons for this, he felt, was because some employers "are not yet used to their people doing military service"

SA to sign antipersonnel landmines treaty

254

28/11/97

Josey Ballenger

SA WOULD be the third party to sign a United Nations (UN) treaty next week on banning antipersonnel landmines, and believed southern Africa would clear all its landmines within 10 years, the foreign affairs department said yesterday.

The treaty will oblige parties to ban the use, development, production, transfer and storing of landmines within four years of the treaty coming into force, and requires the clearing of all landmine areas within 10 years.

"We believe 40 ratifications will occur within two years. So six years from December all stockpiled antipersonnel landmines will be destroyed," said the department's deputy director of the nonproliferation and disarmament directorate, Bennie Lombard. Forty countries need to ratify the treaty in order for it to be operational.

Lombard said the 10-year clearance clause would be "most applicable" to southern Africa, and that SA would assist the region in accomplishing this. "We believe it is possible and feasible to demine the entire region in 10 years," he said.

Lombard said the Southern African Development Community would "look at establishing" a capability next year to rehabilitate landmine areas and compensate landmine victims.

The SA National Defence Force had destroyed some 240 000 stockpiled landmines in the past six months, saving only 18 000 to be used in development and training in mine detection, clearance and destruction techniques.

Of those, only 5 000 were "live", while the balance were "dummies",

Lombard told a seminar in Johannesburg organised by the Group for Environmental Monitoring and the SA Campaign to Ban Landmines.

Article 3 of the proposed UN treaty, which is expected to be signed by 120 countries next week in Ottawa, Canada, allows the retention of a limited (though unspecified) number of landmines for such training purposes.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo is expected to sign the treaty after only Canada and Norway.

However, the US and three major producers and users of landmines —

China, India and the Russian Federation — have said they will not sign the treaty.

Lombard said these nations should "not be stigmatised", however, as they were parties to an earlier UN treaty to ban certain conventional weapons.

"Those countries have supported the eventual elimination of landmines. They just differ on the timeframe," he said.

Signatories will have to provide reports, including information on landmine inventories and the measures taken to destroy the weapons

Western Cape scheme to provide soft loans to metal workers

28/11/97

Linda Ensor

CAPE TOWN — An innovative house funding scheme, devised by the Western Cape Community-based Housing Trust to provide more than 1 000 soft loans to metal workers in the province, will be formally launched today.

Trust director Naseegh Jaffer said yesterday that metal workers, who were members of the Cape Metal Employees' Co-operative and met

the criteria laid down, would be granted a loan of up to R10 000 for three years at a 10% interest rate — far lower than that charged by financial institutions.

"The plan confirms the increasing role of 'nontraditional' financial groups as major agents in providing housing capital to low income communities," Jaffer said.

The money could either be used for building a new house or as a top up to the state housing subsidy.

The R1m capital for the scheme was granted by US agencies through USAid.

To qualify for a loan, a worker would have to be free of other outstanding loans, have been employed for more than six months, agree to repay the loan by means of a monthly deduction from his pay over three years and to provide 50% of the amount as security from his own savings and provident fund capital.

Jaffer said the co-operative

would grant the loans, which would be guaranteed by the National Urban Reconstruction and Housing Agency — a reconstruction and development presidential project.

The agency's financial consultant Sabi Mthwecu said it was policy to encourage community based organisations. "We are therefore delighted to help facilitate a programme involving a community-focused lender and savings organisation dedicated to meeting the needs

of workers".

The deal between the Western Cape Community-based Housing Trust, established in 1995 by a group of architects, town planners and academics, and the co-operative would be signed today, Jaffer said.

The co-operative was formed nine years ago as a social savings club. It joined the Savings and Credit Co-operative League of SA in 1991 and claimed to be its strongest affiliate.

SANDF may be halved by 1999

Defence bases marked for axing

R500-million likely to be lopped off spending, and something has to give

The closure of military bases such as those at Durban, Hoedspruit and Cape Town will, if carried out, be the latest in a devastating series of cutbacks which over the past few years have effectively reduced the capabilities of the defence force.

Whether the naval and air force bases close or not, the Government is to continue pruning the SANDF from a high of 135 000 personnel to around 70 000 by 1999. Various voluntary retrenchment and rationalisation processes are now in operation.

Numbers in the SANDF swelled in 1994/95 as a result of the integration of the former SADF, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla forces, and about 2 000 members of the Kwazulu Natal para-military force.

The latest figures indicate only 90 000 uniformed and civilian personnel remain. Thousands more will probably go during 1998 with the remainder in the first four months of 1999. —Pretoria Bureau

By MORRIS CHAMBERLAIN
Defence Correspondent

Contingency plans have been drawn up by the Department of Defence to close a key naval base and two air force bases in the wake of anticipated further cuts in the department's budget.

It has been emphasised by defence sources that such a "drastic step" would only be made if expected cuts in funding were made early next year.

The proposed 1998-99 Budget is to be discussed by defence and other Government officials in Cape Town on December 3 prior to a final allocation being made known when the national Budget is presented.

The current financial year allocation for defence totalled about R10-billion, and this is expected to be cut by at least R500-

million after earlier expectations that funding would be increased marginally.

Slashing the Budget will not adversely affect the department's planned acquisition programme of new ships, submarines, aircraft, helicopters, and tanks, as a large proportion of funding this can be accounted for from outside the national Budget, as well as through a series of intricate financial instruments on interest payments and foreign participation being drawn up by the departments of trade and industry and of finance.

The bases under threat are understood to be SAS Scorpion, the Durban naval base which is the only one on the eastern seaboard, and the Hoedspruit and Ysterplaat (Cape Town) air force bases.

SAS Scorpion, situated on

Salisbury Island in Durban harbour, is the home of a training unit, a dockyard and the navy's strike-craft flotilla, while Hoedspruit was one of the advanced forward bases of the SAAF during the apartheid years.

A portion of Hoedspruit was earlier this year sub-let to commercial aviation interests in an effort to make it more viable.

The base has been the home of a number of SAAF training squadrons, as well as the home base for the Impala jet trainer aircraft now being withdrawn from service.

If the decision is finalised, facilities at Hoedspruit will probably be transferred to the ultra-modern Louis Trichardt base in Northern Province.

Ysterplaat lies adjacent to prime residential land in Cape Town and, had the city won the

right to stage the Olympic Games in 2004, would have been used as a feeder airport to take the pressure off the main Cape Town airport.

SAAF spokesman, Lieutenant-Colonel Laverne Mache, said no statement on air base closures would be issued until all options had been investigated.

Navy spokesman Commander Lilla du Preez said the future of the base had been an option under discussion by senior officials but added that it "is no longer an option".

She confirmed, however, the navy was looking at every aspect in regard to cost-cutting.

It is expected that, if the axe falls, SAS Scorpion will remain on strength as a naval volunteer base. It will leave Simon's Town as the only permanent naval base.

2914 Star 11/2/97

France offers to supply SA with arms at half price

Linda Ensor

CAPE TOWN — France has made an offer of a strategic defence alliance with SA which would involve its supplying the country's defence requirements at about half the R25bn identified as necessary in the Defence Review

France, the UK, Germany, Brazil, Italy, Spain and Sweden were invited by Armscor in September to submit technical and financial information on equipment including corvettes,

submarines, helicopters, battle tanks and combat aircraft

If the French-led consortium won the contract it would postpone payment of the capital amount of about R10bn to R12bn and the interest — at a fixed rate of 2,4% — until 2001. French officials said yesterday. By then the defence budget was expected to be more able to cope.

The drastically lower cost would be achieved partly through the renovation of the SA Navy's three French-made submarines to

extend their lives by 15 years. If the French offer to supply four corvettes was accepted, the French would make a gift of another Daphné submarine with spares. This would meet SA's requirements, but shave about R6bn off the cost.

A further aspect of the offer was a special low interest rate, export loan to allow SA to acquire all its defence requirements within its budgetary limitations.

The proposals were explained yesterday by French ambassador

Tristan d'Albis and proposal coordinator Jean-Marie Carnet on board the frigate Surcouf, which docked in Cape Town harbour this week. The Surcouf is a prototype of the corvette which France would supply.

The French global offer calls for an effective defence partnership through strategic and operational co-operation and for a wide and strong industry partnership, taking advantage of the SA industrial assets and suited to the economic and financial situation in

the country," Carnet said

D'Albis identified the two main aspects of the proposals as being the aim of moulding them to SA circumstances and needs and as placing them in a framework of long-term co-operation in the military, industrial and civilian fields (such as fighting fish poachers) which would promote SA industry and create jobs.

The French would collaborate with SA manufacturers in technology transfers and promote SA products in joint ventures, which

could create thousands of jobs.

French defence department vice-director of international affairs, Gen Marc Desecures said a further attraction of the offer was that the French bidders would extend the same conditions even if SA selected only part of the deal.

The companies participating in the bid include naval contractor DCN, Chantiers de l'Atlantique shipyard, Giat Industries, Dassault Aviation and Matra Bae Dynamics as well as the French-German company Eurocopter

Price



FLYING HIGH: Candidate Officers (from left) Kerryn Swemmer, Lisl Bennett, Renét Venter and Tanya Livingston, with a fifth trainee, Velma Scholz, will next week become the first women ever to receive SA Air Force pilot's wings

PICTURE THEMBINKOSI DWAYISA

Women write chapter in SAAF history

CT 5/12/97

(254)

WILLEM STEENKAMP
SECURITY WRITER

A NEW chapter in the history of the SA Air Force is about to be written. Next week, five women will become the first to be awarded pilot's wings.

For two years, Candidate Officers Renét Venter, 21, Tanya Livingston, Kerryn Swemmer, Lisl Bennett, and Velma Scholz, all 24, have sweated and swotted along with 38 male colleagues to reach this milestone in South African military aviation.

In an interview at the Central

Flying School at Air Force Base Langebaanweg yesterday, however, they insisted that they should not be singled out for special attention over their classmates.

"They've gone through everything we have and done exactly the same training as us," Bennett pointed out.

Venter, Livingston, Swemmer and Bennett (Scholz is completing her training with 42 Squadron at Air Force Base Waterkloof in Pretoria) all spoke of a years-long desire to become pilots — "You go once and then you're hooked," said Swemmer — and of the battles they had

had getting into the air force.

Swemmer, who had already taken private flying lessons, tried vainly after matric to get into the air force. "They just said it was policy not to accept women."

Livingston, who had eight years' experience as a volunteer in the John Rolfe rescue helicopter, first tried to join the air force in 1993, and ran into the same brick wall year after year.

Venter tried to join as a trainee pilot in 1995, but was also turned down. She joined the air force anyway, and for a year worked as a ground loadmaster.

Late in 1995 the air force advertised for pilot recruits for the 1996 intake. This time it was different, though — the ads invited applicants regardless of race or gender.

So they joined up. There were no exceptions for them, other than having their own quarters. They went through the same slog, difficulties and initiations.

Now, two years later, the SAAF is to pin wings on its first women pilots. Venter is going to fly transport aircraft, Scholz, Swemmer and Livingston will fly helicopters, and Bennett is already undergoing instructor training.

Helderberg ordered to carry on flying full of dead

AR 5 b 12/97

PAUL KIRK

Former Foreign Minister Pikk Botha has said he made an early morning telephone call to the SABC to delay news of the Helderberg air disaster as it happened 10 years ago on November 28.

And in another shocking claim following Mr Botha's revelation yesterday, affidavits in the hands of the Gauteng deputy attorney-general Jan D'Oliviera and David Klatzow, an independent forensic scientist, allege the Helderberg was forced on a suicide mission with a plane full of dead and dying passengers by a high-ranking official in the government of the day.

The death run, according to the affidavits submitted by SAA personnel under condition of anonymity, was ordered by someone as high as Cabinet level. According to the papers, a fire broke out early on in the flight, asphyxiating passengers.

But the crew were ordered to continue with the flight and not make an emergency landing.

The affidavits claim the pilot, Dawie Uys, communicated the mes-

sage, "I told them this would happen" before his plane crashed into the sea at a speed of more than 400 knots. They also claim the pilot was ordered to fly after initially refusing when he discovered rocket fuel in his cargo.

"The threat was made that Captain Uys would lose his job and pension if he disobeyed. The affidavits allege the involvement of Renier van Zyl, director of Civil Aviation, and Eddie Bourhill, chairman of the Committee for the Safe Carriage of Dangerous Cargo, in a cover-up.

Sworn before advocate Andrew Kenneth Miller and commissioner of

oaths Christopher Bailey McEwan, the deponents' names were left out to protect them. Yesterday Mr Botha denied claims made in the affidavits, saying "I know nothing about what you are saying."

Mr Botha would only admit to phoning the SABC and ordering a hold to be put on all news relating to the Helderberg.

Mr Van Zyl yesterday denied allegations that he knew of a fire breaking out early on in the Helderberg flight. Mr Van Zyl said, "These are all rumours. We are still looking at a scenario where only one fire occurred."

In a late-breaking development it has been established that the CVR (cockpit voice recording) tapes taken from the Helderberg do not match the final moments of tape made at Plarance Airport.

According to pilots, this means the recording could only possibly have been made before power to the CVR unit was cut off by a fire, indicating an earlier fire.

After investigating the Helderberg tragedy in microscopic detail, Dr Klatzow, 47, an independent forensic scientist, formerly of Durban, now has plans to write a book on South

~~_____~~ (254)

Africa's worst air disaster. It is a book that will make the first severe criticism of the Margo Commission of inquiry into the crash and is written after years of research which the doctor has done in his own time and at his own expense.

Trained as a medical biochemist, Dr Klatzow lectured at Natal University and he passionately wants to know the truth.

"The time for ducking and diving in this country is over. I want to know what was on the Helderberg and how it got on board."

Dr Klatzow does not and never has

swallowed the findings of the Margo Commission, which, in order to find out what was on the plane, wrote a single letter to Armscor. This incensed Dr Klatzow.

"The government and official bodies have lied and lied and lied even when they didn't have to (presumably just to keep in practice)."

Dr Klatzow has documented evidence that dangerous cargo was smuggled on SAA planes to beat sanctions.

In one case a pallet allegedly burst while being loaded on to an SAA plane and armed rockets fell out

and dying - claim

Cassaburi stops short of expected cabinet reshuffle

By JIMMY SEEPE

FREE STATE premier, Dr Ivy Matsepe-Cassaburi, got cold feet this week, stopping short of reshuffling the provincial cabinet, in which she was expected to sack MEC for Education, Mxolisi Dukwana

City Press has learned on good authority that Matsepe-Cassaburi had planned to announce the sacking of the education MEC on Friday but was allegedly warned of the political implication of carrying out the moves

According to provincial sources, the education MEC was to be replaced by safety and security MEC, Papi Kganare, and the police portfolio was supposed to be given to Anna Buthelezi

The sack of the education MEC might be related to recent findings of gross negligence against six senior officials, including a department head, regarding the tender process for books and stationery

Two of the officials were immediately suspended from duty after the release of a commission of inquiry report by Matsepe-Cassaburi into the tender process. It is understood that Matsepe-Cassaburi wanted Dukwana to take political responsibility for the whole process

The pending sacking had already raised political temperatures in the province as word spread within ANC structures

The premier is said to have dis-

cusSED the reshuffle with all those who were supposed to have been affected. She also sought the endorsement of the ANC provincial chairperson, Zingile Dingane

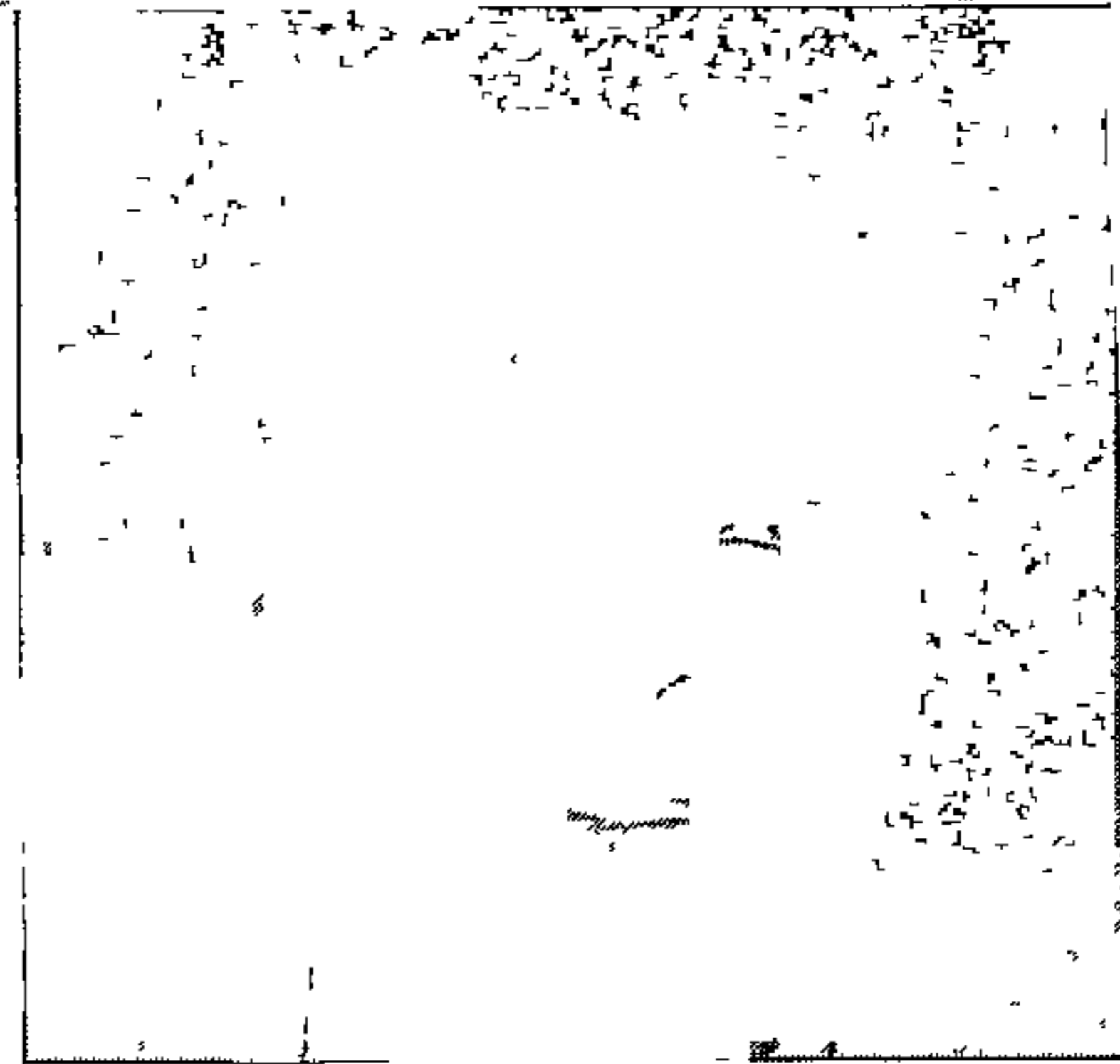
Provincial sources told City Press that Matsepe-Cassaburi withdrew from going ahead with the decision after she was warned of the political backlash this could have on her standing within the province, especially in the ANC

The moves could have been seen as an attempt to deal with those leaders who still harbour support for former Free State premier, Patrick "Terror" Lekota

The reshuffle could also have been seen as an attempt by Matsepe-Cassaburi to entrench herself in a province that continues to be divided regarding her premiership

The attempted move to remove Kganare from the safety and security portfolio was also interpreted as a way of pleasing Free State farmers who have sometimes found themselves at loggerheads with the MEC

Various individuals within the province were starting to express concern that the appointment of Buthelezi to the post could have a



COLD FEET? ...Ivy Matsepe Cassaburi is hesitating to make changes to her cabinet lest she be subject to a political backlash in the volatile Free State province

negative effect on the province

The week also saw the Free State ANC provincial executive committee take tough action against its Qwaqwa regional executive

The regional executive was dissolved in a move that has once again brought tensions within structures of the movement

Senior regional leaders have interpreted the move as an attempt to muzzle their support for Lekota ahead of the national conference

The dissolution of the Qwaqwa branch means that the party's regional chair and secretary would not be entitled to voting rights at the national conference

The party's national leadership was informed of the action against the Qwaqwa branch. Efforts were also made to try and send national executive committee member, Steve Tshwete, to try and calm the political situation within the region

TERRY SHEAN

HAD HIS FILL: Whitey Basson, who says he has 'lost his rag' with his brother

Picture: AMBROSE PETERS

Union cries foul as army fights back

CHARIS PERKINS

A BATTLE for the hearts and minds of South Africa's soldiers erupted this week ahead of a march planned for tomorrow in Bloemfontein by the SA National Defence Union

A union organiser was arrested on Wednesday for "inciting" soldiers to join the protest, while fliers given to troops in the Free State capital suggested that "a big, new Mercedes-Benz" driven by the union's secretary, Cor van Niekerk, had been bought with members' subscription fees

The pamphlet also warned that soldiers joining the march on the Free State premier's of-

fices would be arrested.

In response, Van Niekerk and the union are suing Defence Minister Joe Modise for defamation. They are also suing a Major Fullard, second in command at 1 Parachute Battalion in Bloemfontein, who allegedly ordered the pamphlets' distribution.

Van Niekerk was claiming damages of R60 000, while the union would sue for R100 000, a union lawyer said.

Van Niekerk said the insinuation that he was misappropriating members' fees was "a very low hit" and the union would ask the Defence Ministry to order a top-level investigation into who was behind the flier. Rifleman E W Mofokeng, of 1 Parachute Battalion, was de-

tained on Wednesday for distributing information about the march, but he was released on Friday after the union warned it would take his case to court.

The head of the army's legal department, Colonel G I Slabbert, said Mofokeng had contravened the Defence Act by promoting union activities.

The union expects 4 000 soldiers from around the country to march to demand recognition for the union and troops' "basic human rights".

The protest follows a similar march on Free State Premier Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri's offices in October by 250 soldiers.

Despite a ban under the Defence Force Act on soldiers belonging to a union, the union

claims it is signing up more than 250 new members a month.

Van Niekerk said the union would lodge a High Court application this week to demand recognition. It would argue that the Defence Act prohibition to violated soldiers' rights to freedom of association and expression.

A spokesman for Free State Command said soldiers would not be prohibited from joining the march. However, she said, they would be charged with contravening Section 126B of the Defence Act, which forbade union members from taking part in union activities.

She said she knew nothing about the defamatory pamphlet distributed in Bloemfontein



Russia joins bid to supply SANDF

9/12/97 ET (BR) #10 (254)

SHERILEE BRIDGE

Johannesburg — Russia's former Cold War armaments manufacturers, once the nemesis of apartheid South Africa's defence planners, said yesterday they were one of the potential suppliers to the South African National Defence Force's (SANDF) R10 billion to R15 billion revamp.

The Russian Federation had submitted a tender for the SANDF order, which was considered one of the largest on the international marketplace in years, said Alexei Markov, the head of the information section at Rosvooruzhenie, the Russian state corporation.

Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Sweden and Canada have also made bids for the order.

On the government's shopping list for the military hardware were navy patrol corvettes and submarines, as well as light helicopters and jet trainers for the airforce.

Markov said the total volume of the country's offset obligations made up 80 percent of the cost of the order.

He said military expertise and science offers made up 50 percent of the tender, with the remaining 30 percent made up of seven programmes, including co-operation in science, education, civil and social structures.

The core of the Russian offset offer is the strengthening of military-technical co-operation between the two countries.

This co-operation would pave the way for the supply of Russian

military equipment including combat helicopters, pilot-training aircraft, diesel submarines, fighting ships and military vehicles.

Preliminary agreements for the establishment of a service, repair and maintenance facility had already been entered into and the founding of an aerospace science centre had been proposed, Markov said.

On the commercial side, Russia has suggested that it set up assembly lines for two civilian aircraft as well as heavy duty and light urban trucks.

The Russian offer, besides its strong aerospace technological and manufacturing core, examines co-operation between Russian and South African mining, oil and gas industries.

Defence industry opens up for black businesses

Sowetan 15/12/97

(254)

By Sipho Cele

ALTHOUGH the defence industry is based on high technology and advanced skills, it can and should do its bit to promote businesses owned or run by the previously disadvantaged

I see the structure of the previously disadvantaged business sector fitting into three broad categories

- Organisations representative of black business – for example, the National African Federated Chamber of Business and Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services

- Emergent corporate consortia, which are investment groups formed by seasoned black business people. They buy into existing corporations to form joint ventures or set up on their own – the likes of Nail, NEC, Worldwide Africa Investments, the Renaissance Group, Thebe Investments and Lechabile

- Small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs).

It is true to say that until recently the participation of previously disadvantaged people in this sector has been limited for various reasons

However, the problems can be traced back to the discriminatory policies of the past. This situation is changing thanks to a new world order and changes in South Africa since 1990

It is encouraging to see the concrete steps being taken by established

business and Government to enhance black business efforts. Examples are the Ntsika Enterprise and Khula Financial Services by the Ministries of Trade and Industry and Public Works

Several companies are reviewing their new business development policies and are appointing people responsible for SMMEs and black business at senior management levels

In a bid to widen black and female involvement in the defence industry, the Armscor board of directors adopted an affirmative procurement policy in November 1996

Procurement reform

The policy has as its basis the Government's 10-point interim policy on procurement reform issued in December 1995. In developing the policy, the involvement of all stakeholders was ensured

These are the policy's objectives

- Give preference to previously disadvantaged people,
- Promote "buy South Africa",
- Promote international competitiveness,
- Procure at best value for money to ensure affordability for the Defence Ministry,
- Transparency,
- An auditable, legal and accountable process, and
- Promotion of human resource development

The policy takes into account equity held by blacks and the number of employees from such groups. This is done with the main contractor/supplier or subcontractor or both

A Tender Advice Centre has been set up at Armscor to help with the implementation of the policy. It will

- Keep a data base of businesses owned by black people,
- Assist SMMEs with the completion of tender documents,
- Respond to queries related to affirmative procurement policy

Some interesting developments have taken place within the defence industry over the past two years. Various companies have formed partnerships with black-owned or controlled investment companies

Examples are Grinaker Electronics and Kunene Brothers Holdings, Altron and Sekunjalo Holdings, Plessey and Worldwide Africa Investment, Nkobi Holding and ATE

There are also alliances that continue to be formed on a project by project basis. We are confident more cooperation will happen as more contracts are placed by the South African National Defence Force

As South Africa gets integrated into the global economy, there will be even greater prospects for black business – both small and big

(Author works in Armscor's corporate communications department)

The makings of outlaw soldiers

Demobilised MK and Apla guerrillas wait at base, in some cases since 1995, with nothing to do and without the promised job retraining

By Gill Gifford

Hundreds of former MK and Apla soldiers, who are expected to be trained to re-enter the job market, are sitting idle at military bases round the country.

And some of the demobilised freedom fighters are now murmuring about being forced into a life of crime like other former MK and Apla soldiers who have allegedly been linked to recent heists involving millions of rands.

Soldiers stationed at the Jevon military base, east of Johannesburg, told The Star they had been whiling away time at the base - some since 1995 - while private companies kept guard and provided feeding and cleaning services at the base.

The soldiers, who are accommodated free of charge and paid a monthly allowance of R600, were contracted for 18 months by the Service Corps - an auxiliary unit of the SANDF, in what they believed was a programme designed to train them for reintegration into society.

Disillusioned soldiers said they were no better off than when first demobilised.

"We have not received what was promised. What is going on here is nothing more than misuse of public funds and taxpayers' money," said Peter Swartz, a former MK soldier.



Idle and restless ... Eric Kritki says he and his fellow soldiers have not been given the education and training they were promised.

"We were told we would be trained. But we have had nothing more than basic courses such as those offered by Manpower to unemployed civilians. I finished a three-week com-

puter course last year, but it means nothing because I haven't been able to use what I've learnt and the qualification means nothing out there."

Another former MK soldier,

Eric Kritki, said he was disillusioned and intended leaving before his contract expired in March next year.

"My dream was to go to university. I told them I have the

potential to do well, and asked for help in registering. I was told it was too expensive. "I am a soldier, and the fact that I have signed a demobilisation form does not change

that. I can use an AK-47, I am trained in military tactics and I know how to fight. I will leave this place next week and the question that needs to be answered is: How will I put bread

on the table?"

Jay Mbele, a former Apla soldier, said. "Soldiers in guerrilla armies learnt to survive in all conditions. You can put them anywhere and they can make their own living. We hear of former MK soldiers involved in heists and bank robberies, and you can't ignore that. They are out there and nobody knows how they are surviving."

"If the bulk of the ex-cadres are put out on the streets, what is going to happen? We number in the thousands, we are not a drop in the ocean."

The soldiers were told the four-phase reintegration process would include an introductory phase in which illiterate soldiers would be taught to read and write, training in marketable skills, a contractual phase in which they would have the opportunity to gain experience in their chosen skills, and finally a placement phase when they would be given jobs.

PAC secretary-general Mike Muendane said little had been done to train the men.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mannoepa said the organisation was "absolutely confident" in the ability of SANDF officers to address the problems.

SANDF media liaison head Colonel John Rolt said he had heard about the issue and that liaison staff were busy contacting the officers and soldiers involved.

Defence force chiefs face racism lawsuit

CP 21/12/97

(254)

By JIMMY SEEPE

A BLACK lawyer and colonel in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has instituted a R2 million lawsuit against the Minister of Defence, Joe Modise, and Major-General P De Klerk for racist treatment and discrimination.

Col Bheku Pennel Simeleane has submitted legal claims against Modise and De Klerk (second defendant) for persistent racial bias and ill-treatment by the SANDF.

Simeleane avers that he has suffered constant racial insults at the hands of De Klerk.

SANDF spokesperson, Col John Rolt, when presented with the facts relating to Simeleane's claims, said "The defence department takes note of the instructions from Simeleane's lawyers but, in the light of possible pending litigation, we are not able to respond."

Simeleane claims that De Klerk told him, upon his (Simeleane) return from sick leave, that "he smelt a bad smell as he got out from the lift."

De Klerk is also accused of having scorned Simeleane's medical certificate, issued by a black medical practitioner.

Simeleane is a former cadre of the former Pan Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army, who was enlisted by the SANDF in 1995.

According to legal papers, De Klerk allegedly told Simeleane that he could smell that Simeleane had returned to work because of the bad odour emanating from his office.

Simeleane, who is also an attorney in the High Courts of Lesotho and Botswana, alleges to have immediately objected in writing to De Klerk on November 13.

Simeleane's lawyers say "it is apparent that De Klerk ill-treats our client on racial grounds and feels threatened by his stature in the legal community."

"It may also be inferred that De Klerk is unwilling to countenance black achievers in general," a reference to Simeleane's doctor.

Simeleane's lawyers have also called on Modise to set in motion disciplinary proceedings in terms of the Military Discipline Code on various other grounds.

It is alleged that on October 28 De Klerk called on Simeleane's office and, in an aggressive mood, ordered him to his office by hustling him in a demeaning and degrading manner.

Simeleane's lawyers listed a host of other incidents in which De Klerk allegedly abused his rights.

These include ill-treatment in contravention of Section 16 of the Military Discipline Code, that is, ill-treatment of a subordinate.



TWO MILLION LAWSUIT... Against Defence Minister Joe Modise

Police and air force have their wings clipped

MICHAEL SCHMIDT

(254)

ST 28/12/97

BUDGET cuts have all but grounded the police air wing and the air force over the festive season — traditionally their busiest time of the year for rescue airlifts

A spokesman said this week no police helicopters or light aircraft would fly from any of the country's 11 bases except on emergency mercy operations or in pursuit of armed criminals

The air force, meanwhile, has stopped all flights except emergency missions until January 15

The clipping of the police wings follows a directive from the national commissioner, George Fivaz, to all provinces to curb overspending

Banned are normal crime-prevention patrols, stolen vehicle tracking, aerial photography, monitoring of political gatherings, stock theft operations and dagga plantation busts

Superintendent René Coulon of the Durban air wing base said the flights had been stopped until March — "when we hope the new budget will provide us with more money" It costs the police R1 700 an hour to fly a chopper and R700 an hour for Pilatus Porter aircraft

Coulon said the Durban base, which covers the whole of Kwazulu Natal, had

been forced to cancel 20 sorties planned for the next week and a half alone

"Having aircraft up helps enormously, but now we will take to the air only in hot pursuit of hijackers or bank robbers," he said "We have even been told we won't take part in search-and-rescue operations, even though this is our busiest time of the year"

Senior Superintendent Lazarus Tlomatsana, a spokesman for the crime prevention response service under which the air wing falls, said police would "re-prioritise" which operations could carry on and which would end

A spokesman for the SA Air Force, Colonel Derrick Page, said "ad hoc" missions like flypasts and training flights had been stopped from December 15 to January 12 "The normal weekly shuttle between Pretoria and Cape Town has also been scrapped, as has any flying that our pilots do to keep up to date on the number of hours required"

Air force helicopters in Durban, Louis Trichardt, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and Pretoria were on 24-hour standby, he said, and would still conduct mercy flights, including mountain and sea rescues and fire-fighting

Page said air force helicopters based at Langsburg in the Cape to help monitor holiday traffic were operating on fuel donated by a private company

PUBLIC SECTOR-GOVT. - DEFENCE

1998

JANUARY — MAY.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7 1998

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SA puts six countries on short list to supply military equipment

Stephen Lauffer

THE defence department has short-listed military equipment from six countries as plans to re-equip SA's armed forces in a R10bn multi-year deal move into the decisive phase.

Arms manufacturers from three countries — Russia, Brazil and Denmark — were not short-listed, it was learned yesterday. Brazil and Denmark failed to respond formally to the invitation to tender. Elements of the packages offered by

shipyards and aerospace manufacturers in Britain, Germany, Canada, Italy, Spain and France are understood to have made the cut.

No decision appears to have been reached on submarines. New and used submarines have been offered by several countries, delaying a final decision on how to re-equip the navy's underwater fleet.

Sources said the embassies of the nine countries asked to submit information in a preliminary tender round last October had been informed of the

outcome of the military evaluation. An Armscor executive said Defence Minister Joe Modise would announce the results of the military evaluation soon, possibly as early as today.

After technical scrutiny of the offers, the six countries were expected to receive a formal request for proposals within the next few weeks. This document would call for detailed offers on countertrade and financing for the corvettes, fighter aircraft, tanks and helicopters SA was seeking.

Before finalising the request for

proposals, the defence department was expected to consult other ministries on requirements in areas such as housing, health and education, which could benefit from the package's civilian offset.

The finance ministry would have a decisive say on which of the soft-loan packages to accept.

Already, the military evaluation of the packages appears to have produced a short list likely to find favour with the finance and trade and industry departments, as SA's major trading and investment partners have made the

Military

Continued from Page 1

owned Fincantieri yard was judged unsuitable for SA's rough waters.

A source said government was concerned that although a Durban shipyard had the technical capacity to build corvette-sized ships, the investment would not prove worthwhile as military follow-on orders were unlikely.

Germany's Daimler Benz Aerospace, France's Mirage and Sweden's Saab Gripen — marketed by British Aerospace — are understood still to be in the running as the SA Air Force's (SAAF's) next generation of fighter-trainer jets. Neither Britain's Hawk

nor Russia's Mig-29 are understood to have made the cut. Russia's counter-trade offer apparently did not meet minimum requirements, thereby automatically shutting out the highly regarded fighter and the T-80U tank. There were apparently also concerns about long-term logistics reliability.

Three manufacturers are still in the race to supply the successor to the SAAF's Alouette light utility helicopter — Canada's Bell, Italy's Agusta and the French-German firm Eurocopter.

Britain's Westland and France's Cougar were short-listed as potential maritime helicopters which would become part of the corvette's equipment.

Among the main battle tanks short-listed are the French Leclerc and the British Challenger.

Continued on Page 2

Britain, Sweden give SA arms deal deadline

By **NORMAN CHANDLER**
Defence Correspondent

Cape Town – Britain and Sweden have given South Africa a six-month deadline to take a decision on national arms procurement, or risk losing more than R20-billion in business over the next 10 years.

The ultimatum, which expires on July 31, was given yesterday, 24 hours after it was announced by the Department of Defence that there would be a delay in deciding on the procurement of corvettes, submarines, jet aircraft, helicopters and main battle tanks because further information was needed on particular products being offered.

Britain and Sweden are offering 48 Gripen jet fighters and trainers in a joint venture between British Aerospace and Saab Aerospace, while the British have also offered independently the Hawk New Generation jet trainer.

Star 9/11/98 (254)
The Anglo-Swedish venture includes massive industrial participation and is to be known as the Business Partnership Centre.

It is fully supported by both governments.

Allan MacDonald, who represents British Aerospace's interests in southern Africa, said at a joint press conference on the Swedish navy ship Carlskrona in Cape Town yesterday that delaying a decision would not only harm the local defence industry, but also result in export losses, changed investment plans and the loss of socio-economic opportunities.

Bengt Halse, president of Saab Aerospace, said Swedish interests alone were prepared to immediately invest R600-million in various industrial participation ventures, which would include socio-economic projects such as education.

The investment was, however, subject to "seeing business materialise".

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COMPANY

Government keeps mum on arms suppliers

ET (POR) 9/1/98 (254)

FROM REUTER

Durban — South Africa had drawn up a shortlist of countries for an arms purchase worth a total of about R10 billion, a defence ministry spokesman said this week

"A shortlist of products and suppliers has been approved and countries are in the process of being informed accordingly," said defence ministry spokesman Puso Tladi

He declined to name the coun-

tries or what products they were offering, saying: "There is no way we can mention who they are now because we are still in the process of informing them"

"They will be requested to prepare more detailed documentation for the next round of best and final offer bidding," he said

France, Britain, Germany, Spain, Canada, Russia, Sweden and Italy have offered counter-trade and offset packages for South Africa's

defence hardware requirements, which include corvettes, submarines, fighter aircraft and tanks

Defence experts have said those countries offering the best offset deal would be most likely to succeed when the trade and industry ministry leads the defence and finance ministries in the final selection process They said France, Germany, Spain and Britain were believed to be on the list to supply South Africa with patrol corvettes

France, Germany, Italy, Sweden and Britain were believed to be front runners to supply submarines, while only France and Britain were in the race to supply the main battle tank

Fighter planes could come from France, Germany or Britain, they said The shortlisted countries are expected to present best and final offers — including details of offsets and industrial participation — by early May

ET 9/11/98
(254)

SA gets ultimatum to speed up defence purchases

OWN CORRESPONDENT

BRITAIN and Sweden have given South Africa a six-month deadline to make a decision on national arms procurement, or risk losing more than R20-billion in business over the next 10 years

The ultimatum, which expires on July 31, was given in the city yesterday, 24 hours

after it was disclosed by the Department of Defence that there would be a delay in deciding on the procurement of corvettes, submarines, jet aircraft, helicopters and main battle tanks because further information was needed on particular products

Britain and Sweden are offering 48 Gripen jet fighters and trainers in a joint venture between British Aerospace and

Saab Aerospace, while the British have also offered independently the Hawk New Generation jet trainer.

The overall package from each country also includes submarines, helicopters, tanks and missile systems

Other countries still in the running for the orders include France, Germany, Spain, Canada and Italy

Can we get it up for war?

South Africa's military potency is slipping and experts say that if the country is to fulfil an international role as a peacekeeper on the African continent, the government had better start spending. ANDREW TRENCH reports



SHOW OF POWER: The South African Air Force demonstrates its muscle during a fly-past, but experts are concerned at the country's declining defence capabilities. Picture: NICKY DE BLOIS

ONE can almost imagine Joe Modise clapping his hands with joy for if the defence minister needed anything to justify a boost in the dwindling defence budget, the military potency index published in London this week would seem to provide it.

The index confirms what South African defence experts have long maintained — that the country's position as a military power is on the wane.

On a scale of zero to just over 10, the country's military potency dropped by nearly half a point between 1996 and 1997.

The index, published in the New International Security Review, is compiled by measuring a country's force numbers,

R9,679-billion, a cut of 6.5 percent from the previous year. Military spending has fallen from about 4.5 percent of gross domestic product in 1989/90 to around 1.5 percent now.

Out of more than 180 countries surveyed in the index, South Africa — with a rating of 6.03 compared with 6.36 in 1996 — ranks 45, just above Belgium. At the top of the list is the US, with China in second place — for the first time overtaking Russia as a great military power — followed by France in fourth place and Britain fifth.

The drop in South Africa's potency seems even more alarming when compared with other countries. South Africa's decline in military potency

He concedes that South Africa's drop is dramatic, but warns that the country should not use its index rating to judge its potency against the rest of the world.

The only aspect which should concern South Africa, he says, is its position in its region.

But within Southern Africa, South Africa's drop in potency is the worst, followed closely by Mozambique which fell by 0.28.

However, a look at the overall rating of South Africa within the region reveals a clearer picture. With a measure of just more than six points there is no country in Southern Africa which comes close to South Africa's 'defence' rating.

Edmonds, the director for the Centre for Defence and International Security Studies at Lancaster University in the UK. He calls the index "dreadful" saying that the criteria are too subjective.

Nevertheless, he argues that the potency index could prevent what he regards as South Africa's essential need to link its defence policy to its foreign policy — and thus contribute to international peacekeeping operations.

"Because the rest of Africa is a basket case, South Africa has the additional burden to demonstrate that it is an effective player in the international community and to show there is hope for Africa," he said.

Edmonds said.

"If people see South Africa slipping in the potency league then there is a sound reason to improve that potency. This is a capability which South Africa can donate and offer for purposes of international security."

Mark Malan, a senior researcher at the Institute for Strategic Studies in Johannesburg, said the drop in potency was alarming and would definitely justify calls for increased military spending. This did not mean buying corvettes or submarines, but producing a force with well-educated and relatively well-paid officers.

He predicted spending and personnel cuts would contribute to South Africa's potency rating slipping further over the next few years.

"We have regional responsibilities and for that we need a core capability and competence that will allow us to take action in Africa. As for the decline in military potency, we should indeed be concerned."

Malan said the argument that South Africa needed only to be concerned with the relative strengths of its neighbours did not hold water. "It's like looking at the Canadian potency and saying the US can afford to cut back."

(254) ST 11/11/98

CHANGING MILITARY POTENCIES

RANK	1997	1996
1	United States	10.08
2	People's Republic of China	8.65
3	Russia	8.43
4	France	8.25
5	United Kingdom	8.24
6	South Korea	8.00
7	North Korea	7.99
8	India	7.90
9	Saudi Arabia	7.73
10	Japan	7.58
11	Israel	7.42
12	Italy	7.41
13	Taiwan	7.39
14	Germany	7.33
15	Brazil	7.32
16	Pakistan	7.20
17	Iran	6.96
18	Turkey	6.78
19	Egypt	6.75
20	Spain	6.75
21	Australia	6.71
22	Indonesia	6.71
23	Singapore	6.67
24	Syria	6.66
25	Thailand	6.66
26	Argentina	6.63
27	Iraq	6.55
28	Netherlands	6.52
29	Kuwait	6.51
30	Oman	6.49
31	Greece	6.45
32	Burma	6.44
33	Malaysia	6.38
34	Canada	6.38
35	Norway	6.27
36	Mexico	6.26
37	Poland	6.26
38	Netherlands	6.24
39	United Arab Emirates	6.19
40	Sweden	6.17
41	Ukraine	6.11
42	Chile	6.10
43	Portugal	6.04
44	Yugoslavia	6.03
45	South Africa	6.03
46	Belgium	6.03
47	Switzerland	5.93
48	Romania	5.88
49	Finland	5.87
50	Maldives	5.85
51	Moldova	5.76

Graphic: RONIA KRISCH Source: NEW INTERNATIONAL SECURITY REVIEW 1998

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defence spending in dollars, defence spending per capita and the defence budget as a portion of gross domestic product. These figures are married to more subjective concepts like the government's commitment to defence and popular support for it.

The index, therefore, represents a fairly subjective evaluation — but it nonetheless has a certain validity.

South Africa's defence status is highlighted by the defence budget which has seen eight years of consecutive cuts. Last year defence was allocated

second worst on the African continent — war-ravaged Sudan dropped 0.48 of a point.

Globally our decline was fourth, worst after Croatia (a drop of 0.53), Belarus (down 0.57) and the former Yugoslavia (0.34).

But Michael Codner, a director at the institute who is responsible for compiling the figures, emphasised that the index only measures the amount of resources dedicated to military spending — and not the capabilities of the military, which may or may not be affected by reduced defence resources.

The closest are Angola and Zimbabwe with 4.88 points each. Botswana, Zambia, Namibia, Mozambique, Malawi and Lesotho all score below four.

In sub-Saharan Africa, the only country which comes close to South Africa's potency is Nigeria with a score of 5.46. This implies that South Africa can afford to allow its potency to slip further without being seriously challenged by any of its neighbours.

That would be fine if it were not for South Africa's unique role in Africa, argues Dr Martin

"One way to demonstrate this is to make a contribution to international peacekeeping initiatives.

"On the assumption this index might mean something, if people believed it, it would determine the will to make a contribution to international peacekeeping and intervening in Africa. After all, there is nothing more debilitating to confidence than to be told you are weaker and more useless than before.

"It all depends if you believe that a credible military capability by a state is as much a force for international peace and se-

DEFENCE PROCUREMENT

Nations vie for SA's guns and butter deals

(254)

PM 16/1/98

Military rearmament comes up against social development needs at a time of belt-tightening in the run-up to the 1999 elections

The mission of the revamped SA National Defence Force (SANDF) — to defend the borders and play a regional peacekeeping role — is now sufficiently clear after last June's thoroughgoing Defence Review and ratification by parliament for the "rightsizing" process to have begun

Unfortunately for Defence Minister Joe Modise and the defence and armaments establishment, however, the need to replace obsolete equipment coincides uncomfortably with scarce financial resources — and competition for funds against the social ministries and debt-stricken provinces in the run-up to the 1999 election

Thus, just as the deadline for the major supplying nations to make proposals to fit SA's military needs has been extended — at Armscor's request — until the end of the month, the big question of affordability remains unanswered

In his Budget speech last year, Modise complained that "our budget has been cut by 59% since 1989. The fact is, we are unable to sustain an adequate defence programme." Of funds allocated to defence, personnel expenditure accounted for 48% and operating costs for 37% — leaving a meagre 15% for "main equipment renewal," including procurement

Midrand-based Institute for Security Studies director Jakkie Cilliers says the situation is grave if the aims of the Defence Review are to be given substance. The outlook for raising the money for essential procurement remains gloomy, and "the SANDF is already facing imminent block obsolescence of much of its main equipment. For example, during 1999, or soon thereafter, the SANDF has to replace 32 medium fighters, about 4 304 mine-protected troop carriers (and) three submarines, as well as trying to fund the acquisition of four corvettes for the Navy" (See table)

As matters stand, Cilliers says, the SANDF faces an estimated R400m overrun on expenditure before the 1998/1999 Budget, which has meant grounding the Air

Force except for emergencies and bringing new army training to a standstill

Arms purchases in SA — as in a number of countries — are subject to "offset requirements" on deals exceeding US\$10m in import costs

Both the Department of Trade & Industry (DTI) and Armscor (SA's military procurement agency) have complex procurement rules. This means, for example, a deal worth \$300m must generate \$240m in measured local economic activity. One intended effect is to boost SA industry through foreign participation in manufactures for export, though offset credits can also be accumulated through training or other socially beneficial programmes

Complicating matters is the fact that SA's military hardware will not all become obsolete at once, expenditure for replacement has been estimated at R20bn over the next 10-20 years

For this reason, prospective sellers need to know SA's schedule of systems replacement — that is, when the need for any particular weapon will kick in

Thus last week's unveiling of a joint British-Swedish proposal to sell up to 48 Gripen fighter planes to SA forms only part of a much larger plan to effect the modernisation of SA's Defence Force. The Gripen — which is jointly marketed by Saab and British Aerospace-Europe — has already been tested in combat circumstances and would be modified for SA's needs which, as Cilliers has noted, include 32 medium fighters during 1999

Saab chief executive officer Bengt Halse said in Cape Town that acceptance of the Gripen deal would trigger a long-term Swedish-SA business initiative, and that "in our proposals to SA's DTI on the (proposed) Business Partnership Centre we have included details on several 'ready-to-roll' export-orientated projects — outside the defence sector — that will generate more than R20bn over the next 10 years"

That's just the kind of sales talk SA needs to hear. Halse added that "the industrial situation in SA has many similarities with Sweden's. Both nations have significant natural resources and are increasingly dependent on exports and foreign trade

"We are now in a position to capitalise on the knowledge gained

TWO SNAPSHOTS OF THE SANDF: PRESENT AND FUTURE	
Mid-1990s	± 2010
98 000	70 000
Full-time Defence personnel	
+500 000	69 500
Part-time troops	
ARMY	
Mechanised brigade	
Special forces brigade	
TERRITORIAL FORCES	
38	27
Group headquarters	
16	14
Light infantry battalions	
20	12
Motorised infantry battalions	
205	138
Para-protection units	
EQUIPMENT	
224	154
Olifant tanks	
176	242
Rooikat armoured cars	
72	45
G5 towed artillery	
25	25
127 mm Bateleur rocket launchers	
247	243
Mine-protected vehicles	
4 304	227
AIR FORCE	
51	32
Medium fighters	
10	16
Light fighters	
10	10
Light recon aircraft	
10	10
Short range maritime	
12	12
Transport helicopters	
10	10
Maritime helicopters	
48	44
Transport aircraft	
7	9
Volunteer squadrons	
NAVY	
3	4
Submarines	
8	8
Strike craft	
8	8
Minesweeper-hunter ships	
27	39
Harbour patrol vessels	
MEDICAL SERVICES	
1	1
Chemical biological defence programme	
3	1.5
Part-time medical battalion	

P.T.O.

in the process of transforming Sweden from an exporter of wood, iron ore and other raw materials to a country with global multinational companies developing and exporting advanced high-technology products

"This strategic industrial programme is in addition to the detailed dialogue that is underway between Saab and British Aerospace and the SA Defence industry on a major partnership role on the Gripen programme itself," Halse said

Behind Saab stand companies like Atlas Copco, Electrolux, Ericsson, Scania, SKF and Volvo

According to an article in the latest *World Airtnews*, the Gripen is part of the greater UK strategic defence partnership being negotiated with SA, which includes offers for the supply of corvettes, maritime helicopters, submarines and battle tanks

"SA has shown keen interest in the fighter," the article states "Deputy President Thabo Mbeki met Saab and Swedish government officials in Stockholm last June"

In November, "Mbeki met UK Prime Minister Tony Blair to tie up a

UK-SA binational agreement on trade, industry, investment and defence That same day, Mbeki and Trade & Industry Minister Alec Erwin also met UK and Swedish Ministry of Defence officials to discuss Gripen and the broader strategic

defence partnership proposal "

Given the West's interest in SA playing a regional peacekeeping role, what is needed now is decisiveness from

Pretoria Gripen's sponsors want to know by July if the deal can proceed, before the associated investments and programmes kick in

Other nations with an interest in selling SA arms have their proposals, too All of these proposals need to be evaluated by the Cabinet before it makes a decision and authorises budgeting for the req-



Joe Modise

uisite funds

If the funds are simply not there, the Gripen offer will lapse — and with it the industrial participation proposals

Complex financial arrangements will accompany acceptance, cushioning SA against currency fluctuations But further delays could imperil the deal Indeed, further delays will negate the Defence Review's policy aims and SA will have to forfeit its dream of becoming a regional superpower

Peter Wilhelm



Saab JAS39 Gripen leading Sweden's and Britain's joint bid for arms sales to SA

IDE THOLOE

Armcor 'unlikely' to want Italian corvettes

ET (E2) 19/11/98 (254)
JONATHAN ROSENTHAL

INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

Johannesburg — Armcor was unlikely to reconsider its decision to exclude Fincantieri, the Italian shipyard, from a shortlist of companies able to continue in the bid to supply the South African Navy with four corvettes in a deal believed to be worth about R2 billion, sources close to Armcor said last week.

A row broke out last week when Lamberto Dini, the Italian foreign minister, raised the matter with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and asked for a review of the decision.

Armcor, the state arms procurement agency, last month drew up a list indicating which countries had complied with an initial technical and military evaluation and were eligible to continue in the bidding process.

France, Germany, Spain and the UK were shortlisted for the corvette programme. Italian industry and diplomatic sources said the Italian government did not consider the decision final.

Last week Attilio Fantoni, Fincantieri's international sales and marketing manager, said he was "very surprised" that the group, one of Europe's largest shipbuilders, was not on the list.

The Italian bid was the only one to have included the domestic manufacture of two corvettes at a Durban shipyard.

Fantoni said Italy was at an unfair disadvantage as it had observed a United Nations arms boycott against South Africa, while several of its competitors had been present in the country throughout the early 1990s.

He also questioned how Armcor could have excluded Fincantieri on the basis of limited information provided in response to a South African request for information (RFI) rather than the more comprehensive information which would have been supplied in response to an expected request for proposals (RFP).

But a reliable source, close to the South African Navy evalua-



UNFAIR DISADVANTAGE

Attilio Fantoni of Fincantieri shipyard

PHOTO JOHN WOODROOF

tion team, said the Italian ships had not met the functional and technical requirements demanded by the navy. Sources close to the navy said the evaluators had questioned the ability of the Italian ships to operate in the rough south Atlantic seas.

Fantoni challenged this by saying his ships were designed to operate in even the roughest seas. He also questioned other aspects of the evaluation methodology, asking how for instance the team could have evaluated characteristics such as radar cross-section, when they had insufficient data on the final configuration of the ships.

Perhaps the real nail in the coffin for the Italian bid may have been its late entrance and Fincantieri's failure to establish a solid relationship.

Julius Kriel, who heads the Aerospace, Maritime and Defence Industries Association, said there had been no contact between the association and the Italian bidders. Naval sources also said there had been no exchange of information with the Italian Navy on their experience of the ships.

Defence Force to retrench 20 000 personnel

By **NORMAN CHANDLER**
Defence Correspondent

The Defence Force is to shed 20 000 staff because it has found that natural attrition and voluntary retrenchment was not working

Staff being cut will be asked to leave on three months' notice in terms of what the defence force calls an "employer-initiated retrenchment"

The Department of Defence aims to reduce personnel from the current 95 000 to 75 000 by April 1 next year. A spokesman for the SANDF confirmed yesterday that retrenchment was going ahead following a decision taken last month by the Council on Defence

The programme goes into top gear in two months when a retrenchment package, being put together by government departments for the public service as a whole, is expected to be finalised. The defence packages will be modelled on it

The cost to the taxpayer has not been finalised but is expected to run into millions

SANDF command structures are to be formally told about the cutback during visits



Cuts in the ranks ... General Georg Meiring has hard task

next month to territorial commands by a team led by the Chief of the SANDF, General Georg Meiring, the Secretary for Defence, Pierre Steyn, and the chiefs of the army, navy, air force and medical services

Coupled to the retrenchment plan is the ratification of an earlier plan to close, amalgamate or relocate units, and to eliminate duplication at all levels because of a pending R300-million cut in the defence bud-

(254)
get from R9,5-billion to R9,2-billion for 1998-99.

The territorial commands as well as the SA Medical Services are also to be phased out, the council decided.

It has been emphasised that all part-time units will be retained and possibly expanded, including the possible establishment of new part-time units

As part of the transformation, a joint operations division is to come into effect from April 1 when arms of services will hand over responsibility for the employment of forces to the new organisation which is to assume responsibility for personnel, policy and planning, finance, the chaplaincy, defence inspectorate and part-time forces

Another uniformed state department, the South African Police Services, is aiming to recruit about 2 000 more people. Senior Superintendent Strini Govender from SAPS human-resource management said the 2 000 posts, mainly in the murder and robbery and child protection units and fingerprinting departments, had been advertised last year.

Star 20/1/98

Learner, hopefully meaner, defence force

R300-million must be cut from the SANDF's budget

Arg 30/1/98

(254)

The South African National Defence Force is to shed 20 000 staff because it has found that natural attrition and voluntary retrenchment by all ranks is not working.

They will be asked to leave on three months notice in terms of what the defence force calls an "employer initiated retrenchment".

The Department of Defence aims to reduce personnel from the current 55 000 to 75 000 by April 1 next year.

A spokesman for the SANDF confirmed yesterday that retrenchment was going ahead following a decision taken in December by the Council on Defence - which includes all top defence figures in the country - and that detailed planning was being undertaken.

The programme goes into top gear from April this year, when a retrenchment package being put together by government departments for the public service as a whole is expected to be finalised.

The defence packages will be modelled on it.

The cost to the taxpayer has not been finalised but is expected to run into millions of rand.

SANDF command structures are to be formally told about the cutback during visits next month to territorial commands by a team which will be led by the Chief of the SANDF, General Georg Meiring, the Secretary for Defence, Pierre Steyn, and the chiefs of the army, navy, air force and medical services.

Personnel were told about the impending retrenchments in an internal information bulletin just before Christmas.

Coupled to the retrenchment plan is the ratification of an earlier plan to close, amalgamate or relocate units, and to eliminate duplication at all levels.

This is because of a pending R300-million cut in the defence budget from the existing R9,5-billion to R9,2-billion for 1998-99.

INSIDE STORY

All arms of the defence force are to be cut back in a move that will see 20 000 men

forced to move back to civilian life, writes Defence Correspondent

NORMAN CHANDLER

The territorial commands as well as the SA Medical Services are also to be phased out over a period of time; the council decided.

No further details of this have been disclosed but it is understood that the government favours a reduction, to probably five, of the existing nine commands (Gauteng, Far North Natal, Western Province, Eastern Province, Free State, Northern Cape, North West, and Mpumalanga).

It has been emphasised by the council that all part-time units will be retained and possibly expanded, including the possible establishment

'Territorial commands and the SA Medical Services are also to be phased out'

of new part-time units.

It was recently hinted by President Mandela that new units could bear the names of leading anti-apartheid figures such as Chief Albert Lutuli and Walter Sisulu.

As part of the transformation, a joint operations division is to come into effect from April 1, when the



Chief General Georg Meiring

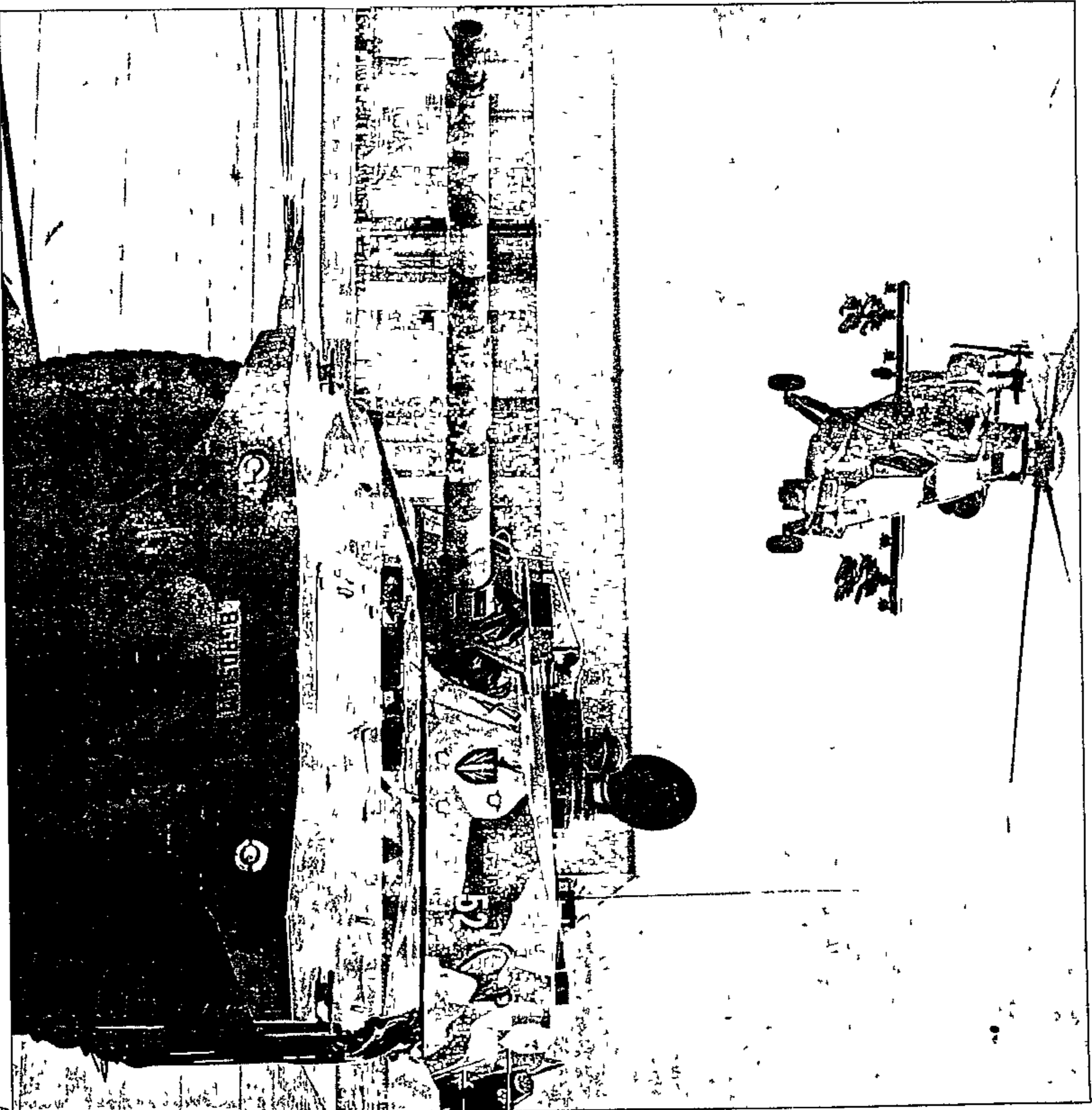
arms of the services will hand over responsibility for the employment of forces to the new organisation which is to assume responsibility for personnel, policy and planning. Finance, the chaplaincy, defence inspectorate and part-time forces

This will avoid duplication and result in staff reduction.

The staff reductions in general are part of a new three-tiered structure to be implemented for the Department of Defence and proposed by a DoD Re-engineering Design Workshop which began work on it some months ago.

Defence Minister Joe Modise told the council that in order to be able to manage within the budget, "implementation of the new structure would have to be done as speedily as possible although closure, amalgamation or re-location of units concerned would take time to complete."

Lieutenant General Siphewe Nyanda, deputy chief of the SANDF, has been given the responsibility of overseeing the implementation of the structure.



Strike force the SANDF shows off its Rooivalk attack helicopter, pictured here overflying the Rooivalk armoured fighting vehicle

Denel workers face axe

Sowetan 23/1/98 (254)

Business Reporter

ARMS manufacturer Denel says it will begin this week to retrench 95 of its employees at its Pretoria head office

In a statement yesterday Denel said more than half of its corporate staff would be retrenched because of unprofitability

According to the arms manufacturer's managing director, Seshi Chonco, the laying off of employees has come in the light of the company's unstable

business performance over the past year

"Denel's overheads and corporate office employment costs far exceed its operational requirements," said Chonco

The company was also concerned about gross revenue, which it said was "considerably lower than budget"

Chonco said the past year had been trying in many respects

"The group cancelled a number of foreign orders because of political pressure and this reflected on the com-

pany's profitability"

The company started negotiating with relevant stakeholders on the impending job cuts last year, the company said

It added that the employees were also invited to submit proposals on cost-saving measures in a bid to limit retrenchment figures

"This exercise, however, was not significant enough to bring down the employment cost structures," he said

The situation was expected to turn around by the year 2001, Chonco said

ARMS *New acquisitions will change nature of group's business*

Denel plans to shrink its defence sector

CT (PR) 26/11/98 (254)

JONATHAN ROSENTHAL

INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

Johannesburg — Denel, the R3 billion-a-year state arms producer, plans to shrink its defence sector within two years to 20 percent of the group's business, Seshe Chonco, the recently appointed group managing director, said yesterday.

"The company has a very strong balance sheet, which it can now use actively to start looking at new business acquisitions," Chonco said.

"There is nothing that prevents Denel from getting into telecommunications. There is nothing that prevents Denel from getting into a blue-chip portfolio like you have in Vodacom. In fact, Denel should have done that in 1992."

But Denel would remain pivotal to the domestic defence industry, Chonco said. Strong cash generators, like the group's property portfolio, would be retained to provide funds for research and development in a limited range of "unique" or strategic technologies, he said.

The domestic defence industry would need to be consolidated in line with international trends, and Denel would move to consolidate the fragmented



IN THE PILOT'S SEAT Seshe Chonco, the group managing director of Denel, believes the company will remain pivotal to the domestic defence industry

PHOTO JOHN WOODROOF

domestic defence industry through the acquisition of some of its weaker private-sector counterparts, he said.

"Unless there is a major restructuring of the defence industry, the future is too ghastly to contemplate," Chonco said.

"I would like to see an aggressive approach to acquisitions taking place this year."

But Chonco said the sale of

Denel operations would have to be governed by the national framework agreement and the public enterprise minister.

There were a number of obvious areas of consolidation in the defence industry, he said.

These included artillery systems such as Denel's LIW manufactured turrets and guns for the G6, while the Reunert group produced the vehicles for

the self-propelled artillery systems.

"When you look very carefully at the prices for the turret, they have stabilised because we have improved the engineering process," Chonco said. "The prices for the platform have grown and grown, times two."

If the two entities were merged, production costs could be radically cut, he added.

SA suggests weapons talks

(254) Southam 27/11/98

GENEVA - A proposal by South Africa to open dialogue on eliminating nuclear weapons drew an unusually warm response at the Conference on Disarmament (CD) last week.

But the success of Pretoria's initiative depends on a favourable reaction from the United States and other nuclear powers, who declined any official comment on the plan.

During a plenary session, Belgium, Chile, Egypt, Ireland, Japan and Mexico supported the idea of exploratory discussions.

The multilateral body which counts 61 member countries, opened its first session of the year last Tuesday after 12 months of paralysis.

No headway was made on two key issues: the banning of anti-personnel mines and the production of uranium and plutonium for military ends.

The CD's inaction last year contrasted with the successful initiative by 120 countries who signed a treaty in Ottawa in December banning anti-personnel land mines, which kill or maim a person every 20 minutes. The project was spearheaded by Canada.

South African representative Mr Jackie Selebi proposed an *ad hoc* committee on nuclear disarmament in a bid to break the deadlock.

The committee would be charged with mapping out practical steps for "systematic and progressive efforts" to eliminate nuclear arms as well as to identify if and when such steps should be negotiated at the CD.

The proposal is deliberately vague and wide open in an effort to side-step haggling between the nuclear powers - Britain, China, France,

Russia and the US - and Non-Aligned countries such as India and Pakistan.

This last group has doggedly linked all progress on disarmament at the CD to the drawing up of a specific calendar for nuclear disarmament, a link the five powers have continually rejected.

"In our view the proposal has the potential to bring us to a reasonable compromise which could open the way to the launching of negotiations on those key issues of nuclear disarmament which might appropriately be dealt with by the CD," said Ireland's permanent representative to the CD, Ms Anne Anderson.

But some hinted that Washington might not back the project.

Vague proposal

"It is a proposal vague enough to unblock the impasse. But I think that there will be strong opposition from Washington because it is difficult to sell to Congress the idea that 60 countries will take up the matter of US disarmament," said Mr Jozef Goldblatt, an expert at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research.

Another analyst said the atomic powers would be under heavy pressure to explain any refusal to talk about nuclear disarmament to the public.

Canada did not comment on Pretoria's initiative. But the country's representative Mr Mark Moher last Thursday put forward a similar proposal that nuclear disarmament issue be debated to see what aspects might be the focus of negotiations in Geneva - *Sapa-AFP*



Jackie Selebi .. proposed a committee on nuclear disarmament.

SA critics up in arms

SOUTH Africa's foreign policy has once again come into question, this time over a R20 million contract for state arms manufacturer Denel to supply surveillance aircraft to Algeria

While remotely-piloted Seeker aircraft are classified "nonlethal", critics of the sale have questioned the wisdom of supplying any form of military equipment to the strife-torn North African country

They say it is inappropriate for South Africa to sell such equipment to that government as it has refused humanitarian aid from the United Nations and has been reluctant to let European Union representatives visit the conflict-ridden areas

The national conventional arms control committee chaired by Water Affairs Minister Professor Kader Asmal has ratified Denel's sales to Algeria because the aircraft is "non-lethal"

The Algerian government was also recognised as "legitimate by the Organisation of African Unity and UN" and the South African Government sold the weapons "in line with its policy that it promotes peace in all democratic countries", said Asmal through his spokesman Themba Khumalo

But one of the critics of the deal, Nan Cross of the Ceasefire Campaign, a non-governmental organisation that lobbies against the arms trade, says the decision contradicts Government guidelines, as Algeria should be seen as politically unstable and a potential destabiliser of the region

Cross also argues that "weapons are weapons" despite the "non-lethal" tag and military equipment can always be modified for more sinister use later on

Anti-personnel land mines, now acknowledged as a modern-day scourge, were once classified as "non-lethal", she says

Intermecine conflict

Tens of thousands of mostly civilians have died in intermecine conflict in Algeria since 1992. Described as an "Islamic insurgency", the conflict was triggered by the Algerian army's cancellation of the January 1992 elections to prevent what appeared to be a likely victory by the Islamic Salvation Front. The party was then banned

Since then the number of murdered has been put at between 75 000 and 80 000

The brutality of the killings has shocked the world. Mostly civilians, and often women and children have been beheaded or have had their throats slit and even pregnant women have been dismembered

The Algerian government denies that there is a civil war in the country, maintains that the problems are "internal" and has rejected offers of outside help in investigations

It also blames the violence on "right-wing"

254
Denel's decision to sell non-lethal aircraft to strife-torn Algeria raises questions about South Africa's foreign policy. **Sharon Chetty** explains why...



Algerian ambassador Said Kitouni . . "it is not possible to control violence in such a large country."

PIC SHARON CHETTY

Islamists and the Armed Islamic Group but the conflict is not that clear-cut. Foreign news reports have pointed to military complicity in the killings. Rivalry between different Islamic groups has also been blamed

But while the Algerian government claims to be legitimate and to be one of national unity, it is unable to explain why it is not in a position to stop the violence

In the past month alone - the Muslim holy month of Ramadaan - over 1 000 people were murdered, apparently by killers believing that it is an auspicious period for a "holy war"

This week Algeria's ambassador to South Africa, Said Kitouni, said the widespread media coverage of the violence in Algeria was part of an "international plot" against his country

While boasting of Algeria's vast natural resources in oil and gas and its strong economy, Kitouni says that the violence started only in 1991, after the fall of communism and when conflicts broke out in Eastern Europe. He blames "bands of terrorists moving around" as the culprits. Although some of the worst massacres have happened in suburbs of the capital Algiers, Kitouni says it is not possible to control violence when neighbour kills neighbour. It is a large country - there are 27 million peo-

ple"

And while he insists that the government is in control of the country, he says that the "terrorists" are moving in all parts of Algeria, making them hard to control

His government has refused humanitarian aid for victims of the violence from the UN and other organisations "because (we) have everything"

Both the Algerian people and its government are "proud" and "have everything to help themselves" "We do not have refugees in Algeria"

Humanitarian assistance

Humanitarian assistance also means bringing foreign civilians into Algeria, which they do not want, he says

Instead, Kitouni says, his government has asked European governments not to harbour the leaders of "terrorists", who are in different countries on the continent

"The EU must talk first about fighting against the objective cause of the killings"

Last week a three-member EU delegation spent 24 hours in Algiers and were briefed mostly by officials. The EU has called for more "transparency" from Algiers and has urged the government to allow UN representatives to visit

While the South African Government needs to continue its relationship with Algeria, it has to be more critical, especially of the military's role in violence, Kato Lamprechts, a senior researcher at the Foundation for Global Dialogue advises

South Africa has to use whatever forums it is on to "engage with Algiers" and first understand the complexities of the conflict, she says. And through bodies such as the OAU and UN, South Africa should lobby support for the idea of getting international bodies to help investigate the violence

Lamprechts describes as "naive" a recent statement by Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad, that South Africa believed the current Algerian government "was committed to democracy as it had a long history of being a one-party ruler"

High hopes hinder
defence education
efforts — officer

(254)
Pule Molebeledi

30/11/98

THE unrealistic expectations of conscripts from the former liberation armies had been a problem for the National Defence Force Service Corps since it was established three years ago, the corps' acting chief, Brig Johann Swanepoel, said yesterday.

The corps was set up to help demobilised soldiers cope with civilian life by providing them with skills and assisting them to find employment.

At a news briefing in Pretoria, Swanepoel said the cabinet had delayed approving the conversion of the existing corps into a permanent body with a broad function.

An interdepartmental committee had submitted a report on the proposal for the establishment of the corps to a cabinet committee in 1996. It recommended that the service be set up as a parastatal and form part of the human resource development strategy and national public works programme. The body would help civilians to improve their education, and vocational and life skills.

Swanepoel said he was still waiting for a response from the cabinet committee.

He said the corps had failed to instil "appropriate norms and values" in its current intake. "A good percentage" of trainees had been absent from courses and had lacked commitment. Many had refused literacy courses, opting to go straight into vocational training.

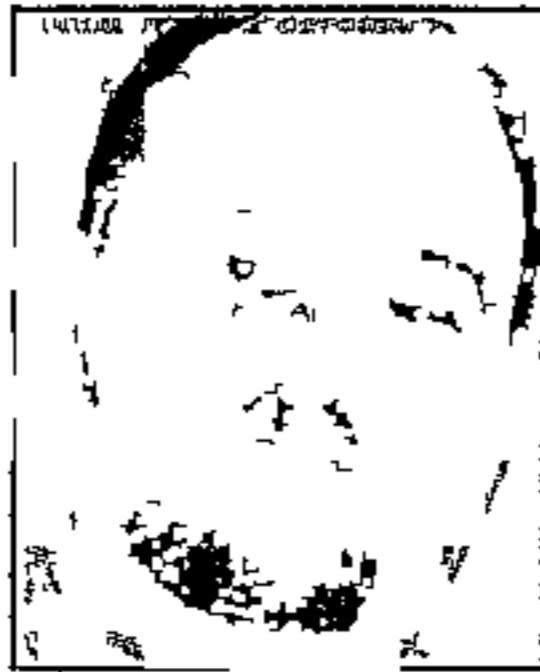
Swanepoel said the current mandate of the corps was restrictive, and financial constraints limited its activities.

He called for the corps to be staffed by well trained personnel. He planned to hold talks with the education department so that unemployed teachers could work at the corps.

There were signs that many defence force members would have their contracts terminated in the next three years, he said.

R10bn earmarked for arms

SPENDING R10 BILLION on imported military hardware in hard times could be controversial unless it pays for itself with thousands of new jobs. **DONWALD PRESSLY** reports.



THE government is expected to forge ahead on new equipment this year, spending up to R10 billion. Analysts say the government's emphasis will be on achieving industrial counter-trade deals that will fuel its economic transformation campaign.

Military analysts and government sources indicated that the ruling party would like to see announcements of major foreign industrial investments, that are allied to the military procurement, before the national election next year.

(Foreign suppliers of defence equipment must supply detailed proposals of civilian industrial projects they will initiate inside South Africa if they are awarded the order for military equipment.)

Defence spokesperson Col Puso Tladi believes that the transformation requirement will be paramount in the bidding for procurement rights. Helmoed Romer Heitman, Southern Africa correspondent of *Jane's Defence Weekly*, concurred with this view, but added the offset deal would not be made at the expense of poor equipment.

A senior government source said the Cabinet "has basically agreed that the defence force does need updated equipment including corvettes". The question now was how the various needs would be financed.

This appears to be a shift away from the previous ANC view that preferred social upliftment to maintaining a powerful military force.

But as government policy shifts towards keeping an iron fist, the chairperson of South Africa's national conventional arms control committee, Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, may well be taken to task of arms spending at a conference on "defence alternatives" in Cape Town later this month.

He will join a panel including Mr Terry Crawford-Browne of Economists Allied for Arms Reduction and Anglican Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane, who has criticised arms sales to undemocratic countries,

including Algeria

"We are bewildered that new warships for the navy, fighter aircraft for the air force or tanks for the army apparently hold priority over education," their Coalition for Defence Alternatives said in an open letter to President Mandela.

The defence force needs billions of rands in new equipment and little money is expected to be set aside this year in the Special Defence Account for this purpose. However, the Department of Defence is likely to be given the green light by Parliament.

The cost of the equipment is expected to amount to about R10 billion. "Most countries spend about 60% of the defence budget on equipment and 40% on staff. In South Africa we spend 70% on personnel and 30% on capital equipment," said the source.

He predicted that President Mandela would emphasise the reduction in staff size, from just under 100 000 to about 70 000, in his speech opening Parliament today.

Mr Romer Heitman said South Africa needed six corvettes, heavily armed helicopter-carrying patrol ships, but the government would

probably go for four. Germany, Spain, France and Britain were in the running to supply the R4 billion order. Four submarines were required, either from Germany, Britain, France, Italy or Sweden.

The airforce needed about 50 fighter aircraft with the current favourite being the Swedish-British Gripen.

About 40 light utility helicopters were needed. In addition, four or five ship-borne helicopters were required.

The defence force is also set to buy Denel's Rooivalk attack helicopter.

Another senior government source, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the Cabinet had decided that Defence Minister Joe Modise, on the strength of the defence review which indicates severe equipment constraints, had been given the green light to purchase

equipment.

"However what they are saying is we are not giving you the money, therefore if you want to make the purchases you have to do two things: Sell arms, make a profit and use it to buy what you want and second, effect the necessary savings within your existing budget."

The source said he expected the defence budget to remain roughly the same this year.

To "free up money" the Defence Department was going "hell for leather" in an exercise called the transformation project to make the savings.

There appears to be a shift away from the previous ANC view that preferred social upliftment to a powerful military force.

(254) CT 6/2/98

THREAT TO PEACE-MAKING ACTIVITIES

'Mercenary Bill falls far short'

CT 9/2/98

(254)

NON-GOVERNMENT organisations are concerned that the Mercenary Bill may hamper their work in foreign countries. **DONWALD PRESSLY** reports



The bill at it stands merely requires private armies, or individuals, to seek approval of their activities from government. The centre argues that mercenary activity, which it defined as "undertaken by soldiers who are hired by a foreign state or rebel movement who partici-

THE defence portfolio committee of the National Assembly this week puts the finishing touches to a bill regulating the provision of military assistance abroad — in the so-called "Mercenary Bill"

Various lobby organisations including the Centre for Conflict Resolution at the University of Cape Town and the Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa) have expressed concern that the bill — the Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill — is worded so broadly that it could undermine peace-making activities of non-government organisations

The government is also under pressure to allow private security firms to operate abroad — particularly in parts of Africa where multi-national companies, some based in SA, use security companies to guard their mining and other assets

Mr Laure Nathan of the centre pointed out that if the bill had already been enacted his staff would have been unable to train US police and military officers in the US state of Florida in conflict resolution skills at a time when that country was at war in the Gulf. His centre has called for a clearer definition of mercenary activity so that private armies in SA are banned from operating outside the country's borders

It is, however, understood that the committee chaired by ANC MP Tony Yengem is poised to tighten this definition.

pate directly in armed hostilities in their private capacity", should be prohibited rather than regulated. "It should not be possible for South Africans to apply for, and be granted, permission to act as mercenaries," said Nathan

In terms of the current definition military assistance included armed conflict or providing military advice, training or cooperation, various forms of support, recruitment, medical or paramedical services, procurement of equipment and also providing security services for individuals or in respect of property

The lobbyists believe that the bill, places too much power in the hands of ministers — in particular the chairperson of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee headed by Water Affairs Minister Mr Kader Asmal

Individuals or organisations who wish to provide military-related services abroad will in future be obliged, to obtain approval from the government to market these services and to receive authorisation to enter into a contract with a third party to provide such services. The Minister of Defence, on recommendation of Asmal's committee, has been empowered by the government in terms of the bill to decide on such authorisation.

● The bill will be debated in the Assembly on February 24. It must then be considered by the National Council of Provinces.

'Mercenary bill' gets defence green light

BD 10/2/98 (254)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Tough new amendments to the so-called "mercenary bill", which could see those convicted of an offence involving mercenary activity forfeit fixed property to the state, were given the green light by Parliament's defence committee yesterday.

The Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill has come under fire from civil society since its tabling in the National Assembly last year for failing to ban all mercenary activity outright. Defence department amendments include a much tougher prohibition on mercenary activity.

An amendment addressing the con-

cern of some nongovernmental organisations and allowing "bona fide humanitarian and civilian activities aimed at relieving the plight of civilians in an area of armed conflict" was also approved.

In response to submissions and suggestions in meetings last year, the department proposed an amendment which stated that all weapons, instruments and articles used in the commission of a crime covered by the act could be ordered forfeit by a court.

Rapu Molekane of the African National Congress said the suggestion was that property be forfeit and the legal adviser was asked to rewrite the clause providing for the forfeiture of

fixed property as well. If included in legislation, the provision will mean that South Africans who organise mercenary activities from properties inside SA could lose them to the state if convicted.

The new prohibition simply says: "No person may within the Republic or elsewhere recruit, use, train, finance or engage in mercenary activity," and adds a new definition of mercenary activity as "direct participation in armed conflict for private gain."

The department's explanation for this was that the directness of the definitions meant that not even the SA government could authorise mercenary activity.

SANDEF to be slashed by 25% *ET 12/21/98 (254)*

WILLEM STEENKAMP
SECURITY WRITER

EVERY member of the SANDEF, from the chief to the lowest trooper will, from the end of this year, face the prospect of being out of a job, as the defence force prepares to cut personnel by more than 25%.

The Defence Review process completed last year determined that the rationalised SANDEF should have 70 000 military and civilian personnel — 24 000 fewer than at present. About 20 000 of the present complement are civilians.

According to five internal communiqués distributed to SANDEF members over the past fortnight, a programme for the "down-sizing, and right-sizing" of the Department of Defence is needed to counteract imbalances caused by the integration in 1994 of the old SADF, liberation armies and other forces.

The objective, according to the bulletins, is to attain the personnel needs defined by the Defence Review while maintaining operational standards, in such a way that no uniformed or civilian members are discriminated against.

To achieve this, a complicated system of identifying individuals suitable for "rationalisation", as well as various channels for appeal, is being formulated.

The process, to take place over a number of years, could include resignations and retirements, transfers to other government departments, reuniting to areas where there are personnel shortages, non-renewal of service contracts, voluntary severance packages and, "as a last resort", compulsory retrenchment.

According to the bulletins, all serving members, "irrespective of their posts, employment and/or service conditions", will be considered.

Members on service contracts may apply to renew them, but those who have "proven their inability to adapt to the standards and expectations of military service" may find themselves jobless.

A special consultation forum has been established to negotiate with employee organisations over civilian rationalisation, and various processes — including a cabinet-approved rationalisation plan, a retrenchment identification procedure, appeal procedures and a special appeal tribunal — are in place.

According to the bulletins, "after members have been identified (for rationalisation), steps must be taken to prepare them for whatever action is to follow".

This includes psycho-social support programmes, possible retraining, preparation for

the introduction into civil society, administrative processes, etc."

To this end, preparations for a Pretoria-based Transitional Support Structure (TSSC), to assist those experiencing problems with rationalisation, are in the final stages.

The functions of the TSSC, which will have various regional substructures, include helping members find employment, training

All serving SANDEF personnel liable to be rationalised

helping members find employment, training "to facilitate employment", stress management and helping with family and social adjustment and the identification of resources and opportunities in civil society.

The specifics of the assistance to be offered to rationalised personnel have not yet been finalised but the SANDEF's Service Corps, established three years ago for this purpose, is expected to play a major role.

The Service Corps' training plans were dealt a serious blow when Taiwan pulled out of a technical assistance agreement with Pretoria last year.

Only about a quarter of the \$40 million (R196m) in Taiwanese aid had already been spent on a vocational training centre at Elandsfontein.

Three other facilities have been — or are being — acquired around the country.

New date set for arms

NORMAN CHANDLER

JOHANNESBURG. Orders for new defence equipment are likely to be placed in November after "political considerations" have been taken into account — a move that could lead to further retrenchments, Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils said at a defence industrial participation conference in Pretoria yesterday.

It had been expected that the R12-billion procurement programme would be finalised by mid-year. Industry players believe a delay could result in more cut-backs in staffing levels and projects.

Kasrils said he had expected the cabinet to be handed recommendations for the acquisition of corvettes, fighter aircraft, battle tanks, submarines and helicopters by

the end of May.

Mr Kevin Hanafey, who is handling the acquisition plan for Armscor, said the final selection would only be made in October.

The timetable called for evaluation of the "best and final offers" in June, followed by a four-month period for approval to be given by the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Finance and other departments.

Although the defence budget had shrunk by R10bn since 1989, the cost of the proposed equipment would be offset by industrial participation programmes and the rationalisation of the SANDEF.

It was expected that retrenchments over the next three years would enable capital costs to reach 30% of the defence budget vs the current 13% — "so we should be in a better position to pay off loans".

shopping

MAINLY WHITE MALES TARGETED

24 000 SANDF personnel set to go over a number of years

Defence Minister Joe Modise is concerned about the slow pace of change in the Defence Force. **DONWALD PRESSLY** reports

RE-ENGINEERING of the Defence Department to increase arms spending as a proportion of its budget from a low-base of 1.3% to 30% will provide the government with the opportunity to reduce personnel and make the SA National Defence Force more representative of the population mix.

The SANDF, which still has a nearly 80% white officer corps, will shed 24 000 members out 94 000 in a process that will begin at the end of the year and continue for "a number of years", says Defence Minister Joe Modise.

The reduction of personnel — particularly white males — will take place through natural attrition, severance packages and retrenchment mechanisms. Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils says less than 5000 men and women in the force were drawn from the old liberation armies because many "went into politics and the private sector".

The government yesterday made it clear that a black officer corps of just 22,5% was not good enough. Modise said he was "concerned about the slow pace of change and I am seriously examining the problem at the highest levels".

Addressing a media briefing at Parliament, Mr Modise said there was now a black officer, General Davidson Thamba Masuku, in command of defence medical services, one of four services of the defence force. Generals Gilbert Ramano and Mojo Motau are deputy chiefs of the army and defence intelligence respectively while Lt General Siphiwe Nyanda was the deputy chief of the defence force.

Asked if Nyanda was likely to replace Gen Georg Meiring as chief of the defence force, Modise said the incumbent was only retiring in 1999. It would be the decision of the then head of state — expected to be present Deputy President Thabo Mbeki — to appoint his replacement.

Kasrils said Motau was earmarked to take over defence intelligence in June when the present incumbent retired.

Modise said that unless the SANDF became fully representative of the people of South Africa, "our people will not accept it". Members of the force were, therefore, to be judged "on their attitude to transformation", said the minister.



JOE MODISE: SANDF must become fully representative or our people will not accept it.

This year force members would go through a civic education programme to familiarise themselves with the Constitution and Bill of Rights, civil-military relations in a democracy, international humanitarian law, respect for cultural diversity and military professionalism in a democracy.

Kasrils, said there were about 40 white generals and 135 white brigadiers "but the number is coming down" as senior management levels took severance packages but defence Secretary Pierre Steyn said there were 140 to 150 generals and brigadiers of whom 35 were "of colour", black, brown or otherwise.

The minister said rationalisation of the entire defence force would involve non-renewal of short-term contracts, forced retrenchment, voluntary severance packages and natural attrition. "Those affected would be given the reasons for the proposed retrenchment, and informed at least three months before the last day of their service."

Staff whose posts were abolished would not necessarily be laid off, and not all those in posts retained would escape retrenchment. Those retrenched would receive negotiated packages, the details of which were still to be announced.



RONNIE KASRILS: Rationalisation will involve non-renewal of short-term contracts.

Procedures to appeal against retrenchment would be included in a redrafting of the Special Tribunal Act which the minister expected would be passed by Parliament this year. "A special tribunal will be able to adjudicate any disputes and claims after December 31," he predicted.

Modise said the rationalisation programme included the setting up of regional transition support centres "to offer retrenched members training and help them find employment in civil society".

While conscription of young people into the defence force "may" have been a matter of discussion, the defence ministry was not considering this option because calls for voluntary service were always over-subscribed.

He said the government wanted the part time force to expand "New part time force units based in townships and rural villages must be developed so that this force becomes representative of the population."

● The renaming of military units, including regiments, were not being envisaged but new regiments would reflect the names of regiments which existed before the creation of the defence force and "struggle" formations, the minister said.

Mzimela leads up to Galileo

DONWALD PRESSLY

DR Sipo Mzimela, the turbulent priest who has defied the odds to keep his job as national Correctional Services minister added a new riddle to the political vocabulary yesterday. "I'll follow the lead of Galileo."

The embattled Mzimela, an Anglican priest-turned-politician, has taken the controversies over recent public statements in his stride and he now looks set to keep his post in the cabinet although he has repeated his support for a merger between his own party, Inkatha Freedom Party, and the ruling African National Congress.

Last month the IFP national council forced him to apologise — and passed a motion of no confidence in him — for making statements in support of a merger without consulting the movement.

Addressing a media briefing on his portfolio shortly after his leader and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi emphatically stated that the debate over his future was over and speculation that he would lose his job "now rests", Mzimela said he would follow Galileo's example.

Afterwards he explained that "in a democracy" he was entitled to his own view about the need for a merger which he said would do SA good.

He dismissed arguments that it may weaken multi-party democracy "as there are seven other parties" operating in the political arena. He said political co-operation need not take the form of a merger, but could also follow the example of the Christian Social Union and Christian Democratic Union in Germany which had long co-operated in government, but remained separate parties.

Although he did not spell out Galileo's example it refers to the Roman Catholic church demanding that the astronomer recant his theory that the earth revolved around the sun. The astronomer (1564-1642) recanted but was understood to have muttered under his breath "It does still move."

Asked if he expected to keep his job, Mzimela said President Mandela had the prerogative to dismiss or appoint cabinet ministers. Mandela had not given any indication to him that he wished to replace him.

Buthelezi, who as Dr Mzimela's party leader, must request the president to remove him. However, Buthelezi yesterday said Mzimela's future position would depend on his political behaviour in future.

Earlier this week Buthelezi thanked Mandela for supporting merger initiatives but rejected the offer on the grounds that it would be counterproductive to democracy. He, however, said yesterday that he was not a "crystal-ball" gazer and could not assess what political alliances could result in the future. There were "no plans" for alliances at present.

Asked if his repeated support for a merger did not further compromise him with his party, Mzimela said that his party had disciplined him for expressing his views before consulting with his colleagues. They had not disciplined him for his personal views.

the charges.
He opposed the...
Modise to cut defence staff

(254) DD 13/2/98

Stephen Laufer

CAPE TOWN — Draft plans for the downsizing of the defence force from 94 000 members to 70 000 over three years and the merging of units would be presented to the defence ministry next month, a parliamentary briefing was told yesterday.

Defence Minister Joe Modise also announced that Voortrekkerhoogte and other military installations names would be changed this year and that new regiments reflecting the liberation struggle would be founded.

Modise said he was concerned about the slow progress in the defence force towards reflecting the country's diversity. Only 22,5% of defence force officers were black and only 11 out of more than 50 generals were black, he said.

He said the number of general officers would be cut as the force downsized. Downsizing would be achieved through natural attrition, intergovernmental transfers, nonrenewal of short-term contracts, voluntary severance packages, and retrenchment.

Modise suggested that retrenched soldiers might be employed by companies transporting

cash. He said the defence force did not have the resources to transport cash.

He said mergers could allow the defence force to concentrate resources to help the police and to acquire capital equipment. Just 13% of the present budget went to capital costs. Restructuring would allow this to rise to 30% over three years.

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said sections of the Defence Act passed in 1957 were unconstitutional and would be amended this year.

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Defence minister aims to change name of Voortrekkerhoogte to 'reflect change'

DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT



Minister of Defence: Joe Modise says names will change

Pretoria - Voortrekkerhoogte, the major military area here, is to be renamed this year to reflect transformation in his department, said Defence Minister Joe Modise. He said that a change in symbols was important and Voortrekkerhoogte was regarded as an important symbol. It is understood that no formal decision has been taken on the new name yet.

However, it is believed the area may be renamed in honour of a top liberation struggle leader. The names of other military establishments also are expected to be changed. Voortrekkerhoogte originally was established as an army camp almost 100 years ago. It was named Roberts Heights in honour of Roberts, Earl of Kandahar, Pretoria and Waterford. He was commander-in-chief of all British troops in South

Africa during the South African War. The area contains the majority of the country's top military establishments except for defence headquarters which is located in eastern Pretoria at present. Voortrekkerhoogte is the home of thousands of military officers and their families as well as sports stadiums, officers' clubs, parade grounds, 1 Military Hospital, training academies, the army school and shopping facilities.

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254 Germans want SA SMMEs in on bid

Sowetan 17/2/98

By Shadrack Mashalaba

A GERMAN consortium bidding to secure the contract to supply the South African Navy with four new corvettes has issued an invitation to small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) to take part in its tender bid.

The company, German Frigate Consortium (GFC), said it would set aside a substantial amount of contract work for SMMEs' development in the country.

The small businesses which stand to benefit include those involved in areas such as electronics, outfitting, metal piping and construction.

GFC's invitation to small businesses follows an announcement by the Government last week that it would select a winning bidder to supply it with more than R12 billion worth of arms by July.

The acquisition programme covers the purchasing of four corvettes, four submarines, six maritime helicopters, 48 fighter aircraft, 60 utility helicopters and 108 tanks.

Generating jobs

GFC project manager Sven Moeller said its countertrade and investment package was capable of generating up to 4 000 jobs – "in effect, recovering the entire cost of the ships".

According to GFC, the corvette

contract has huge implications for SMMEs in industrial participation and counter-trade – creating wealth that can flow widely into the South African economy, particularly to small local suppliers.

Other components of the GFC's package, said Moeller, are directed specifically at meeting objectives of the RDP.

These include an initial amount of R19 million to set up a low-cost housing scheme capable of providing 20 000 specifically-designed prefabricated housing units in the first year of operation.

For more information on the offer contact Moeller at (011) 626-3370.

Generals under fire over army integration

UK report says Defence Force campaign is a dud

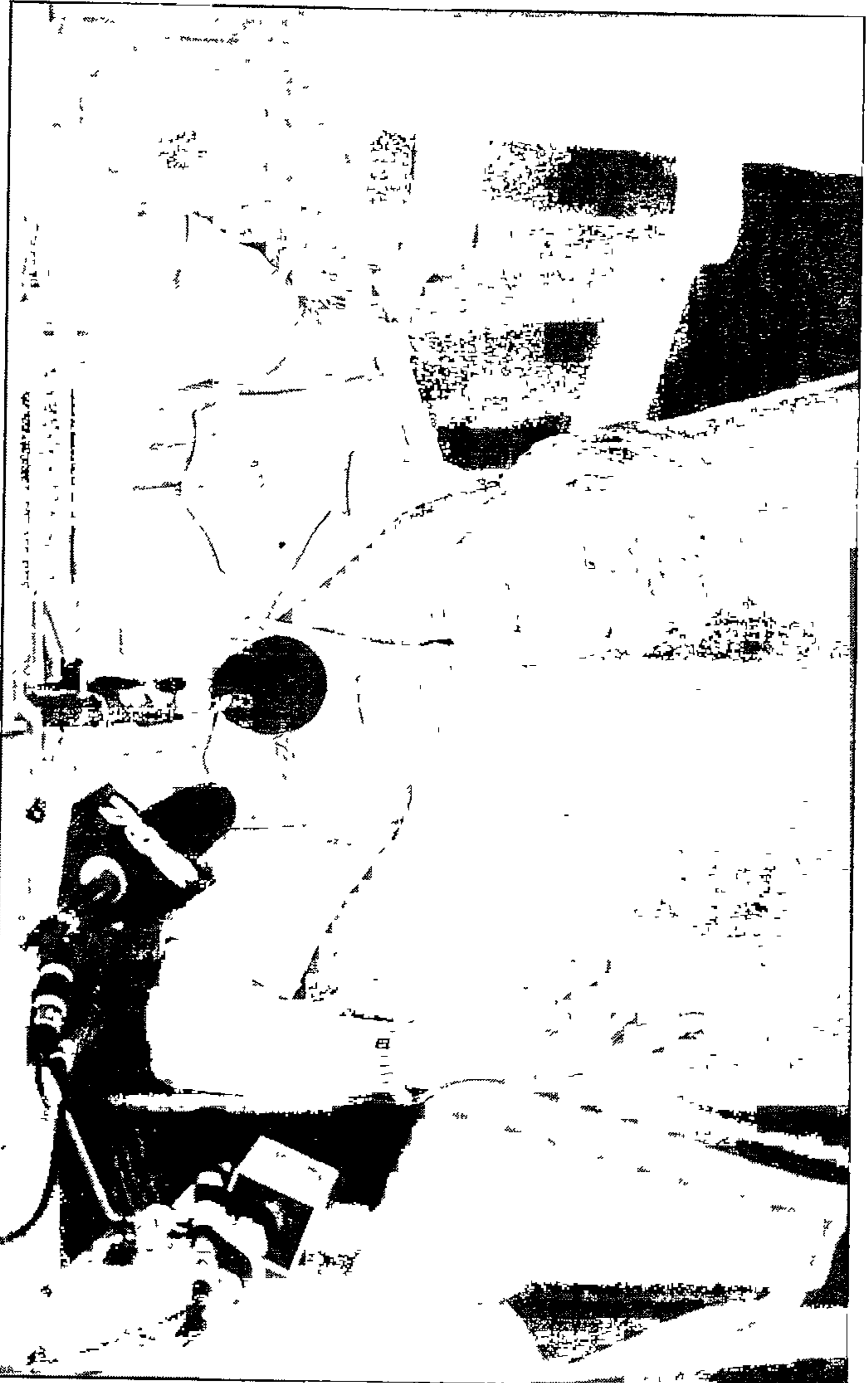
(274)

YRIL MADLALA
Political Correspondent

of ex-SADF officers who feel that the former non-statutory force members are not being fairly treated

THE parliamentary committee charged with overseeing integration in the defence force meets tomorrow to discuss an explosive report by British military experts. The British Military Advisory and Training Team says the attitudes of the South African

After nearly three-and-a-half years of integration, no one, including ourselves, can help but notice little in the physical structure of army training institutions to show any ex-non-statutory force ownership. Very few room names, street names, flags, symbols, pictures or traditions come from the non-statutory forces.



COUNTER-OFFENSIVE: Army chief Lt-Gen Reginald Otto, who says British advisers have 'denied their credibility' Pictorial: FRANKY DE BLOIS

254

ST 22 | 2/98

Military's top management have hardened against former guerillas in their ranks, and warns of "far-reaching" implications. The British team was brought in as a referee in the establishment of a new South African defence force, which integrates the defence forces of the former South African government and independent homelands, with the military formations of the liberation movements, or non-statutory forces.

A report the team prepared for the parliamentary committee last year has led to bitter exchanges between its commander, Brigadier Paul Davis, and the chief of the South African Army, Lieutenant-General Reginald Otto. The report says

"We have formed a clear impression that the attitudes of some top-level management in the SA Army and the SA Medical Service have hardened noticeably. Since the beginning of 1997 we have noted that there are an increasing number of ex-non-statutory force personnel who are now joined by a number

Thus, many of (them) firmly feel they are being absorbed rather than integrated. The implications of this are far-reaching".

Regrettably, the delegation of interest seems to have coincided with a marked change in attitude towards integration (which) can be traced back to the first quarter of the year".

The British experts say they have had to raise "yellow cards" and a "red card" on a number of integration issues where they identified "loud play".

An example is the case of 187 soldiers undergoing integration who were court-martialled and dismissed, and were all dealt with in the same way despite differing ranks, military records and roles in the incident.

There have been many similar incidents since 1994 but none of them were dealt with in this unprecedented manner. The discussions have led to the questioning of the representivity at courts martial," the report says.

It also notes that service certificates of former non-statutory force members were lost,

but when new ones were asked for and produced, the old ones were "suddenly" found, and

"The process of formally integrating the former statutory forces has started, albeit somewhat hesitantly. However, progress to date has been very slow".

In response to the report, Otto wrote to Davis "If the perception of a hardening of attitude towards the integration process is experienced, it is quite possible that the author of the above report might be mistaken by the management of priorities".

"The good morale of our soldiers as well as the effective management of the South African Army remains important to us. Therefore, you are requested to elaborate on the statements that were made in the report as summarised in the following table by referring to date, time, place and persons involved".

In November, Davis furnished the army chief with scores of incidents and reports

When the Minister of Defence, Joe Modise, called the army to account, Otto wrote "I am of the opinion that the British Military Advisory and Training Team have dented their credibility and reputation as an unbiased referee by providing information at odds with feedback from commands and formations".

He said he was of the opinion that the British report conveyed perceptions only, and did not grant due recognition to the successes of integration.

The South African Army was managing the integration process in its totality and remained convinced that the process was working and being made to work, he said. "Therefore, I find the nature, innuendoes and generalist approach of the report very disappointing".

The South African Army has, however, taken the report seriously and will give attention to those aspects which require action, especially in the field of communication," Otto said.

Cease-fire campaign urges defence fund cut

CT (PR) 24/2/98 (254)

ADELE SHEVEL

Johannesburg — The Cease-fire Campaign, a campaign for demilitarisation, yesterday sent a letter to Trevor Manuel, the finance minister, asking him to reduce military spending.

The association said the defence department planned to spend over R9 billion in the forthcoming Budget. It has urged Manuel to reduce the defence budget and transfer the savings to departments that contributed directly and substantially to the reconstruction of the country.

In the letter, the association said the R9,2 billion represented an increase in nominal terms against last year's Budget and a slight decrease in real terms.

"We understand that the defence department will have substantially overspent its budget for the current year. The department must be made to realise that it is subject to the financial constraints imposed by parliament, and parliament must be firm in its resolve to reduce

military spending in favour of other priorities.

"We have also urged (Manuel) to ensure that Armscor does not commit itself to arms purchases for completion within the next 10 years. Such purchases should not be considered until there is at least some possibility of a direct military threat, otherwise the arms will become obsolete by the time they are needed and the country will, once again, be faced with a repetition of the heavy capital expenditure needed for arms purchases."

The campaign said the only threats to peace and security in South Africa in the foreseeable future were socioeconomic.

It said military spending should be curbed because the defence department was projecting vast expenditure on arms purchases from 2001 onwards.

The letter said the campaign had been endorsed by more than 100 arms control, peace, human rights, development, women's rights and veterans organisations in more than 12 countries.

Ceasefire campaign calls for cut in defence budget

Dustin Chick

BD 24/2/98 (254)

THE Ceasefire Campaign has criticised high defence spending in SA and called on Finance Minister Trevor Manuel to further reduce the size of the defence budget when he announces this year's budget in Parliament next month.

Rob Thomson, an executive member of the antigun organisation, said Manuel was em-



Year ended	Year ended 30 June
1996 R000	1997 R000
415 133	425 328
11 760	28 140
233	169
11 000	28 200

'Police gave Bopape electrical shocks'

PRETORIA — Police subjected African National Congress (ANC) activist Stanley Bopape to three electrical shocks before his death in detention in 1988, the truth commission heard yesterday.

In testimony before the amnesty committee at Vista University, Mamelodi, former policeman Lieut-Col Adrian van Niekerk said that when Bopape's head fell forward they knew something was wrong. He said police later learned that Bopape suffered from a heart condition.

Bopape was questioned at John Vorster Square police headquarters in Johannesburg on June 12 1988 about his suspected involvement in several Pretoria bomb attacks. Van Niekerk said the attacks included a bomb explosion at a crèche in Proes Street, and another at a juicy Lucy restaurant in Vermeulen Street.

Van Niekerk and nine other former policemen are seeking amnesty for offences arising from the death of Bopape, a former ANC activist.

Bopape was general-secretary of the Mamelodi civic association at the time.

Retired police commissioner Johan van der Merwe is one of the amnesty applicants. Police initially claimed that Bopape escaped while being escorted to Vermeulen by police and disappeared.

Five of the 10 applicants are seeking amnesty for the killing of Bopape. They are Van Niekerk, Maj Charles Zeebe, and constables Hendrik Mostert, Jacobus Engelbrecht and Johan du Preez.

In their application, they say Bopape was arrested in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, and taken to John Vorster Square on June 10 1988.

There he was held without trial under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Bopape was subsequently tortured and killed.

Two other applicants, Brig Schalk Visser and Capt Leon van Loggenberg, have applied for amnesty for their role in the disposal of Bopape's body.

Van der Merwe and two other former police generals, Gerrit Erasmus and Petrus du Toit, are seeking amnesty for covering up the reasons for Bopape's death.

Van Niekerk said police felt Bopape's death in detention would spark new unrest, and they decided to fake his escape.

He said electrical shocks were used because Bopape refused to co-operate. "We wrapped the ends of the wire in cloth to prevent any burning marks on his skin."

The hearing is to continue — Sapa

BD 24/2/98

Thomson said it was "unproductive" capital expenditure for government to spend money on defence equipment when people were "unable to eat guns".

He said the tender would bolster continued military spending and would promote foreign manipulation of the defence industry.

Last year's budget left the defence force with R9,2bn at its disposal, but this included a R300m concession made by the finance department. This would mean this year's budget, predicted at R9,2bn, would in real terms be up on last year's figure of R8,9bn, Thomson said.

Government was not taking into account the hidden and potential costs when budgeting for the defence department.

Thomson said the on-ly threat facing SA was a socioeconomic one.

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Stop selling arms, says archbishop

DONWALD PRESSLY

CT 26/2/98

(254)

SOUTH AFRICA should stop selling arms to African countries and the continent should be turned into a "no-guns" zone, says Anglican Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane

He believes the government should implement a national conversion strategy to turn arms-producing facilities, such as Denel, into institutions which serve national needs such as industrial renewal, environmental restoration, sustainable development and renewable energy

Speaking at a conference organised by the Coalition for Defence Alternatives, Ndungane said the church stood behind job and wealth-creation, "but we cannot go along with the philosophy that says jobs at any cost"

Answering Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's call for an African Renaissance, he said it was contradictory to exacerbate conflicts in Africa through the sale of arms

"We as a country are in an ideal position to export our experiences of negotiation, mediation and reconciliation and yet we opt to export the violent alternative which puts the lives of countless men, women and children at risk and destroys the infrastructure of countries sharing this continent with us"

South Africa should not be competing with the superpowers in selling arms, he said "Instead, we should be at the forefront of a campaign to boycott all arms sales to Africa"

Mr Terry Crawford-Browne of Economists Allied for Arms Reduction said the country's struggle against apartheid was dishonoured when the government approved sales of reconnaissance drones to Algeria, "or when President Mandela promoted oil for G6 artillery to Saudi Arabia"

He said the National Conventional Arms Control Committee's motivation for permitting exports was to reduce the unit costs of equipment required by the SANDF

for its defensive posture, "but G6s or Rooivalk attack helicopters by no stretch of the imagination can be considered defensive"

More than R2 billion in development funding for the Rooivalk had come from taxpayers' funds, Crawford-Browne said

"About 250 jobs are at stake, or R8 million per job. With not one foreign sale materialising, how many teachers or nurses could be employed for R8m?" he asked

The armaments marketing arm, Denel, had assets of R4bn but returned "a paltry dividend to taxpayers of R20m" last year

Dr Ian Phillips, special adviser to Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe, said his department and the defence department were working together to rationalise 1 300 military bases, many of them in rural areas and along the borders.

He said "downsizing" the defence force by up to 25 000 people would be done through consultation — Parliamentary Bureau

All parties back ban on mercenaries

ET 27/2/98

(254)

DONWALD PRESSLY

THE country that gave the world Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare and harboured French soldier-of-fortune Colonel Bob Denard is poised to place a blanket ban on mercenary activity

Defence Minister Joe Modise says the Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill "is a unique and exceptional piece of legislation" — a world first

The bill will ban South African citizens and residents from taking part in mercenary activities abroad. It was backed by all seven parties in the National Assembly yesterday

Modise said this agreement indicated growing cross-party consensus on defence matters

The measure will now go to the National Council of Provinces before being signed into law by President Nelson Mandela.

Col Hoare was involved in an abortive *coup d'etat* in the Seychelles, Col Denard temporarily ruled the Comoros in the 1980s, and various mercenary movements based in South Africa have supported military formations in Angola and Mozambique

Modise said that although mercenary activity was being outlawed, the legislation provided "fair regulation" for legitimate

military assistance to foreign democratic states

The arbitrating body to decide on these legitimate activities was the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, chaired by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal. A final decision would be taken by the defence minister

The minister said the bill would preclude any South African citizen, resident or company from taking part as a combatant, or combatants, in armed conflict for private gain, nationally or internationally

Contravening its provisions could lead to a fine of up to R1 million or imprisonment for up to 10 years or both

Parliament outlaws the dogs of war

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

(254)

FRAG 27/2/98

All parties in Parliament united to support legislation which will stop South Africans working illegally as mercenaries abroad

The Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill, approved by the National Assembly yesterday, has been refined from a version which some lobby groups argued contained too-wide definitions

The first version of the Bill could have been interpreted as preventing South Africans involved in legitimate conflict resolution groups working in foreign countries

The Bill will stop recruitment and training of South Africans, at home or abroad, to take part in mercenary activities, defined as direct participation in armed conflict for private gain

The Bill will allow the minister, in consultation with the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, to authorise foreign military activities by private bodies

Kader Asmal, head of the arms control committee, said in the National Assembly that the measure was unique to South Africa, which in the past had had its image damaged by the activities of South African mercenaries

"We must now draw a line in the African sand. we will never again tolerate such activities."

DEFENCE ACQUISITION

Military renewal plan hits fiscal wall

Arms spending drops to 14% of Defence budget from 44% in 1989

SA's proposed military renewal programme may be little more than wish-fulfilment

A leading military analyst says the future force structure and rearmament plan of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF), contained in the key Defence Review, is simply too expensive

Based on Cabinet's acceptance of the Defence Review last June, several foreign nations have outlined what they have to offer SA by way of essential materiel replacement (*Current Affairs* January 16)

The foreign sellers' proposals to SA generally comprise "packages" in which some weaponry is offered "free" as inducements to buy more expensive hardware. And this month Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils invited prospective sellers to make formal "best and final offers". Optimistically, he added "We are looking to the end of May 1998 as our deadline"

That date could slip

The Defence Review sketches a "force design" that would include a volunteer, 22 000-strong, peacetime combat force, 28 000 support troops and 20 000 civilians supported by 69 800 part-time members, and upgraded or new equipment, including four corvettes (see table)

In pursuit of military deals — of which the final price-tag could be R25bn-28bn at current prices — salesmen for such items as light utility helicopters and fighter aircraft have been lobbying in SA for some time

Countertrade and offset rules for defence procurement have been publicised and amended — so that at present, in theory, refurbishment of the SANDF should be linked to internally generated economic activity. This should match forex outflows

SA has also sensibly stated that fiscal restraints mean the deals must only contemplate payments after a 30-month grace period. In addition, indications are that SA will choose from a "menu" of the offered equipment. If any country were to become a sole supplier, SA would be unreasonably indebted to it for decades

The affordability of the various offers under consideration is questionable. Ac-

ording to Jakkie Cilliers, director of the Midrand-based Institute for Security Studies, "the unrealistic force design needs some serious pruning if the military is to fit under its budget ceiling". He expects this year there could be "an announcement on the acquisition of the corvettes and their associated maritime helicopters, the refurbishment of the Daphne submarines to stretch their life — and little beyond that"

Cilliers — in an Institute paper due to be

The background of Defence cuts indicates the problem Cilliers says "The allocation for 1997/1998 was R9,4bn, down from about R17bn (in 1997 rand) in 1989". Defence spending is now projected to remain pegged at 1,6% of GDP — meaning it will decline from 7,4% of non-interest spending in 1997/1998 to 6,8% in 2000/2001. Operating cuts, including re-trenchments, will be inevitable

Cilliers points out that "only R1,3bn (14%) is to be spent on capital procurement compared to the 44% or R7,5bn spent in 1989". Meanwhile, "fixed costs have remained high and the only avenue (for fiscal discipline) has been slashing capital expenses. The result has been the virtual decimation of the local defence industry and little more than crisis acquisition"

Defence Minister Joe Modise has warned that much of SA's major military systems will be obsolete by 2005. While it must be assumed that he and Kasrils are talking to their book, there seems little doubt of the

validity of Cilliers' evaluation — that the force structure set out in the Defence Review must be reconsidered

Cilliers says this means "SA has yet to define the roles and missions of the SANDF appropriately. And Cabinet has yet to demonstrate its commitment to finance its approved policies"

Nongovernmental organisations and lobbies such as the Coalition for Defence Alternatives will be delighted. In an open letter to President Nelson Mandela earlier this year, the coalition argued "Democratic SA has inherited an apartheid debt legacy of over R300bn which limits government's ability to meet the aspirations of the Reconstruction & Development Programme"

"Yet both parliament and the Cabinet have approved

the SANDF's applications for new equipment, subject to the availability of funding. We are bewildered that new warships for the Navy, fighter aircraft for the Air Force or tanks for the Army apparently hold priority over education"

The sting lies in the phrase "availability of funding". If Cilliers is correct, the military brass will have to do their figures again — and the arms salesmen will have to look for new markets for their hardware while the SANDF declines into impotence

Peter Wilhelm

THE SANDF'S OVERSEAS ACQUISITION WISH LIST

Description	Quantity	Est cost	Countries bidding
Corvettes	4	R4bn	• Britain • Germany
Maritime helicopters (for corvettes)	5	R1bn	• France • Spain • France/Germany
New submarines (to replace Daphnes)	4	R6bn	• Britain • Germany • France • Italy • Sweden
Light utility helicopters	60	R2bn	• Italy • France/Germany
Advanced light fighters	48	R6bn-R9bn	• Canada • Britain/Sweden • Germany
Battle tanks (to replace Olifants)	154	R6bn	• France • Britain
TOTAL COST (1998 rand)		R25bn-R28bn	

published this week — states that "at best, the approval of the force design by Cabinet constitutes approval in principle for the maintenance of the specified capabilities at an approximate level or for the consideration of acquisition programmes"

Neither the existing Defence budget, nor proposals contained in the Finance Department's Medium-term Expenditure Framework, can sustain a military force on the scale outlined in the Defence Review, which, according to Cilliers, would cost R5,1bn/year at "combat capability"

US lifts arms blockade on SA - all clear for R1-billion deals

MARCO GRANELLI

Pretoria - A United States blockade of South African armaments companies has been lifted with immediate effect, opening the way for trade and joint co-operation deals worth more than R1-billion.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and his US counterpart, Al Gore, jointly announced the lifting of the US debarment of Armscor, Denel and Fuchs Elec-

tronics last night following a telephone conversation and the visit to Pretoria this week of US arms experts for talks with the South Africans.

The lifting of the prohibition on these companies is the final step in the normalisation of armaments trade between the two countries and was to have taken place during the fifth binational commission between South Africa and the US in Pretoria this week.

However, the commission was postponed last week

after President Bill Clinton ordered Mr Gore to stay on home soil in the light of the Gulf crisis.

Foreign Affairs said last night the two men had instead concluded the transaction during a telephone conversation.

Until now the South African arms companies have been prohibited from participating in deals involving US defence technology, service and articles of US origin because of sanctions-busting activities during the apartheid era.

(254) AKA 28/2/98

SA defence agreement with the US - at last

(254) Star 28/2/98
By RICH MKHONDO

Washington - The United States arms embargo on Armscor and affiliated companies because of apartheid-era arms smuggling indictments has been lifted, paving the way for millions of dollars worth of arms trade between South Africa and the US.

US Vice-President Al Gore and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in a joint statement they had ratified a joint defence industry compliance programme during transatlantic discussions yesterday, immediately opening the way for renewed arms trade with the US.

The settlement opens the way for the SA defence industry to seek contracts to supply the US military and to facilitate technology transfers, to license military and forge closer military links.

The compliance programme was part of last February's settlement of the six-year-old US arms smuggling case in which Armscor, Kentron, a subsidiary, and a private company Fuchs Electronics, agreed to pay the US government R60-million in fines.

Smuggled weapons

They pleaded guilty to a host of charges, including to breaking the arms embargo, and to several US laws by smuggling weapons parts from a Pennsylvania company.

Lawyers from both countries were initially confident it would take three to six months to finalise the programme, but it has taken longer, partly because of what Defence Minister Joe Modise called bureaucratic red tape.

But this week, technical experts from both countries formalised the South African defence industry compliance programme in Pretoria, to ensure that the two countries did not pass secrets to third parties or other countries.

Since 1991, when the Armscor case began, successive US administrations, the ANC Government toiled in vain to resolve the impasse was broken, the US demanded heavy fines and wanted to be able to monitor future exports of arms to Armscor to make sure they did not end up with undesirable end-users such as arch-enemies Iran, Libya, Cuba and Syria.

Modise said agreement on the compliance programme had been difficult to reach, and the document was revised many times. - Independent Foreign Service

Armcor to lay off hundreds of workers

(254)

Staff contracts will not be renewed and voluntary retrenchment will be encouraged at a later date

Byron 2/7/98

By **NORMAN CHANDLER**
Defence Correspondent

Armcor is to follow the lead of the South African National Defence Force and the country's largest armaments company, Denel, by laying off hundreds of staff because of shrinking budgets

It is not yet clear how many of its 1 000 staff will be leaving but it is understood that the rationalisation process has already started.

More than 20 000 personnel are being retrenched over a three-year period from the SANDF, while Denel has embarked on a major rationalisation programme, affecting particularly head-office staff. Until six years ago, Denel was part of Armcor.

A spokesman for Armcor said at the weekend: "The present actions are part of a continuous process and involve rightsizing as part of the business plan to become a more efficient procurement organi-

sation, offering our clients a more cost-effective service."

He said the exercise came at an awkward period because there was every hope they would obtain government-to-government contracts, which would increase their workload. Also, the defence force's 13% capital expenses budget for new equipment was likely to reach 30%.

Armcor, which shares a huge glass-fronted building in Pretoria East with the SANDF and the Ministry of Defence, says it is ensuring that the retrenchment programme is undertaken in "a very mature way and not arbitrarily"

It is understood that the organisation's executive chairman, Ron Haywood, told staff last week it was only because of Defence Ministry budget cuts that Armcor had had to cut back on staff, and gave the assurance that care would be taken that key projects and staff dealing with those projects would, as far as possible, not be affected

Armcor has decided that staff on contract would not have their contracts renewed, and this would be followed by consultation with staff members who are over the age of 55 before further retrenchments take place.

Voluntary retrenchment of other staff would be encouraged at a later date.

Armcor is closely involved with the procurement of new materiel for the defence force, in particular the R12-billion programme involving new corvettes, helicopters, submarines, main battle tanks and light attack aircraft

Various countries - including Britain, Sweden, Canada, France, and Germany - are vying for contracts expected to result in a R12-billion industrial participation offset for South Africa

A major conference on sourcing of industrial participation projects is to start at Kyalami, near Midrand, tomorrow.

Armcor to cut back on staff

BD 3/3/98 (254)

PRETORIA — Arms procurer Armcor yesterday confirmed plans to cut back on staff, but said details were still being worked out.

"Details on the extent of the downsizing are not available at this stage. They will be finalised in consultation with staff," a spokesman said.

He said Armcor was part of the defence ministry and would inevitably be affected by the shrinking budget of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF).

The SANDF is also preparing to retrench more than 20 000 employees over a three-year period to cope with drastic budget cuts. Arms manufacturer Denel recently also announced a 50% cut in the staff component at its Pretoria head office.

Armcor said downsizing was part of a continuous process to improve efficiency, and to offer its clients a more cost-effective service.

"We would like to say that the exercise comes at a rather awkward period as there is every hope that we will get government-to-government contracts which will certainly increase our workload." It also was hoped that a gradual increase in the SANDF's capital spending from the current 13% to 30% would augment business.

"We therefore see growth ahead, but have to look at downsizing for this immediate period to fit within the constraints of the shrinking defence budget," the spokesman said.

Armcor's 1 000 staff were last week told that retrenchments would be inevitable. It was, however, unlikely that the number of workers affected would run into hundreds. The first step would be not to renew the contracts of some temporary staff. Workers approaching retirement would also be considered for retrenchment. — Sapa

SA navy trains first black commodores

BDB/3/98

(254)

Pule Molebeledi

AN INTENSIVE two-year training programme has already begun for the first two African commodores, who are also the highest ranking African members in the history of the SA Navy, Rear-Adm Martin Trainor said yesterday.

Trainor, who is chief of naval support, said the two officers, Johannes Mudimu and Mosoeu Magalefa, had completed their naval orientation at the Naval College in Gordons Bay.

The two officers were drafted from the nonstatutory forces and transferred from the SA National Defence Force two months back in line with the defence force's representivity programme.

They both held positions of brigadier before they were promoted.

Mudimu was formerly the director of Umkhonto we Sizwe personnel integration at defence headquarters. Magalefa was the head of the Azanian People's Liberation Army closing down programme also at headquarters.

The final appointments of the officers will only be decided on completion of their training in 2000.

In the interim, they will be held against the posts of Insp Gen (navy) and chief of naval staff intelligence.

Magalefa said that even though he had only been wearing the navy's uniform for a month, he was quite

familiar with naval issues because he had handled them during the integration process.

He said there was still a future for the navy, not only to protect the country's vast borders but also its economy. "You therefore cannot wish the navy away," he said.

Referring to the rationalisation of the defence force, Magalefa said it was not a question of black or white, but of making a truly representative force that would enjoy the confidence of all the country's citizens.

Trainor said the officers would now proceed with an advanced eight months senior-management course — viewed as a military Masters in Business Administration.

Key aspects of the course entailed training in strategy, management, operations and communications.

The officers would be staff qualified by the end of October "and that has a special connotation, it is not like ordinary staffing." Next year, they would go on a five-month joint-staff course at the highest level of the defence force where they would be drilled on issues of strategy again.

This would be followed by personal exposure and experience.

"They do not need to be pampered and will not be pampered. But they will be given lots of jobs to do where they can really be immersed in the navy and learn to cope with typical problems," he said.



NEW COMMODORE Rear-Admiral Martyn Trainor and Commodore Mosoeu Magalefa of the SA navy.

PICTURE: PATRICIA HAGEN

From army to navy 'a challenge'

(2/4)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

CT 6/3/98

PRETORIA The change from a khaki to a white uniform is of no concern to Commodore Mosoeu Magalefa

He said the literal translation of his name was white and added, seriously, that he saw the move from brigadier in the SA army to commodore in the navy as a big challenge "Every day of our lives we are faced with challenges and my move to the navy I see as yet another challenge

"Our coastline forms our longest border and the navy must protect and defend the country's interests," he said at navy headquarters here yesterday

Magalefa and Commodore Johannes Mudimu are the first two senior officers from the former non-statutory forces to be appointed by the navy

The pair leave this weekend for Gordon's Bay, where they will attend a naval command and staff course — the highest course in the navy — until October, and next year the pair will do the joint staff course, after which they will occupy positions involved with strategy, planning, intelligence and the inspector-general of the navy

Navy No 2 in command, Rear-Admiral Martyn Trainor, said the new commodores were a bridgehead between the large numbers of black, Indian and coloured members of the navy and the senior officer echelon

Asked if he had been to sea yet, Magalefa said "Yes, for a short trip. I shot a gun and was not seasick — my stomach is strong"

Former freedom fighters appointed to top posts in SA Navy

By **NORMAN CHANDLER**
Defence Correspondent

Two former senior liberation-war soldiers have been appointed to high-ranking positions in the navy

Commodores Mosoèu Magalefa and Johannes Mudimu, appointed a month ago, are to be given the rank of rear-admiral (junior grade) from April 1.

Their new ranks are in keeping with the transformation of the SA National Defence Force's ranking sys-

tem, which will see several top officers in the army, navy, air force and medical corps being given new titles

Rear-Admiral Martyn Trainor told a media briefing in Pretoria yesterday that the appointment of Magalefa, a former camp commander with Apla forces, and Mudimu, deputy chief of personnel with Umkhonto

we Sizwe, was regarded as "making a big impression" on the future personnel make-up of the navy

"The two officers do not

have in-depth naval experience, but their military experience is widespread," he said

"Over the next two years they will acquire a naval background and fill key posts in terms of strategy, planning, intelligence, and with the office of the inspector-general"

Magalefa told the briefing that naval support for the defence of the country was of vital importance

In response to criticism over the past two years that

the country should not continue to have a defence force, he said the "navy cannot be wished away" in any circumstances

He added: "We have gone through a period of negotiation (in respect of the SANDF) There has not been an overnight change. The constitution has laid down certain imperatives which have to be addressed, and one of these is representivity. It is not a question of black and white in the navy we are actually achieving, or

making, the national defence force representative in a manner that will retain the confidence of every citizen That is the objective"

He told reporters that as far as he was concerned, he had earned his rank in the navy even though he had been a brigadier with Apla.

Mudimu did not attend the briefing because of traffic delays

The navy has about 9 000 personnel, of whom 17% are black, 30% coloured and 11% Indian

Star 6/3/98

25/4

...the forgotten army

(254) Star 7/3/98

By SILLA GROBBELAAR

A former MK soldier admits he was a go-between in some of the multimillion-rand highway heists that have plagued this country - heists that were pulled off by his comrades.

All South Africans, and particularly the hierarchy of the ANC, would be shocked by his admission.

But behind the move to crime is a deep well of bitterness in the ranks of the forgotten army.

Former guerrillas of Umkhonto weSizwe contacted the Johannesburg office of the Independent Foreign Service after our newspapers carried articles about the children fathered by ANC cadres in exile who were struggling to eke out an existence. After many phone calls and a number of meetings in and around Johannesburg, the MK men and other exiles told us their stories.

Thousands of returnees who came home to start life in the country they had fought to liberate did so only to find themselves outsiders.

Those who joined the South African National Defence Force were filled with frustration, anger and humiliation by the failure of the integration.

Protest followed angry protest, where they aired their grievances. Then, in August 1995, Defence Minister Joe Modise announced SANDF cutbacks, which meant that 10 000 ex-freedom fighters would have to bow out of the armed forces. As the former commander of the ANC's armed wing, he knew how painful it was for these men and women who had fought long and hard for a democratic South Africa.

In February 1996, angry MK soldiers had marched on Parliament in a bid to be integrated into the SANDF. As early as September 1994, President Mandela came face to face with dissident troops when they marched on the Union Buildings, where he promised he would look into their grievances.

Reluctant to specify to Mandela exactly what those grievances were, the troops returned to base, but not before one soldier had hinted that there was dissatisfaction over the ANC hierarchy's treatment of former MK members.



FUTURE IMPERFECT
Blissfully unaware of what the future held in store for them, toy-toying MK soldiers attended a disbanding in December 1993.
PHOTOGRAPH: NAASHE

did not recognise years of loyal service and sacrifice by the MK cadres. The demobilisation had become a necessary step in downsizing the SANDF to an affordable economic level. The liberals had become an economic statistic - and expendable.

In August 1995 Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela, said at a safety and security summit in Johannesburg that many prisoners were jailed for crimes resulting from a weak economy. Many men who hijack and steal are not evil or lazy - they have no jobs. Unless jobs are created and people regain their self-esteem, the prevention of crime is

his pain in frustration.

His last hope, he says, is to exist in the SANDF and then be demobilised. If this happens he might receive R200 000, with which he would be able to study and expandable.

Only the people with connections get

admit he has thought about turning to crime.

"But, no, I won't do that," he retorts vehemently. "I want a job. I was clever at school. I did well. I come from a good family, and living a life of crime goes against everything I believe in."

Peter - the man who admitted he had helped to set up the heists - interjects quietly. "But the ANC has left us no option. The big problem is that there are very few jobs in the army and even if we could all be employed there, we don't all want to work for the military."

comment," says Peter. "If they tell you we are lying or that we are just bitter, please explain to them we are not dissatisfied. But please tell them they don't realise the level of frustration and disillusionment we have to endure."

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoope said the ex-MK cadres had no justification for turning to crime.

"The Government has set up numerous structures to help people who are suffering from the socio-economic hardships which are a carryover from the apartheid era.

"In the process of addressing the socio-economic problems, the Govern-

Tragic tale of children abandoned by the cadres

By SILLA GROBBELAAR and JOE KHAMISI

Children of Umkhonto weSizwe cadres, left behind when their fathers returned home, face a bleak future in South Africa, Zambia, Tanzania and Angola.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoope has denied that children of ANC members were abandoned by their fathers when they returned to SA between 1991 and 1995. He has also said: "The widows and girlfriends close not to come to SA because they had no contact with their in-laws or other relatives of their dead companions."

But Rose (not her real name), who still has close ties with the ANC and spent 27 years in exile, tells a very different story. She has set up a network to take care of children abandoned by their ANC fathers.

"It is very sad, a tragedy. Fathers abandoned hundreds of children when they returned to South Africa. I have spoken to many of them. When I ask about their children in Lusaka or Angola or Tanzania, they avoid my questions. They are embarrassed. They just don't care. Many of them are doing well in South Africa but don't want the responsibility of looking after the children. There are many cases where the mothers stayed behind with the children when they had the opportunity to come to South Africa. But those who did return with their children were made unwelcome in their in-laws' homes.

The mothers-in-law are the big problem. They won't accept foreign wives and girlfriends and their children. They make their lives a misery."

Mwajuma Ndege Nassoro is one of more than 150 Tanzanian mothers who claim to have been forsaken by their South African husbands and lovers when the Solomon Mahlangu and Mazimbu camps closed in 1995.

Madoda Tshingra, an official at the SA Embassy in Dar es Salaam, says everyone at the camp, regardless of the spouse's nationality, was allowed to leave with their families. Nassoro acknowledges this is true but says the offer was extended to the children only much later.

After an appeal by mothers and organisations in Tanzania to assist 340 children in dire straits there, the ANC has offered financial assistance, but "only to those whose

HUMANITIES, Sciences, Research, Counselling, Agriculture, 1995, found that the SA, pushing support of the ANC, provided a lot of money to demobilised soldiers.

Unlike their counterparts in the statutory forces – the former SADF and TRC territories – MK and Apla veterans had no pension fund or social security backup and would have to start new lives from nothing.

But the rationalisation programme and economic situation in South Africa

men of the US, AR 8 in ER heads of distribution and disappointment.

At 22, Simon has never been a soldier. His father is now a high-ranking officer in the SANDF, but this has not helped him to get employment in the army.

"I refuse to give up hope – even in the face of rationalisation. I would prefer to study engineering. I got a good matric outside the country and I am eligible to attend university but I can't get a bursary," he says, slamming his fist on to

the ANC have dumped us

happening, he shakes his head irritably.

"No. They (the military) have to give me something. I can't live like this."

Simon says he too knows ex-cadres involved in some of the highway heists and confesses that he is embarrassed to

And further. And the quarters of the ANC soldiers who I dumped in South Africa got nothing.

"We have no income, no pension, no medical aid, no housing, and our children could not return with us. And now we can't even earn enough to send money to them," Peter says.

He goes on "It is only the people with connectors who get anywhere. We helped to liberate this country and now the ANC have dumped us."

"When you speak to the ANC for

The Government has built houses, supplied water and electricity to townships and rural areas, and telecommunications are a reality where none existed before.

"The Balfour trust fund, which was set up to help educate returnees, accomplished what it set out to do. It has discharged its duty."

"Every single cent provided by donor countries can be accounted for by the ANC. The ANC has never failed to account for funds from abroad," said Mamopepa – Independent Foreign Service

causes", according to Mamopepa. He says they can claim from the special pension fund approved by the Cabinet.

But this is of little consolation to the rag-tag band of starving children, many of them in Lusaka. Says Rose "Some of them were reasonably all right until their mothers died – many from AIDS. Now they rely on handouts from a woman at (she names the place), who does what she can but it is never enough."

One former MK soldier in Johannesburg says that when the fathers left their children behind, they were promised by the ANC's department of social welfare that a plane would be sent to fetch the children. "This has been a continuous promise since 1994. There are many fathers like me who are

trying to support their children outside the country but the men don't have money," says Peter, who has admitted involvement in highway heists.

"We were expected to join the military when we returned to South Africa. Many of us wanted to follow other careers or study, so the ANC turned its back on us," he says.

Rose says that children get so desperate they travel to South Africa in search of their fathers.

"They go to the ANC headquarters at Shell House but their search is invariably futile."

Two of the children Rose looks after were luckier – for a while. The brother and sister came back to SA with their mother and their father, who was a pilot.

"They were well established, the mother bought a house in the southern suburbs. They had everything but then their father died of AIDS very soon after arriving in Johannesburg. Their mother followed him soon afterwards. The house is registered in the mother's name and we don't have the money to take legal action," she says with a look after these children. I have so many of my own family I have to take care of."

Brother David (11) and sister Daisy (9) agreed to be photographed by the *Saturday Star* as long as their real identities were kept a secret. They don't want their school mates to talk about them.

One of Rose's immediate concerns is where to find enough money to buy a new pair of school shoes for David and pay for both children to get to and from school.

"They miss so much school because we often don't have the money for busfare. It is such a pity because they are both so bright. They shouldn't miss so many classes."

— Independent Foreign Service

In exile she hobnobbed with the ANC elite ... back home she forages in bins

By SILLA GROBBELAAR

At 71, Gelle Tshabalala should be enjoying her twilight years. Especially after her 35 years in exile, But she is despondent.

Today the elderly woman who once rubbed shoulders with the ANC elite has to rely on handouts from friends because the ANC cannot, or will not, fulfil its promise to her and her late husband that as returnees they would receive a house and a pension, and that their children's education would be taken care of.

The couple fled apartheid South Africa in the late 1950s to continue the struggle. They settled first in Zambia, then in Angola and finally Zambia.

Gelle's husband Edward, an MK commander, was often away from Lusaka on ANC military assignments. Gelle stayed at home to take care of their three children and those of other MK cadres who were sent into the field.

"I raised so many ANC children. I can't remember the number. But they are many. Now they are all big, grown up. Sometimes I still see them after all these years."

In 1964 her family life suffered a mortal blow. One of her two young daughters died within a few hours of becoming ill.

"She got sick and died, just a few hours... then she was dead," says Gelle, sitting in the courtyard of a Yeoville block of flats where she was visiting a friend.

Unlike others, she is not afraid to talk about the hardships she has suffered.

"I am not afraid to talk about what has happened because it is the truth. We cannot be afraid of the truth."

"When we were in exile the ANC looked after us. They promised when we came back to South Africa in 1991 they would educate our children and provide housing and money. The only money we received was from the United Nations grants for returnees. But in 1993 and 1994 that money was stopped. There was talk of corruption. Since we returned home, the ANC has not given us anything. What can I do? I am too old to work and what I am sick."

Gelle is not bitter. Just weary, disillusioned and sad. She plucks at the skirt she is wearing and takes off a black



REFLECTIONS: Gelle Tshabalala is weary. After sacrificing 35 years of her life in exile she has lost all hope of finding security. She has no home and no income, and survives only because of the generosity of friends

PHOTOGRAPHS THYS DULLAART



SILHOUETTES Shadows of their former selves, two children of the struggle live from hand to mouth after their parents died of AIDS

shoe, rubbing the worn heel with gnarled fingers.

"These are still the clothes I wore in Lusaka. I have no money to buy clothes or food."

Within a few months of her family returning to Johannesburg in 1991, her husband died. Gelle is unable to name the illness that took his life so suddenly.

"I went to Edward's family in Soweto for help. But the Tshabalalas chased me and my children away. I went to Albertina Sisulu for help. She sent me to the chairman of some committee in Soweto who spoke to Edward's family, but it did not help and they chased us away again.

The chairman organised a *matricula* (shack) in the backyard of a house in Soweto."

Gelle says she has been to the ANC's social welfare department many times for help, but with no luck. "I have filled in the forms. They have my name on their records. But I have never received money from them."

Gelle has survived by eating at soup kitchens and foraging in dustbins. It's a far cry from the days when she rubbed shoulders with Joe and Jacqueline Modise in Lusaka, Thabo Mbeki in Challenge and Oliver Tambo in the Kaayuma compound in Lusaka.

"The ANC car used to come and fetch us from the compound and we would all see each other at meetings. I knew Oliver Tambo well," says Gelle without a trace of bitterness.

She doesn't expect help from her son and daughter. They barely have enough to support themselves and their own children.

But three years ago Gelle was rescued by a man she calls her "everything". He and his wife took her and her daughter and grandchild into their home in Yeoville.

Her daughter helps with the house chores. Because Gelle doesn't want to be

a burden, she spends most of her days wandering around Yeoville or, on warm days, sitting on park benches whiling the hours away.

As we are about to part company she reaches up and puts a skinny, weather-beaten arm around my shoulders. "God bless," she says, her kind eyes in her tiny, wizened face peering at me intently.

I am convinced that, despite everything, inside Gelle there is still a flicker of hope that even at this late stage of her life, someone with compassion will help to restore her dignity. — Independent Foreign Service

has been rented out, but the tenant won't pay the rent and we don't have the money to take legal action," she says with a look after these children. I have so many of my own family I have to take care of."

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— Independent Foreign Service

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— Independent Foreign Service

CP 8/3/98
(254)

Navy swims steadily towards integration

By TUMO MOKONE

THE SOUTH African Navy swam in the right direction of integration in the armed forces when it announced the appointment of its first African commodores this week in Pretoria.

Former Apla commander Mosoeu Magalefa and his MK counterpart Johannes Mudimu (who was absent) were introduced to the South African public as the navy's highest ranking African officers.

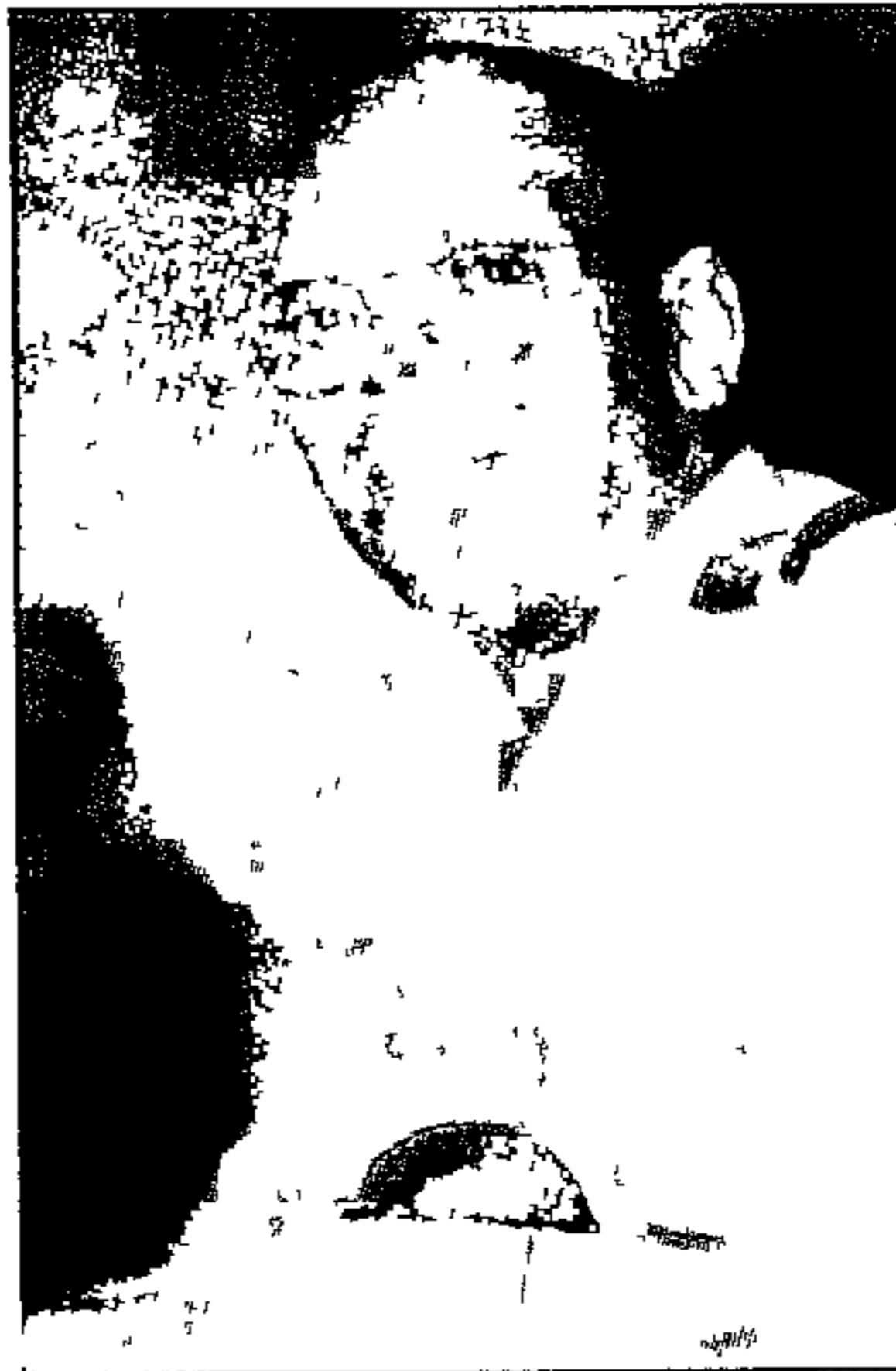
The rank of commodore is just below that of the admiral.

That the two officers joined SA Navy very recently does not, according to Magalefa, make them tokens.

"Yes, we have no navy experience in a traditional sense, but that will not impede us from carrying out our duties which are mainly in the fields of strategy, planning, administration and intelligence," said 49-year-old Magalefa.

Magalefa was also quick to dispel the notion that he and his colleague may have jumped the queue in the navy ranks.

"We are both army brigadiers and our military experience and skills should be



NO LIMITS Commodore Mosoeu Magalefa

easily transferable to the functions of the commodore, the equivalent of the brigadier.

"I could have chosen to stay with the army but in the spirit of integration and the quest of Africans to assume roles of responsibility in all spheres of society, I saw it fit to cross floors to join the navy."

The final appointment of the two commodores will only be decided after they have undergone further naval training that will last two years.

The decorated pair began their military training in exile - Magalefa in Tanzania and Mudimu in Angola.

They are both trained journalists and have many other academic and military qualifications acquired in Africa, Europe and North America.

Despite the grumblings of the former Apla and MK operatives who were integrated into armed forces after the successful 1990 negotiations, Magalefa who has 30 years of military experience said the SA National Defence had a bright future.

"It is sad to hear of disgruntled members but if the army has to be a lean, mean machine it is imperative that its size must be watched."

Privatisation may only happen after 1999 elections

Denel selloff delayed by 'fear of arms sector'

ET (BR) 9/9/98 (254)

NCABA HLOPHE

Johannesburg — The privatisation of Denel would be last in the privatisation programme as the department of public enterprises had not done a thing to kickstart the process, Wandile Zote, the department spokesman, said at the weekend.

"Virtually nothing has been done as the government has not formulated a policy mapping out the way to go about (privatisation)," he said.

He said the government had not even set up the restructuring and transformation committee, which involves labour, management and the sectoral task team, to drive the process.

He said the government had decided to privatise Denel after it

privatised the other parastatals

Denel effectively could be privatised by the new government as the department of public enterprises was already grappling with four other privatisation programmes. The department is unbundling Aventura, the resorts company, South African Forests Company Limited (Safcol), the forestry group, Alexkor, the diamond mine, and SAA, the airline.

"There was no government policy which said that privatisation had to be completed within the first five years. The process could still continue after 1999," Zote said.

He said the only restructuring activity at Denel involved the consolidation of its information technology department with other parastatals such as

Transnet, Eskom and Telkom.

Seshe Chonco, the managing director of Denel, said the department had failed to deal with the privatisation process because it feared the defence industry.

He said that Denel was soldiering on with its own restructuring under a programme to introduce strategic equity partners in its non-core businesses by the end of this year.

"Some of the operations, like the guided weapons, are strategic and involve the country's intelligence, and it is not appropriate to bring in foreigners, while the aviation operation cannot survive without an equity partner."

Chonco said Denel was ready to bring in empowerment groups and was waiting for the state to drive the process forward.

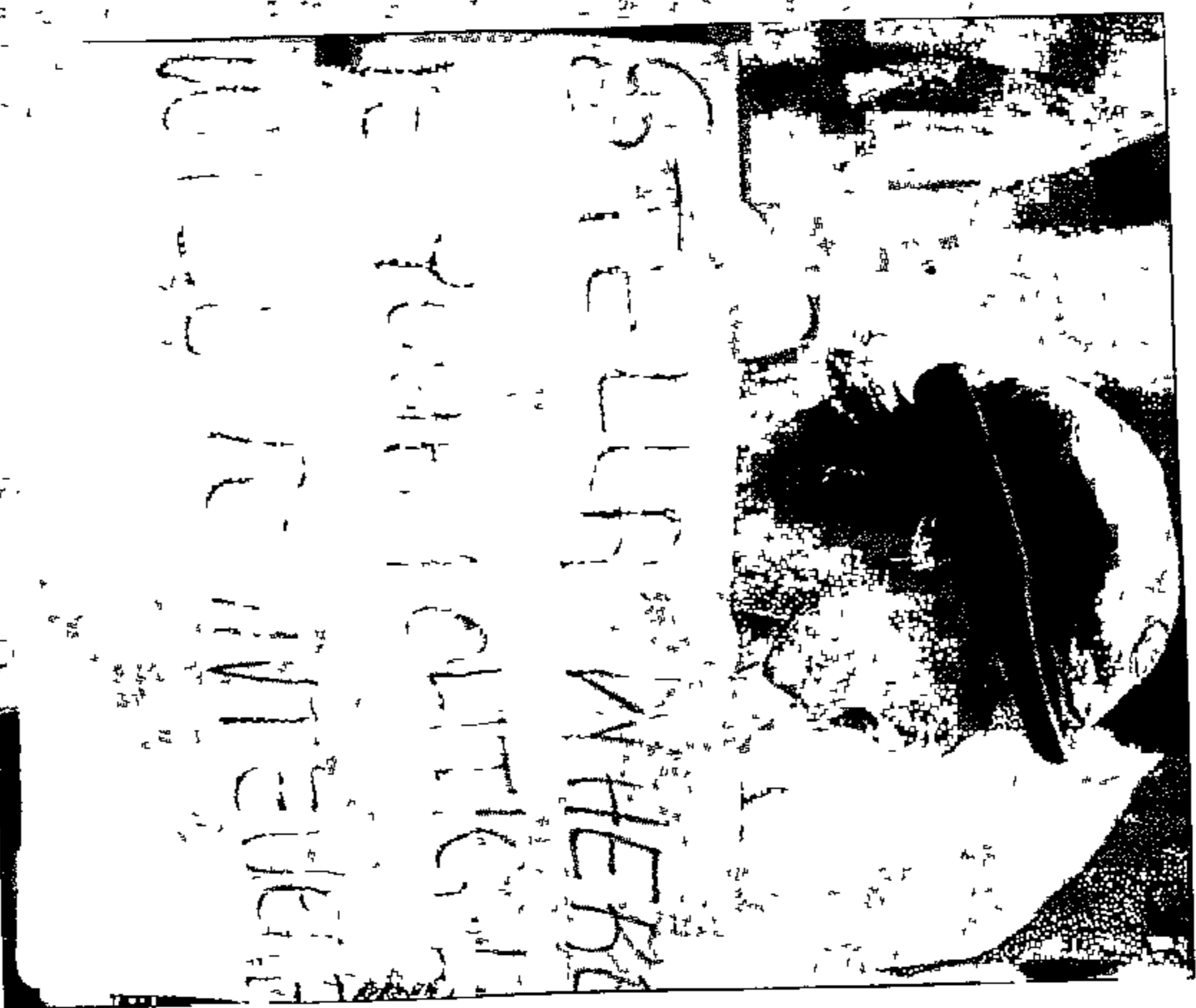
NEWS

ROLLING PROTEST Employees take their battle to Denel's buyers

Workers up in arms over cuts

(254) or (for) 9/3/98

JONATHAN ROSENTHAL
INDUSTRIAL EDITOR



WAR TALK Disgruntled workers take their protest to Denel's clients at the start of a sustained campaign. PHOTO: JOHN WOODKOFF

Johannesburg — Denel employees kicked off a "rolling" protest campaign outside the Israeli embassy and Malaysian high commission in Pretoria on Saturday. They are protesting against what they have termed unilateral restructuring and retrenchments.

About 50 members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) held placards calling on the state-owned arms producer to halt restructuring and adhere to recognition agreements with the union.

Jan Tsiane, a Numsa official, said the protest was held outside the embassies, foreign customers of Denel, to highlight their grievances.

The protesters claimed that up to 20 percent of Denel's workforce were being retrenched.

One, who asked not to be named for fear of victimisation, said the protest was "a vote of no confidence in management" for its "failure" to abide by the National Framework Agreement (NFA), a national agreement between unions and government on the restructuring of state-owned enterprises.

Employees said restructuring within Denel's divisions was uncoordinated and that agreements reached with the head office were not being adhered to by divisional management.

"At divisional level we still have that old type of management who will do everything to derail the agreements," he said. Tsiane said the union had also declared a dispute with

Denel, alleging that Kentron, a Denel division that manufactures missiles and unmanned aircraft, had withdrawn from a recognition agreement with Numsa.

Seshi Chonco, Denel's managing director, denied that 20 percent of the workforce was being retrenched, but he could not give an exact number.

"The retrenchments that are taking place are not necessarily restructuring, they are influenced by the operating profitability of the company," he said at the weekend.

Chonco said Denel wanted to call a summit, similar to the recent gold summit, to address restructuring.

Numsa officials at the protest said they planned to hold a meeting and march, and would not rule out industrial action.

"toothless" as apartheid-era structures "They will have to go with a

with lesser powers
This had not been possible as,

which division of functions and powers worked best for each area

SANDF's plan to retrench 20 000 'could harm ANC'

BD 11/3/98
Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — There are mounting fears that the planned retrenchment of up to 20 000 members of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) could have serious political consequences for the African National Congress (ANC) in the runup to next year's election, and could contribute to instability in the country.

Defence spokesman Adm Piet Loedolff was asked yesterday whether the SANDF had applied itself to the problems that could be caused by the "dumping" of demobilised soldiers onto the streets months before an election.

Tony Yengeni, chairman of the joint standing committee on defence, said he was unconvinced at the wisdom of beginning a staff reduction so close to the "volatile political atmosphere of an election".

This was gambling with a very serious situation, he said.

ANC MP Rapu Molekane also

(254)
warned tension was growing within SANDF camps because it was believed that members of the former liberation armies Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army would be the first to be retrenched when the reduction strategy was implemented.

National Party MP Johan Marais said the defence department was trying to move too fast.

Loedolff said SANDF members had been informed that rationalisation would begin this year. He gave the assurance that the retrenchments would cover old order defence force members and the former liberation armies.

The strategy aimed to reduce the manpower of the SANDF by 7 000 this year, 12 000 next year and would be completed with 5 000 in 2000.

He stressed some job losses would be the result of natural attrition, voluntary severance packages and nonrenewal of contracts.

DP's Leon ordered from Parliament

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party (DP) leader Tony Leon became the first member of the party yesterday to be evicted from Parliament when he got his marching orders from the chairman after a slanging match with African National Congress (ANC) firebrand Tony Yengeni.

The incident came when DP MP Bukelwa Mbulawa was trying to give a notice of motion in the National Assembly yesterday and Yengeni allegedly called from his seat that she was a "token black".

When asked, after a point of order by DP chief whip Douglas Gibson, whether he had made the remark, Yengeni said he had not. Leon then said if Yengeni denied having called Mbulawa a token black "then he is a liar and is misleading both you and this house".

Deputy speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile asked Leon to withdraw the statement and he refused. She then ordered him from the house.

ARMS INDUSTRY

(254)
FM 12/3/98

Denel has its guns spiked

Losses loom as deals collapse

Denel, the State-owned arms manufacturer, is expected to move into the red for the year to March 1998 after the cancellation of potentially lucrative export orders, MD Seshi Chonco says

"We had to write off orders, including a R6bn one from Taiwan which had to be cancelled after SA cut diplomatic ties with the country" He says there have also been delays in a reported R7bn tank deal with Saudi Arabia "The Saudi Arabia deal has not yet gone through The Saudi government became nervous after some negative local press reports These contracts had been factored into our business plans"

Denel has dominated the SA arms manufacturing industry since the late Seventies when it spearheaded the country's drive to self-sufficiency as the international arms embargo took its toll Its decline over the past three years has been dramatic

Denel reported a net profit of R379m in 1996 from which it paid government a dividend of R100m Last year, the arms manufacturer's profit plunged to R82m and a dividend of R20m was declared

This year Denel's sales will be lower Apart from the loss of foreign earnings, the firm has had to contend with a shrinking local defence sector hit by cuts in government spending The company will have to cut costs heavily to stay in the black

Last month Chonco announced 85 retrenchments -- nearly half of Denel's head office staff -- including four directors at a cost of about R9m It remains to be seen whether the cuts are deep enough Denel has 14 000 employees

The retrenched directors were George Masoek (corporate affairs), Noel Ngwenya (human resources), Piet van den Heever and Francois Humphries

Chonco denies talk that the directors were fired "They were retrenched," he insists However, Masoek has since been replaced by Thembi Thulwana, formerly in charge of corporate affairs at Denel subsidiary, Denel Informatics Thulwana says the other directors have not been replaced

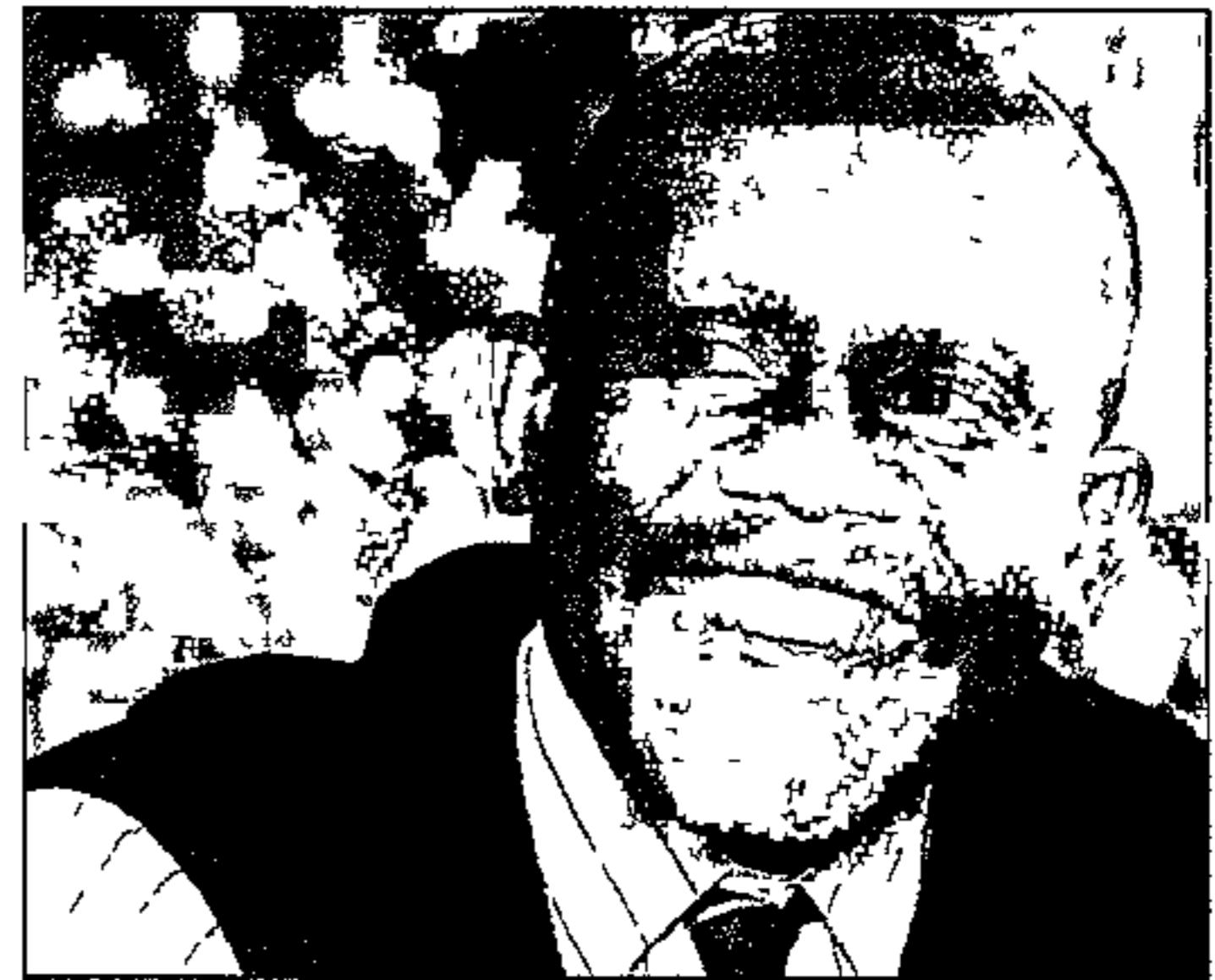
In the year ahead, Chonco expects the company to be able to report a

"small profit" A new positioning of the company will involve a trebling of research and development costs to 7% of sales from the current level of about 2% "We will maximise cost restraints and identify new opportunities"

Chonco has previously called for State subsidies to help Denel become more competitive

The company's poor performance could be a drain on government resources -- and, worse, is likely to further delay any privatisation plans

Duma Gqubule



Seshi Chonco company had become "bloated"

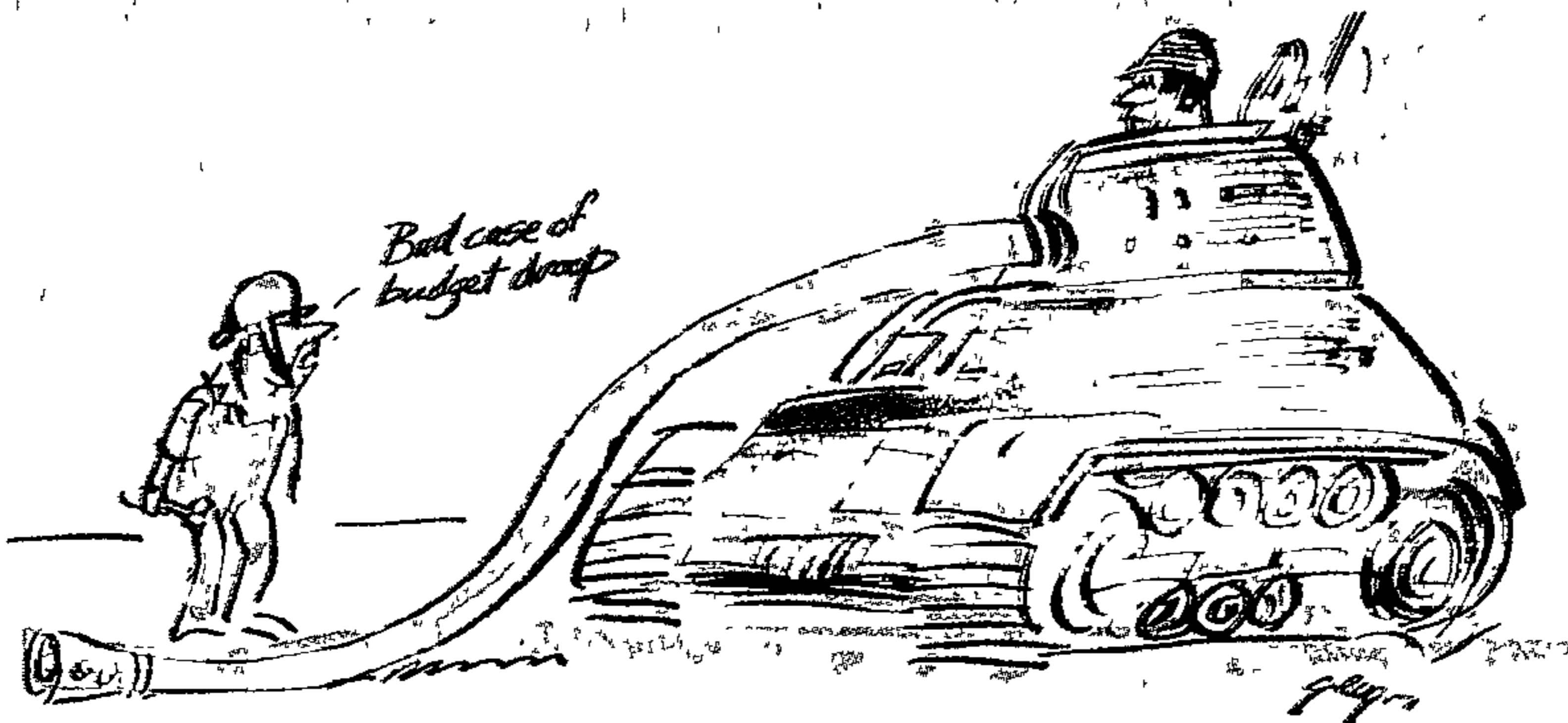
rest egg all up to be?



options, contact your Old Mutual adviser, your broker or your nearest Old Mutual office
Or visit us on the Internet at <http://www.oldmutual.co.za> and make sure that when your earnings stop, your income doesn't

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Tough year for security

(254) 25 12/31/98

WILLEM STEENKAMP
SECURITY WRITER

THE ministries of Defence and Safety and Security were reticent yesterday about their Budget allocations, but Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's message to them was obvious — it's going to be a tough year

The defence Budget for the 1998/99 financial year is R9,959 billion, up about R330 million on last year's initial allocation of R9,587bn (later increased to R10,67bn)

Manuel has slashed the special defence account (from which acquisitions are made) by 34% — a signal that major spending on new equipment will not happen immediately

He also made it clear that the only way the SANDF would have money for operational and capital expenditure would be by cutting back on personnel expenditure, which is 58% of this year's Budget

This would be effected by reducing the size of the SANDF by between 30 000 and 70 000 members in the next three years

Meanwhile, the defence force is expected to maintain its ageing equipment and perform disaster relief and humanitarian tasks while also supporting the police in border control, internal security and crime prevention

Jane's Defence Weekly correspondent Mr Helmoed-Romer Heitman was scathing in his appraisal of the defence budget. Not only would it put the SANDF in a state of "suspended animation" and further lower morale, it would undermine both local and international defence industry confidence in the SANDF.

Democratic Party defence spokesperson Mr James Selfe said: "The modest increases are understandable, given other priorities. What the defence force needs to do is reduce personnel expenditure and increase expenditure on replacing antiquated military hardware".

Selfe said the defence force could make big savings by placing greater emphasis on part-time forces

The Defence Ministry yesterday felt itself caught in a catch-22 situation — it needed more money to be able to cut down on personnel, so as to have more money for equipment.

Defence spokesperson Colonel Puso Tladi said his ministry had hoped to receive an extra R663m to "kickstart our rationalisation programme"

Safety and Security fared little better. They were allocated R13,255bn, about R1,3bn up on last year's budget. However, according to Manuel, their personnel costs make up more than 80% of their total expenditure.

Manuel said balancing personnel and other costs could be done by reducing absenteeism, releasing administrative staff into policing duties and replacing them with civilians and optimising investigative work by diverting personnel towards fighting priority crimes

Evidently the SAPS is to spend a lot more time on improving management efficiency, as the allocation for crime prevention operational planning has rocketed from from R480 000 to R11,36m

DP safety and security spokesperson Mr Douglas Gibson said the police budget "fills me with gloom".

"The crime situation demands the highest priority treatment if we are to bring it under control. You cannot beat crime by throwing money at it; but equally, you cannot fight crime successfully with a grossly under-resourced and under-funded criminal justice system."

NP safety and security spokesperson Mr Piet Matthee said the budget had fallen R635m short of what the police had calculated as an absolute minimum to maintain its functions.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said the police were "urgently assessing the implications" of their budget and what it would do to their effectiveness. "It is difficult to give an estimate at first glance."

Defence spending cut could stop rearmament

Wynndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — A further cut in defence spending in yesterday's budget means that much-publicised defence rearmament — including new ships, helicopters and jet fighters — will not happen unless the defence department substantially reduces its manpower.

The cut in the defence budget is 2,7% compared with last year's budgeted amount. But it is roughly 7% less when last year's actual defence spending is compared with what the department received yesterday from Finance Minister Trevor Manuel.

The only good news for the department is that state expenditure believes defence spending has now been cut to its appropriate level of 1,4% of the gross domestic product.

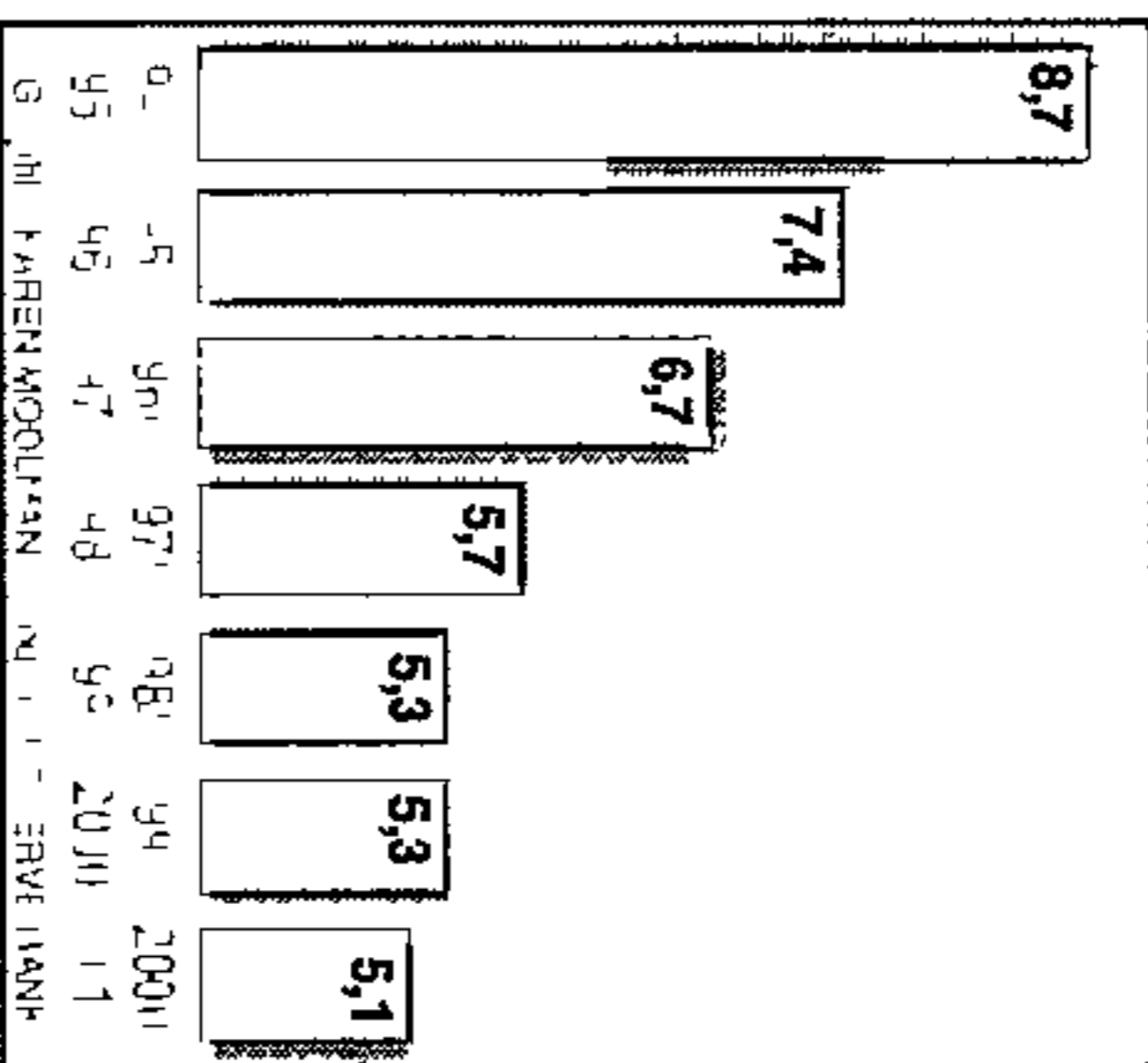
Increases are planned in terms of the medium-term expenditure framework (MTEF) to keep it at this level, with increases of about R500m a year for 1999/2000 and 2000/2001. The budget certainty provided by the MTEF should allow for more accurate defence planning over the next three years.

The increases over the final two years of the three-year cycle of the MTEF will take defence spending to R11bn by the year 2001. In 1997/98 total defence spending, including additional appropriations and R400m to improve conditions of service, was R10,6bn.

In the new financial year, the defence department will receive R9,958bn, which includes a R257m provision for improvement in salaries. This means that defence will have to do with R720m less than last year.

The funding of rearmament from savings could run into problems, however. The SA National Defence Force,

Defence spending as % of total budget



which plans to reduce its manpower by 20 000, is already hitting political opposition because of potential effects on crime and political stability.

International arms dealers and countries have been jockeying to supply new ships, helicopters and jets to the SANDF. The amount budgeted throws into doubt the SANDF's ability to conclude these contracts.

The budget review emphasises: "Without a reduction in personnel costs, operations and capital programmes will be difficult to maintain over the MTEF period."

Noting that the defence department had embarked on a transformation project, the review said the aim was "to reduce personnel numbers and achieve a sound balance between personnel, operating and capital expenditure". The department's personnel reduction plan was awaiting cabinet approval.

A further cut in defence spending means rearmament will not happen unless the defence department substantially reduces its manpower

Picture TYRONE ARTHUR

30.83%

0.92%

Equalisation Fund

0,4c/l

0.17%

Road accident fund

14,cl

6.25%

Customs & excise

4cl

1.72%

**Fuel levy 86,6cl
37.33%**

(Possibility of consolidation
with the levy)

The fuel levy, announced in the Budget speech on Wednesday, will be increased by 10c a litre from April. This is expected to raise an extra R1,7-billion in revenue while adding less than 0.5% to consumer inflation.

Tough year ahead for the defence force as cuts loom

BY NORMAN CHAMDLER
Defence Correspondent

Spending on defence does not appear to be a government priority, even though the defence budget is set to increase for the first time - by R1-billion - since 1989.

Military analyst Bill Sass said yesterday that the Government appeared reluctant to help the SA National Defence Force meet urgently needed capital requirements, which included new corvettes, submarines, main battle tanks, light utility helicopters and light fighter aircraft.

A cabinet decision is to be taken on this later this year, after two years of negotiation which led to the tabling, and acceptance, of its Defence Review

"There has to be reasonable disappointment within the SANDF" (about new funding), he said, adding that the defence force's capabilities were being lost because of expenditure cuts.

Military strategist Peter McIntosh said the defence force could count itself fortunate that Finance Minister Trevor Manuel had not further cut its budget, which was tied in with the downsizing process of the SANDF now taking place.

Manuel said that, in terms of the new medium-term expenditure framework, defence expenditure would rise from R9,959-billion to R10,987-billion over the next three years, an increase of 1.4% of GDP.

But this increase in real terms meant that the military

would have to put up with an overall 1% cut in expenditure.

Of the money allocated for 1998/9, R5,757-billion (58%) went on personnel costs, leaving R4,202-billion for operations and capital spending.

Over the past few years, considerable pressure had been placed on the defence budget as a result of an increase in personnel with the integration of statutory and non-statutory forces, Manuel said. Operations and capital programmes, without a reduction in personnel costs, would be difficult to maintain over the next three years.

According to budget estimates, the number of personnel in the SANDF is expected to drop from 95 503 in 1998/99 to 76 615 in 2000/01, in line with the force design and

transformation envisaged in the Defence Review - which was accepted last year by Parliament.

This is the first time exact personnel figures have been released - previously, it had been estimated that the level of personnel would be reduced to "about 70 000".

This means spending on personnel would drop to about 30% in the next three years - a level last achieved in 1993/94.

Once the envisaged personnel restructuring had been completed, a phased enhancement of equipment and capital resources would be undertaken, Manuel said.

The Star's Parliamentary Bureau reports that nearly R1-billion has been stripped from the special defence ac-

count last year, an initial amount of R1,831-billion was voted, but this was topped up in the adjustment estimate to R410-million. This year R1,212-billion is provided for the fund. However, this is set to increase in next year's Budget to R1,533-billion and get to R1,962-billion.

The overall defence budget will in fact rise next year to R528-million in nominal terms to R10,4-billion and again the following year to R10,9-billion.

In spite of speculation that "rightsizing" would result in a huge drop in personnel expenditure, this allocation fact rises from R5,33-billion last year to R5,756-billion this year. It will rise again next year to R5,9-billion and, in 2000, to just over R6-billion

Threat of nerve-gas attacks in SA suburbs

SA suburbs

By JACKIE CAMERON

There is a threat of terror nerve-gas attacks in densely populated areas in SA. And it would be difficult to stop a determined group from raiding a Gauteng chemical warfare facility of its stock.

This was revealed by Dr Phillip Coleman, technical director of defensive chemical warfare, facility Protechnik, to the *Saturday Star* at the official launch of the company's new complex in Centurion yesterday. "There is a reasonable threat (of chemical warfare) at the

moment, for example in a regional conflict or by terrorists. There are a number of militant groups - if they can get publicity, they will try," Coleman said, explaining the need for the Armscor facility.

"In Britain, it's not a question of if this will happen - it's when it will happen. We must be guided by what they say.

"We are not sure if our neighbours have such weapons. There is concern that many countries in Africa have not signed the Chemical Weapons Convention, because they are not interested,

in having external inspectors inspect their activities.

"Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Libya and Egypt have not signed the agreements in the South West (Namibia) border conflict, there were rumours about chemical weapons capability, and nothing was proved or disproved."

Armscor chief executive officer Ron Haywood said "Protechnik has been established to research counter-measures for use against chemical weapons. The issue is pressing in that the threat from chemical weapons is

changing from a purely military form to one where chemical weapons are unleashed by terrorists or fanatics, as in the Tokyo incident.

"A Japanese cult managed to synthesise a few kilograms of the deadly nerve gas sarin, which they then released on the Tokyo subway. Twelve people were killed and 5 000 hospitalised."

Protechnik makes research quantities of deadly chemicals ranging from sarin and soman nerve gases to mustard gas (a liquid). Some nerve agents can kill a human within a minute.

The Protechnik facility has a guard at the gate, and stringent security systems to prevent people from walking into the laboratory where the deadliest chemicals are housed.

Coleman said. "We have taken reasonable precautions to prevent a break-in at the laboratory if someone's determined enough it will be difficult to stop him."

The Protechnik research will help to protect emergency workers in a crisis, but not the innocent victims of an attack. Last week, Centurion emergency services personnel admit-

ted they could not guarantee the safety of residents if there was seepage from the plant.

Coleman showed the massive air purification plant which filters air through 2 tons of carbon before it leaves the laboratory. A doctor is on permanent standby at the laboratory to administer an antidote to scientists working on the gases.

"It's extremely safe. The safety systems are over-designed and we have medical personnel on standby. Nothing is really foolproof, but the place has been built from the fireproof angle."

Coleman added that the laboratory was inspected by a United Nations team of inspectors at least once a year to ensure that work was being conducted for defensive, and not offensive, purposes.

He said the inspectors had also looked at safety precautions at the laboratory, and had declared the previous Protechnik site at Hennops River free of contaminants.

Centurion town councillor Frans Smith reacted with outrage last week when he discovered that a chemical warfare

facility had sprung up in his area, and said he would investigate the matter, particularly with regard to residents' safety.

Yesterday, he said he was satisfied that the facility posed no threat to residents because it was inspected by international experts.

Centurion council spokesman Braam van der Vyver said. "Our emergency service is in the little league. They cannot do anything about chemicals of this nature in the event of a crisis."

(254) Star 14/3/98

Defence Act and code of conduct to be reviewed

By JIMMY SEEPE

(254) CP 15/3/98

A CODE of conduct in the Department of Defence which has seen scores of former cadres from Umkhonto weSizwe and the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army hauled into military courts is to be scrapped and replaced with a new one

The code of conduct which has been in place since the apartheid years and was carried over by the new defence force will undergo some changes as it is inconsistent with the new order and perceived to be discriminatory against members of the former non-statutory forces

ANC MP and head of the Parliamentary Portfolio Standing Committee on Defence, Tony Yengeni, said the defence department's code of conduct needs major revisions as it is perceived to be unfair to most of the formerly non-statutory soldiers integrated into the force. Yengeni said his committee has received many reports from soldiers about the biased nature of the SANDF code of conduct

Yengeni said on the basis of a thorough review of the existing clauses in the code, it was felt that there was a need to have changes put into place to accommodate everyone. He said his committee would invite relevant military personnel for discussions on aspects of the code which needs some revision

Among the changes that are likely to be implemented is the issue of soldier's representation in the military courts.

It is understood that soldiers have complained about lack of

martialled for various offenses.

The soldiers, all former members of MK and Apla, faced mutiny charges relating to incidents which happened last year.

Some of the soldiers allegedly disobeyed their superiors and were absent without leave

They are understood to have mutinied over a range of grievances relating to their integration into the force.

SANDF Natal Command spokesperson, Lieutenant Kobus Venter had denied that the soldiers were unfairly targeted, and said they had failed to follow the proper guidelines for addressing grievances

Yengeni said the Defence Act also needs a thorough review as it was not consistent with the new order. He said changes to the Act will need to be made urgently.

During the coming weeks, it appears that the portfolio committee will have a lot on its hands as it also battles to digest a report tabled two weeks ago which was critical of the integration process.

Another important issue expected to be

discussed is the purchase of military equipment for the SANDF and the retrenchment of 20 000 soldiers in the next two years. Yengeni said the committee would try and ensure that the retrenchment procedures were fair



MAJOR CHANGES... ANC MP and head of the parliamentary standing committee on defence Tony Yengeni

representation in the military courts which are seen to favour the establishment and do not afford much opportunity for independent legal representation.

□ In a related incident, two weeks ago more 200 soldiers at the SANDF Natal Army Command were court-

Small firms 'hurt training initiatives by poaching'

Primarashni Pillay

MAINLY major companies are investing in skills training in higher education, while smaller companies are instead poaching graduates, says Spoornet bureau manager Danie Laugel.

He was speaking at a workshop in Braamfontein on community service in higher education on Friday. The workshop, organised by the Joint Education Trust, was geared towards the involvement of the private sector. Further workshops will be held with labour, student and higher education institu-

tions. Later this year the trust will make policy recommendations to government, which is looking into the community service by graduates.

Recently the National Youth Commission said that community service for graduates should be voluntary.

Language explained that while major companies invested in the training of young people in higher education institutions by, among others, sponsoring bridging programmes, "smaller companies want until the people are qualified and then poach them. There are some excep-

tions with smaller companies. However, big companies can't retain graduates," he said.

Monique Adams of Anglo American's graduate recruitment section stressed that smaller businesses must try to assist with graduate training. The problem was compounded by some overseas companies which aimed to assimilate graduates "who have an African experience", without making a deep-rooted investment in education in SA.

For community service in higher education to be effective, there had to be partnerships be-

tween organisations as well as a transfer of skills, she said.

Adams cautioned that community service should be a "desirable opportunity" for students as opposed to something that is "obligatory and annoying".

Margie Keeton of Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund said that higher education institutions that were involved in community service should form partnerships with the community. The academics and the students must benefit educationally, while the community must gain developmental benefits.

Role of SA NGOs in landmine ban lauded

Josey Ballenger

SA's nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) played a leading role in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines which culminated in a treaty signed by 122 countries and winning the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize, defence and foreign affairs officials said at the weekend.

And Wiig of the Norwegian Embassy in Pretoria gave out Nobel peace prize certificates to organisations under the umbrella group, which included the Ceasefire Campaign, Oxfam SA, the Anglican Church, Group for Environmental Monitoring and Community Agency for Social Enquiry.

Armscor executive chairman Ron Haywood said on behalf of Defence Minister Joe Modise: "We can be proud that our government in February 1997 gave practical effect to the International Committee of the Red Cross plea by banning the use, development, production and stockpiling of antipersonnel landmines with immediate effect. And I can state unequivocally that government was able to reach this decision by the efforts of the SA campaign to ban landmines."

Haywood said the SA National Defence Force's destruction last year of 243 423 mines was "far ahead" of the terms of the

United Nations convention on the prohibition of the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of landmines, which provided for their destruction within four years after the convention's entry into force.

About 18 000 SANDF stockpiled landmines are being kept, however, for training purposes in detecting, clearing and destroying the weapons, of which 5 000 are "live" and the remainder "dummies".

Speaking on behalf of Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad, deputy director-general Abdul Minty credited SA NGOs with taking the lead in uniting African nations throughout treaty negotiations — and paid tribute to African countries "for supporting us without conditions".

"There is a perception that Africa remains unable to solve its own conflicts. We moved quickly to the forefront Africa realigned only through collective action would a ban on .. these indiscriminate weapons materialise," he said. Tens of thousands have been killed or afflicted by landmines, mostly in Africa.

Minty said the treaty was unique in that it was a complete ban and included clauses on "humanitarian aspects", such as reintegrating victims into society. SA was the third country to sign the convention in Ottawa in Canada in December.

RAND LEASES

RAND LEASES PROPERTIES LIMITED

(Registration number 78/0087/0/06)

(RLP)

Restructuring of GFP and RLP

1. THE RESTRUCTURING

Further to the recent joint cautionary announcements by GFP and RLP, Capital Alliance Bank Limited is authorised to announce that, subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions precedent, agreement in principle has been reached in terms of which GFP will

SADF approved plot to kill Omar, court told

But former operative tells Ferdi Barnard trial that hit lists did not include name of Wits academic David Webster

SAPA

Private investigator and former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent Slang van Zyl yesterday told the Pretoria High Court that a plan to murder Dullah Omar, who is now the Minister of Justice, had been approved by the top structure in the SA Defence Force in 1989.

He was testifying in the case against former CCB operative Ferdi Barnard, who faces charges including murder and fraud. Barnard is accused of killing anti-apartheid activist David Webster.

Van Zyl said he joined the defence force's CCB in 1988 after spending 10 years as a police detective. He resigned in October 1989 when the private detective agency that he started as a front operation became successful.

Tasked with the maximum disruption of the enemies of the state, Van Zyl said he started his official operations for the defence force in January 1989.

He said he was joined in a cell of the CCB by former police colleagues Ferdinand du Toits Marree and Calla Botha.

General Eddle Webb, who was part of the general staff of the SADF, was the chairman of the CCB, and Joe Verster was the commander. Wouter Basson acted as co-ordinator.

Van Zyl said he received two lists with names of persons that had to be monitored. One of the lists included the names of Trevor Manuel, who is now Finance Minister as well as the son of Truth and Reconciliation Commission deputy chairman Dr Alex Boraine.

He said Webster's name never appeared on any of the lists. As far as he knew, none of the men on the lists was ever eliminated. After Webster's

murder, the CCB launched an internal investigation because Verster said the killing was not a CCB project and he wanted to know who was responsible.

Van Zyl said one of his first tasks in the CCB was to find suitable assassins to carry out his projects. One of the men he recruited was a gang leader on the Cape Flats known as Peaches Gordon.

In 1989 Gordon came forward with information about Omar, who was at that stage the secretary for the United Democratic Front in the Cape and an executive member of several banned organisations.

"I was convinced that Omar fell in the category as an enemy of the state. I sent the information through to Joe Verster. The top hierarchy approved of the project to kill Omar and I received orders that Omar should be shot dead in front of his house," said Van Zyl.

"Although Gordon was in and out of jail and was involved in crime, I approved of him becoming an agent. You don't find a sharpshooter behind every bush, although you can make one of every person whose heart is in the right place.

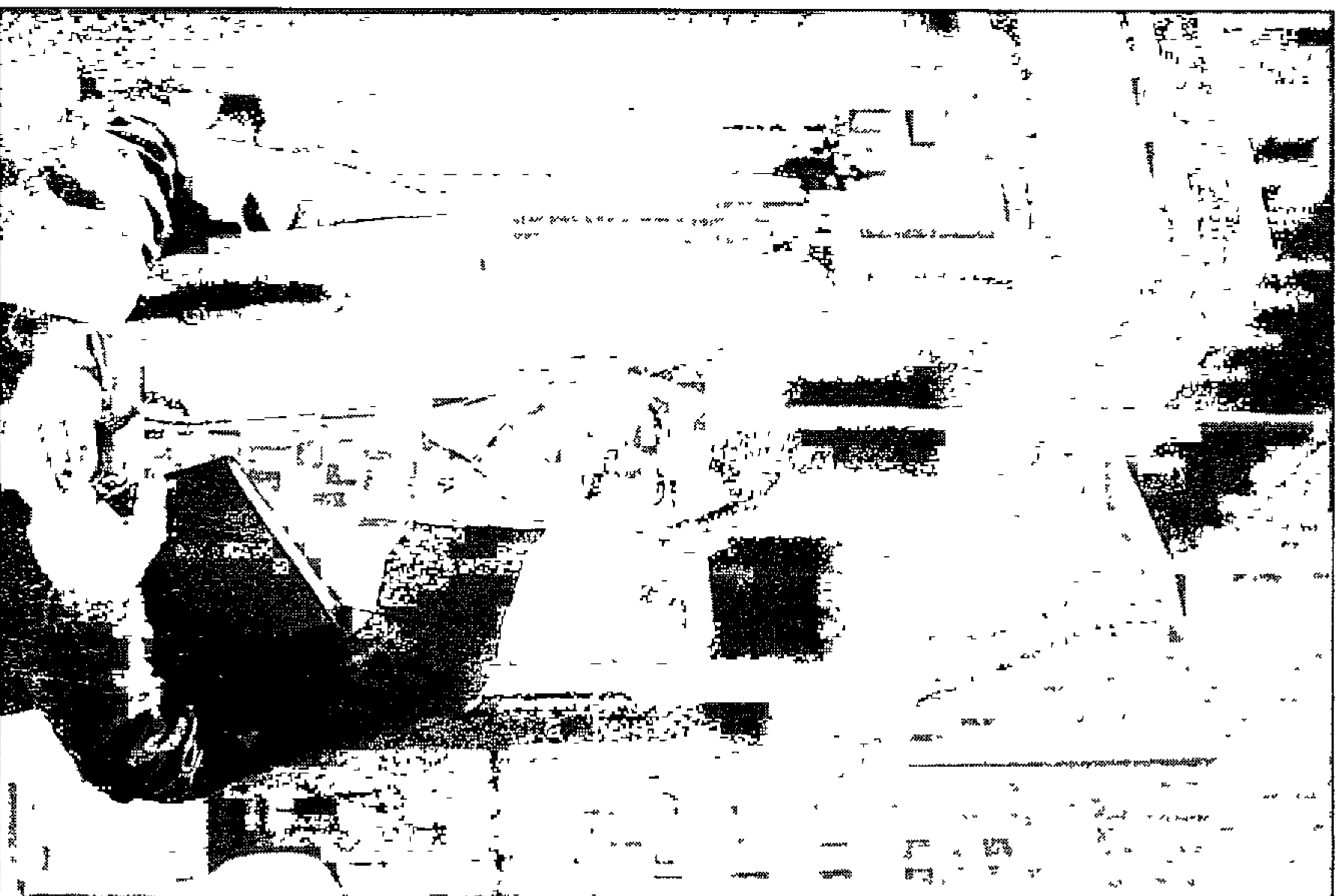
"I received my orders from Staal Burger, regional manager of the CCB, who also gave me a Makarov pistol with a silencer.

"I contacted Gordon and gave him the pistol. Gordon had to get two people to commit the murder and would have received R15 000 for the project," Van Zyl testified.

When nothing came of his plans after about three months, Van Zyl on three occasions sent Barnard to the Cape to monitor both Omar and Gordon.

Barnard was aware of the plan to murder Omar and that it was an authorised CCB project. Barnard and Gordon both

KENDRIDGE MATHABATHE



Testimony... former CCB agent Slang van Zyl outside the Pretoria High Court yesterday. Van Zyl claimed that in 1989 a plan was approved by the top SADF structures to murder Dullah Omar, who is now the Minister of Justice.

ture of the CCB wanted to carry out the plan to murder Omar, but he realised it was impossible. After a discussion he had with Burger, the CCB scrapped the project in October 1989. Van Zyl afterwards paid Barnard R7 000 for his travel and hotel costs.

He believed Barnard was still a member of the CCB at that stage, although he was on an inactive list while awaiting orders to work on overseas CCB projects.

Van Zyl, along with other members of his CCB cell, have applied for amnesty for the conspiracy to murder Omar, as well as crimes including blowing up the Early Learning Centre in Athlone in Cape Town and an incident when a monkey foetus was strung up at TRC chairman Desmond Tutu's house.

He denied that the monkey foetus had been a joke. "The CCB was not a joke. We were a highly disciplined unit. I saw it as a very serious task," he said.

Van Zyl, who also testified before the Harms Commission in 1990, said that shortly before he was detained in terms of security legislation in February 1990, he was approached by General Krappies Engelbrecht, who was then head of the security police, and General Witkop Badenhorst, former military intelligence chief.

"They told me I must deny any involvement with or knowledge of the CCB. They said the matter was being sorted out on a high political level. They named senior politicians who knew about the CCB.

"They told me there would be no further CCB arrests, but I was detained in any event," he said.

The trial continues.

reported that it was almost impossible to murder Omar because of his irregular schedule and because other people often accompanied him.

In this period Gordon came

up with a plan to kill Omar with medication that had been tampered with, because Omar had had a heart attack shortly before.

Van Zyl obtained a powder,

which would have brought on a further heart attack, that he wanted Gordon to sprinkle over Omar's food. But the plan was never carried out.

Van Zyl said the top struc-

SA's R173-m arms deal with Algiers

ARG 19/3/98
The National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC) had approved arms sales worth R173-million to the Algerian government, NCACC chairman Kader Asmal told the National Assembly (254)

Replying yesterday on behalf of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to a question by Colin Eglin (DP), Dr Asmal said the arms included "sensitive, major significant equipment" and "non-sensitive" equipment

He said that because of the sensitivity of the issue, it was referred to the Cabinet for a decision.

The Cabinet decided on February 18 that weapons could be sold to Algeria only for external self-defence

Algeria's government was internationally recognised and elections for president, national assembly and local government had been held

The Algiers government therefore had a legitimate democratic mandate, which was why it had been decided to approve arms sales to Algeria, he told MPs -

Sapa

PARLIAMENT

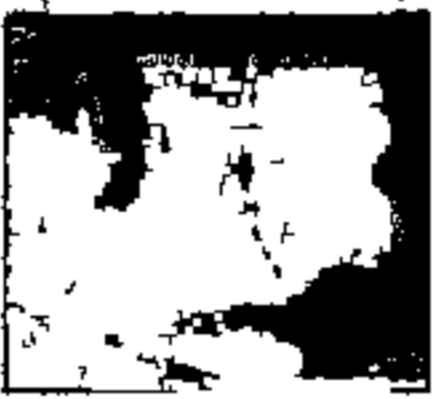
R173M WEAPONS DEAL GOES ON DESPITE HUMAN RIGHTS OUTCRY

Arms sale to Algeria confirmed

CT/19/3/98

(274)

WEAPONS worth A billion will not be used for internal fighting, South African minister said yesterday, **ANDRE KOOPMAN** reports.



SOUTH Africa is to sell R173-million worth of weapons to violence-racked Algeria. The deal was confirmed in the National Assembly yesterday by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, who answered a question from Mr Colin Eglin, DP, on behalf of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who is in Botswana.

Asmal said the National Convention- al Arms Control Committee had approved the sale of military equipment to the Algerian government.

This would include "sensitive, major

significant equipment" and "non-sensitive equipment".

The announcement comes on the day that the Algerian government firmly rejected mounting calls from several human rights organisations for an international inquiry on Algeria.

Violence erupted in Algeria in 1992 after the military-backed government cancelled the second round of national elections which an Islamic group was poised to win. Government troops have since been fighting fundamentalist

Islamic rebels in a brutal civil war in which entire villages, including women and children, have been wiped out. An estimated 70 000 people have been killed.

Asmal said that because of the sensitivity surrounding the issue, the arms deal had been referred to the cabinet for policy direction. "Cabinet decided at its meeting of February 18, 1998, that it concurs with the decisions of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee (to sell the arms) but decided that weapons could be sold to Algeria only for external self-defence.

"Cabinet also decided that armaments may not be used for internal repression. No arms that could be used for internal law enforcement purposes

will be exported after the cabinet decision," Asmal said.

While the cabinet and the NCACC were sensitive to all aspects of the situation in Algeria, the Algerian government was internationally recognised and elections for the president, national assembly and local government had been held.

"The government therefore has a legitimate democratic mandate, which is why it was decided to approve arms sales."

Reuter reports that Algerian Foreign Minister Ahmed Attaf said his country rejected the idea of an international human rights inquiry on its soil.

"The number one problem in Algeria is terrorism. There is no problem of human rights in Algeria," he said.

Cabinet has okayed sale of arms to Algeria

Star 19/3/98
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

South Africa is to sell weapons worth R173-million to Algeria in a major arms deal with the violence-racked country

The arms deal was confirmed in the National Assembly yesterday by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, who was answering a question on behalf of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who is in Botswana.

In response to a question from Colin Eglin (DP), Asmal said the National Conventional Arms Control Committee had approved applications from the arms industry for the sale of military equipment to the Algerian government.

The announcement came on the day the Algerian government rejected mounting calls

(254)
from several human rights organisations, including Amnesty International, for an international inquiry on Algeria

Violence erupted in Algeria in 1992 after the military-backed government cancelled the second round of national elections which an Islamic group was poised to win.

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"The number one problem in Algeria is terrorism . . . there is no problem of human rights in Algeria," he said

Denel chief 'got R18m'

MFG 20-26/3/98 (254)

Marion Edmunds

Former Denel chief executive Johan Alberts walked away from the arms parastatal with a whopping R18-million in pension and restraint-of-trade payments, according to a senior government source.

Minister of Public Enterprises Stella Sigau is sitting on an explosive forensic audit that exposes how Alberts and other top managers at Denel paid themselves huge golden handshakes when they quit the company.

Sigau ordered the audit last year after details of Alberts's multi-million-rand retirement package were leaked to the press. The audit was concluded in October, but she has yet to respond to the issues it raises.

According to a senior government source, the audit questioned a series of generous restraint-of-trade payouts to top Denel management.

Alberts negotiated a restraint-of-trade deal for himself worth more than R4-million — in addition to his pension windfall of between R12-million and R14-million.

The audit also questions a lucrative incentive scheme for Denel managers, and its failure to refer important decisions to its principal shareholder, Sigau and the government.

The audit cost Sigau more than R2-million and was conducted by Johannesburg-based forensic experts Gobodo, Manase and Associates.

Sigau did not respond to questions about the payments or the audit this week. Although questions were faxed to her office 24 hours before the *Mail & Guardian's* deadline, there was no response from either her secretary or her media representative.

Asked on Thursday morning where she was, Sigau's secretary said she was attending a parliamentary session.

But when the secretary was told Parliament was not in session, she said Sigau had not yet come into her office.

Alberts refused to comment on his retirement payout, saying "I can tell you point-blank, I did not get R18-million."

He refused to say whether he had received less or more. "This is my private business. Denel's pension fund is not owned by the state. There was nothing improper about my retirement."

The former arms chief threatened to sue the M&G if it published any details relating to his pension payout.

The M&G has learnt that Alberts had a special agreement with former defence minister Magnus Malan, to the effect that his retirement be paid out as if he were 65 years old, regardless of whether he retired earlier.

Alberts also refused to comment on this. He also brushed off questions about allegations that he intervened to promote Sigau's daughter, Portia Shabalala, at a Denel subsidiary, Swartklip Products.

Shabalala was transferred from Swartklip in the Cape to Denel's head office in Pretoria late last year, where she heads an office dealing with corporate and community investment, her field of expertise.

She refused to respond this week to queries about her status in Denel and her relationship with Sigau.

Denel this week responded to questions on Alberts's package by shifting responsibility to the board. "Mr Alberts left the company on early retirement. His departure did not constitute the present right-sizing exercise. Mr Alberts's package was handled at board and shareholder level."

Denel meanwhile is in serious financial trouble and is pushing through stiff cutbacks to make ends meet. Its net profits plunged from R379-million in 1996 to R82-million last year.

Its managing director, Seshi Chonco, is moving swiftly to streamline the company, root out corruption and reprimand operations, on the advice of international consultants. Chonco is fighting against all odds. The



Johan Alberts: Received an R18-million golden handshake when he retired as Denel's chief executive officer

cancellation of lucrative arms deals and the slashing of the national defence budget has put even more pressure on the parastatal to downsize.

As a result, Denel is retrenching staff — a process which has enraged unions and lowered staff morale.

Denel's communications director, Thembi Pulwane, said heavy cuts are on the cards this year. "It is envisaged that 7% of the total Denel staff complement of 13 500 will be affected. That 7% constitutes 1 034 employees from our 18 divisions.

"This process is all-inclusive. The composition of affected employees encompasses directors, senior managers, middle management and white- and blue-collar workers."

Chonco announced 85 retrenchments last

month, including four directors at head office, at a cost of about R9-million.

The unions are calling for a crisis meeting to discuss what they perceive to be unilateral action on the part of Denel management.

A dispute has been declared at Denel subsidiary Naschem, where 144 workers have been retrenched, and at Swartklip Products. Meanwhile, the privatisation of Denel, Sigau's responsibility, appears to be a long way from fruition.

"The restructuring of Denel is the prerogative of the state. We are awaiting instructions from the government.

"Denel continues to do studies and data gathering on its business and is ready to make this available to the government," Pulwane said.

'Dependency syndrome' dogs former cadres

By JIMMY SEEPE

A DEPENDENCY syndrome that has developed among certain former members of the former liberation movements could be hampering the former cadres from fully integrating back into society, a senior military official in the Service Corps said this week.

The military official, who is also a former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander now charged with overseeing the Service Corps, said certain former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian Liberation Army have developed such a dependence on their former liberation movements and armies that they do not want to stand alone.

The remark, made by the deputy chief of the Service Corps, Brigadier ZW Nqosi, comes after members of the former liberation armies complained that they are being forced out and dumped at the offices of the ANC and PAC.

Although he agreed that there were some former cadres who had genuine problems, some of them, after having finished in the Service Corps, are unwilling to take charge of their lives and stand on their own.

22/3/98
(254)
Nqosi said allegations made by the MK Veteran Association leaders Isaac Makopo and Roy Letlalo, that demobilised soldiers who were enlisted in the Service Corps are being dumped at their offices, were not a true reflection of the situation.

In the past few months, Nqosi has been forced to intervene in situations where former cadres whose contract had expired in the Service Corps forced their way into the offices of the premier of the Eastern Cape, Makhenkisi Stofile, while others forced their way into the ANC offices.

Nqosi said the Service Corps has not been dumping the former cadres at the offices of the political movements. According to Nqosi, the former cadres, after completion of their 18-month course, are dropped at their nearest destinations, such as taxi ranks.

He said some soldiers force the bus drivers to drop them at the offices of the ANC and PAC, and this had created impression that the Service Corps is responsible for "dumping" them there.

Nqosi disputed suggestions made by Makopo that some of the former

cadres are forced out of the Service Corps before completing their training programme, and said these developments overshadowed the good work the Service Corps has done since its inception in 1996.

The Service Corps, although faced with other internal problems like any other government departmental structure, had succeeded in its mission of providing valuable training programmes for former cadres to be integrated back into society.

Although Nqosi agreed that there were former members who were left out of the system because they could not feature in the certified personnel register of demobilised soldiers, there were structures outside the Service Corps which they were encouraged to get involved in.

Last week, the MK Veteran Association announced that it will open a training centre in Orange Farm.

The Association chairperson said the centre would be able to provide assistance to former MK members, and Nqosi said the Service Corps would try to provide assistance to the veterans' association on a non-partisan basis if so required.

NEWS

British Aerospace pledges R4,5m to empower MK veterans

JONATHAN ROSENTHAL

INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

Johannesburg — British Aerospace (BAe), a leading European exporter of defence equipment, is to provide R4,5 million to finance an industrial park and training centre south of Johannesburg. The aim is to assist former members of the ANC's guerrilla army in business, it was announced yesterday.

BAe and the Umkhonto, we Sizwe (MK) Military Veterans' Association signed a memoran-

dum of understanding covering the establishment of the project and said construction would start later this year.

The pact comes just weeks before government will decide on which companies will supply South Africa with defence equipment worth up to R27 billion.

Stuart McIntyre, the regional director of BAe, said BAe would assist small businesses at the new centre to become suppliers of a variety of items including aviation and automotive components, industrial garments and

agricultural products.

BAe said the small businesses could become preferred suppliers to BAe and Saab, a Swedish industrial group also bidding to supply arms to South Africa.

"Veterans will become self-sufficient, deriving income through job creation, training and the marketing and sale of products," BAe said.

A third party in the project will be the Airborne Trust, which was established to assist with the reintegration into civilian society of demobilised soldiers from

the South African National Defence Force.

McIntyre said the project was not dependent on BAe winning any orders in the defence acquisition programme, although it would help meet the group's mandatory industrial participation obligations.

Sources close to the programme said the BAe training centre was a politically astute move that was likely to win the support of high-ranking ANC and former MK officials in government.



AGREEMENT Stuart McIntyre of BAe, left, and Isaac Makopo of the MK Military Veterans' Association

PHOTO: JOHN WOODROOF

(294) or (for) 26/9/98

Sigcau suppresses report of Denel fraud

Marion Edmunds

Minister of Public Enterprises Stella Sigcau is suppressing evidence which could force former Denel chief Johan Alberts to repay some of his R18-million "platinum handshake" to the state

Sigcau struggled this month to bury the evidence after last year commissioning a R2-million forensic audit into Denel business since 1994. According to senior government sources, Alberts was allowed to take his lucrative retirement package on condition that he pay back the state's contribution to his pension, should the government discover evidence of fraud during his tenure

The audit has uncovered evidence of fraudulent deals which should be sufficient to prompt a commission of inquiry or a referral to the public protector, a government source said. The probe, conducted by Mannase & Associates and Gobodo, could give the government sufficient ammunition to sue Alberts for the state's contribution to his retirement nest egg

M&G 27/3/98

However, Sigcau is doing her best to prevent the audit's findings from being made public. In response to questions from the *Mail & Guardian*, Sigcau initially denied an audit had taken place. She also issued a gagging order to Denel to stop senior employees responding to questions

When confronted with further evidence, she said in a statement "An audit in Denel retirement packages was never commissioned as the subject matter of the audit. It became a consequence of the audit. The audit was initially at the instigation of the minister. However, an agreement was later reached for the board to take it over, as they were the right people to deal with issues of remuneration for the auditors."

Attempts by the M&G to obtain clarification about this strangely worded response failed. In response to detailed questions about the Alberts payout, Sigcau wrote: "He got a package that had been tied up long before the advent of our democratic government"

Sources say this is untrue. Alberts allegedly appealed to Sigcau last year to be released from his position as Denel's CEO. His package was

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based on a deal with former minister of defence Magnus Malan that he be paid out as if he were 65 years old if he were ever forced out of the parastatal. Sigcau conceded to this

In response to questions about a restraint-of-trade deal which made up a large part of Alberts's package, Sigcau said: "The restraint of trade is a separate issue — a subject matter at another level — it does not form part of the package."

The M&G understands that the restraint-of-trade deal was an incentive offered by the incoming government to about 30 senior managers at Denel in a bid to stop them resigning. The money was paid into the parastatal's retirement fund, for collection on retirement, in the guise of a restraint-of-trade package.

It is difficult to understand why Sigcau is attempting to sweep the audit under the carpet, particularly as she and Alberts did not enjoy a good relationship while he was in office

"The minister has had sleepless nights about this," said a government source. "Everything relating to Denel is considered to be extremely sensitive and dangerous"

Mandela poised to axe military chief

ST 29/3/98
RAY HARTLEY

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela is set to fire SANDF Chief General Georg Meiring over a military intelligence report alleging that senior black officials were plotting with Winnie Madikizela-Mandela to overthrow the government

In the report, which Meiring gave to Mandela early last month, the SANDF chief alleged that Madikizela-Mandela, United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa, alleged arms smuggler Robert McBride and SANDF Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Siphwe Nyanda were plotting to overthrow the government. The head of the service corps, Lieutenant General Lam-

bert Moloi, was also named

Mandela is said to have dismissed the report as "ludicrous". On Friday, he announced a commission of inquiry into how Meiring compiled the report and why he bypassed official intelligence structures. The commission, headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed, and including Justice Richard Goldstone and Justice Pius Langa, is to report to Mandela within two weeks.

The Sunday Times has been told by top government aides that Meiring is to be relieved of his duties if he fails to explain to the commission why

● The report was based on the information of a single source — intelligence operative Vusi Mbatha, who was arrested with McBride for suspected arms smuggling in Mozambique,

● No effort was made to cross-check or verify the information supplied by Mbatha,

● The report was not presented to the national intelligence coordinating committee, in keeping with official procedure,

● Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, were not shown the report or told of the investigation,

● Meiring, who is scheduled to retire in July, named his most obvious successor, Nyanda, as the key coup plotter, and

● The report was leaked to the media

The commission sat yesterday to hear evidence from Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla, Kasrils and intelligence co-ordinator Linda Mtshali. All three are believed to have told the commission that the claims in Meiring's

report were without foundation, and that the military intelligence investigation had not been verified or cross-checked by other intelligence agencies

Yesterday, Meiring pledged to co-operate with the commission, but defended the compilation of the report in a public statement. "We would have been derelict in our duty if we had not taken this action," he said.

The commission, which is hearing evidence in camera, has been labelled an "urgent" investigation

Government spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe would not say where the hearings were being held. But he stressed "The investigation is looking at the process that the report went through, rather than the contents of the report itself."



BRASSED OFF: President Nelson Mandela with Georg Meiring, whose 'ludicrous' report has prompted an official inquiry. Picture: NICKY DE BLOIS

...op general. i a l s lie-ctetector tests in pr

probe into

SA'S COUP MYSTERY

CP 29/13/98 (274) (274)

THREE of South Africa's top judges sat down yesterday to try to establish why President Nelson Mandela was allegedly lied to through a false Military Intelligence report claiming that dissatisfied former Umkhonto we Sizwe members wanted to overthrow his government

And they're looking at SA National Defence Force Chief Georg Meiring as the man who might provide some of the answers

City Press can reveal today that the appointment of the judges by Mandela was further strengthened after a senior defence force general had failed a lie detector test by the National Intelligence Services. The general was allegedly among those behind the report.

Opposition leaders reacted with shock yesterday to the cloak-and-dagger intrigue surrounding South African politics while the country was playing host to the world's most powerful leader, US President Bill Clinton

The identity of the SANDF general who was this week subjected to the lie detector test is known to City Press. The results are said to have prompted the president to check on the verification of the Military Intelligence report

A highly-placed source, speaking on condition of anonymity, said yesterday: "We don't believe there was such a plot. We're trying to establish why the president was lied to by being given a false report"

The source echoed previous information that Meiring was to feature prominently in the inquiry which will probe "how, why, and when the report was compiled, the motive behind it, and the way it was handled"

Meiring yesterday welcomed the inquiry and said he had the fullest confidence in members of the commission. He also pledged the defence force's "maximum support" for the judicial probe.

He stressed that the MI report was given to Mandela on February 5, before the recent arrest of senior foreign affairs official Robert McBride in Mozambique on suspicion of gun-running.

The commission of inquiry, headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed, follows a March 18 statement by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to Parliament on McBride's arrest. Mufamadi lashed out at "elements" in the security establishment, accusing them of trying to destabilise the country.

"The government is perfectly familiar with disinformation techniques used in the past to prepare for and to legitimise destabilisation programmes," he said.

Meanwhile, Clinton's special envoy for democracy in Africa, Jesse Jackson, said he had discussed the inquiry with Mandela when he visited him yesterday to say good-bye.

"We talked about that. . . There are elements in this country that still have apartheid in their hearts. We have to hope that the forces of good defeat the forces of evil," he said.

Pan Africanist Congress president Dr Stanley Mogoba said the



HEADING THE PROBE ... Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed will look into the false Military Intelligence report



MAY HAVE SOME ANSWERS ... SA National Defence Force Chief Georg Meiring

news of the inquiry had come "as a great shock"

"It is going to shake this country right to its foundations. We were negotiating a very delicate post-apartheid dispensation.

"If this is true, it will stir up emotions among the old enemies of apartheid, as well as radical white conservatives."

The Democratic Party spokesperson on defence matters, James Selfe, said the DP welcomed the inquiry and did not attach any significance to the allegation presented by the SANDF.

Selfe said the defence force's capacity to present reliable intelligence reports in the past was not good and there was still a need for a shake-up in the structure. "They (MI) have tended to exaggerate the situation in the past and there is no doubt they could do the same"

The National Party said allegations about a planned coup were always serious, but warned that "a government might use this as an attempt to divert attention from a country's problems to create sympathy for itself"

However, it welcomed the inquiry in view of the allegations made during the past few weeks.

"Such allegations must be thoroughly investigated and the air be cleared because rumours of this nature feed on the uncertainty of the allegation and only lead to even wilder ones," it said

'Old guard trying to hang onto military'

Stephen Laufer

A MILITARY intelligence report alleging a plot by senior African National Congress (ANC) members and sympathetic military officers to overthrow President Nelson Mandela raised the possibility that SA National Defence Force (SANDF) chief Georg Meiring and others were trying to hold power for as long as possible, government sources said yesterday.

The report is the subject of a judicial inquiry announced by Mandela on Friday. Judges Ismail Mohamed, Richard Goldstone and Pius Langa began hearing evidence from security ministers and military and intelligence officers at a secret venue at the weekend.

Meiring, Defence Minister Joe Modise, his deputy Ronnie Kasrils, Justice Minister Dullah Omar, his safety and security counterpart Sydney Mufamadi and deputy intelligence minister Joe Nhlanhla are among those to be called to testify. Kasrils confirmed yesterday he had appeared before the commission but declined further comment.

Meiring welcomed the inquiry and pledged support. He would have been derelict in his duty not to pass the coup information on, he said. But he did not explain why he neither informed his minister nor the state intelligence structures.

Like the head of the SA Police Service, commissioner George Fivaz, the

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SANDF chief is directly appointed by the president. Both have on occasion used this relationship to put pressure on ministers pushing for change and greater democratisation and accountability in the security services.

Sapa reports that the SANDF chief gave evidence to the commission of inquiry yesterday.

SABC TV News reported last night that Mandela said the inquiry would not probe the contents of the report but the procedure in compiling it. Mandela made the remarks in an interview with British TV host David Frost.

Several government sources said Meiring and other officers close to him

Continued on Page 2

Military (254)

Continued from Page 1

ED 20/3/98
were suspected of wanting to cling to the defence force.

It was significant that the report on the alleged coup plot named several senior former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) officers now moving into controlling positions in the SANDF, among them Meiring's designated successor, Lt-Gen Siphwe Nyanda.

The sources said Mandela was worried that Meiring might be trying to anoint his successor or provide motivation for an extension of his period in office. The question to be answered by the commission was whether the moves were motivated by personal ambition or a wider plan to slow change and destabilise democracy while blam-

ing it on others.

Government would be happier if personal ambition lay behind the report. But it had noted the National Party had said it aimed to return to power by 2004, and it could not rule out that the plot allegations were part of a broader attempt to destabilise the ANC government and progress towards a stable democracy.

Another source said government was not sure whether the allegations were "part of a plan to take us back or just to prevent us moving forward".

The incident smacked of the days when an intelligence picture was built to support political ends.

Asked about speculation that Meiring would be fired if suspicions around the report proved accurate, a source said "If you have a breach of trust by the head of the defence force, I do not think he can continue".

Madiba is not worried by 'plot'

President tells CNN he is aware of
elements not loyal to his Government

STAFF REPORTERS AND
FOREIGN SERVICE

President Mandela said yesterday he was not worried about a coup but would deal swiftly and decisively with any disloyal or disgruntled members of the security forces who may try to destabilise his Government

In an interview with CNN's *Late Edition*, Mandela said the Government enjoyed the support of the majority of members of the security forces. He blamed a report alleging that disaffected members of the army were planning a coup on "elements who are bitter that the minority in this country has lost power".

He added: "We are in complete command of the security forces. We are aware of elements which are not loyal to this Government, but we will be able to deal with them swiftly and decisively should they try anything. So I am not concerned."

The report, compiled by Military Intelligence on the basis of information received from

an informant, Vusi Mbatha, became the subject of a top-level inquiry at the weekend.

The MI report alleged that Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa, alleged arms smuggler Robert McBride and SANDF Chief of Staff General Sphiwe Nyanda were plotting to overthrow the Government.

The head of the service corps, Lieutenant-General Lambert Molo, and surgeon-general General Davidson Masuka were also named.

Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, said the inquiry was not on the contents of the report, but on "the process relating to its compilation and verification".

Defence Force Chief Georg Meiring answered questions behind closed doors yesterday by the three judges appointed to head the inquiry: Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed and Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone.

► It's a plot - Holomisa

STAN 20/17/98

(274) (2011)

Meiring faces the axe

(254) Sowetan 30/3/98

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki have agreed to fire South African Defence Force chief General George Meiring over a report he handed the President alleging a coup plot by African National Congress members.

Senior Government sources told *Sowetan* that Police Commissioner George Fivaz is also likely to go as he was apparently involved in the dissemination of the report.

On Friday Mandela appointed a high-powered judicial commission of inquiry into the compilation and dissemination of the report. The commission is headed by Chief Justice Ishmael Mohamed, assisted by Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone.

It is to report back within days, according to Government spokesman Mr Joel Netshutenzhe.

Sources said Meiring had given Mandela a one-source intelligence report last month that indicated that a disparate group of ANC people, ranging from Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, General Bantu Holomisa, SANDF chief of staff General Siphwe Nyanda, Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Lieutenant-General Lambert Moloi, were planning a coup.

It has since emerged that the report, that Meiring did not show to his political head, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise, was compiled from



Implicated ... General Bantu Holomisa.

information given by the now exposed military intelligence informer Vusi Mbatha.

Mbatha was arrested with Mr Robert McBride in Mozambique on gunrunning charges early this month.

"The matter is very serious as under other circumstances the President would have declared a state of emergency," the source said. "Meiring has to explain why an unverified report was rushed to the President, implicating among others the man who is tipped to succeed him (Meiring)."

"It raises the question about whether he had wanted to besmear the name of Nyanda so that he should then stay on, or had wanted to plot a



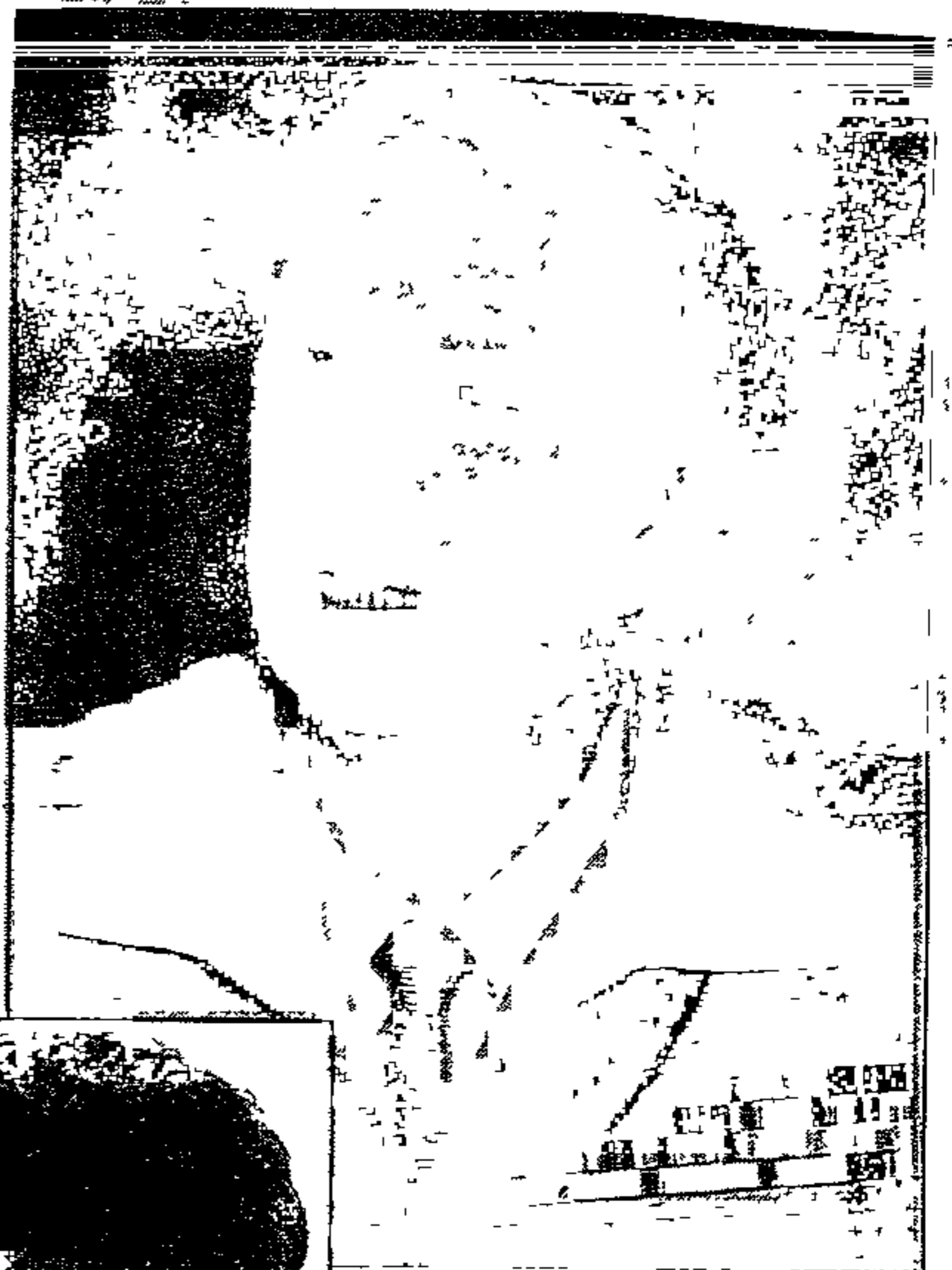
Implicated ... Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

coup himself and then blame it on those implicated in the report.

"Mbeki was furious about the matter. He wanted Meiring to be fired. Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi was briefed and when he met Fivaz, he spoke about the contents of the report without saying there was a report.

"He did not know that Sydney already knew. This meant that he had also been privy to the report," the source said.

The source said Mbeki had debated the matter with Mandela and had then written the statement read in Parliament by Mufamadi, blaming elements of the old order for a campaign to destabilise the country.



In hot water ... SANDF chief George Meiring.

PIC COURTESY OF BEELD

Mandela finally agreed that the two will have to go and the commission is the mechanism to do this publicly so that people can see how the generals have been behaving.

Speaking in a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) interview in Durban yesterday, Mandela said the investigation would not look at the actual allegations made in the report but rather its compiler.

"Is it true that the source was tested on a polygraph as we were told, was the report verified, why was it not shown to the Defence Minister before it was brought to me," he said.

Mandela said there were elements "of the old order trying to destabilise the country. We cannot be complacent but we are in supreme command. If we find any attempt to destabilise the country, we will blot it out quickly and efficiently," he said.

The commission started hearing evidence on Saturday and Meiring has said he will cooperate.

He, however, defended the compilation of the report, saying it would have been dereliction of duty not to have done so.

It has been confirmed that Fivaz will also appear before the inquiry.

Rift widens as Mandela spurns defence force chief

Pule Molebedi
and Stephen Laufer

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THE rift between Gen Georg Meiring and President Nelson Mandela widened yesterday as the president's office repudiated a statement by the defence force chief contradicting Mandela on details of an alleged coup plot against government.

Meiring's statement, in an internal bulletin to troops, which was also faxed to the media, said that Defence Minister Joe Modise had prior knowledge of his plan to report the alleged coup plot to Mandela.

Mandela has asked a judicial commission to examine why Meiring brought him the report without first informing Modise, his deputy Ronnie Kasrils, Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla, civilian intelligence agencies or the parliamentary oversight committee.

Sources thought to be close to Meiring have suggested in the past few days that he suspected Modise and Kasrils of involvement in the plot, which is why he went straight to Mandela.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said Meiring's latest version of events was "something new. As far as we know he went straight to the president." It represented a "substantial" contradiction of Mandela's recollection of the incident. The only person

BD 31/3/98
who could explain the contradictions was Meiring himself.

Mandela said last week that the intelligence report detailing the alleged plot was brought to him without Modise being informed. The only person from whom Mandela could have gained this impression was Meiring himself, Mankahlana said.

Meiring was the only witness at the judicial inquiry at the weekend to publicly break the confidentiality of the proceedings. Mankahlana expressed surprise that Meiring waited until yesterday to give his version of events, but had not waited an extra day for the commission's report to appear before speaking out.

Ministers and other inquiry participants have been reluctant to discuss the investigation.

Mankahlana said Mandela would receive a report from the judicial commission, possibly verbally, late today after arriving in Cape Town on the QE II from Durban. He would study details before making any decisions.

Mandela "might indicate what he wants to do" by tomorrow or Thursday.

In his bulletin to troops Meiring said he wanted to make it clear that, contrary to media reports, he was not implicated in the alleged plot against government.

He said he welcomed the commission and reaffirmed his support for it.

Coup report defended by Meiring

(254) (257A)

CLIVE SAVYER AND MARCO GRANELLI

POLITICAL STAFF

ARG 31/3/98

South African National Defence Force (SANDF) chief Georg Meiring has defended his handling of an intelligence report alleging a leftwing plot to overthrow the Government, saying he was just doing his duty by warning President Nelson Mandela.

He spoke out a day before Mr Mandela was due to be handed the findings of a judicial inquiry into the compiling of the report, which claimed that several African National Congress veterans - including foreign affairs official Robert McBride, who is now being held in Mozambique in connection with alleged gun-running - wanted to overthrow the Government.

Mr Mandela had been scheduled to receive the report today but a spokesman for his office said the president's commitments on board the QE2 luxury liner in Cape Town meant his meeting with the commissioners had to be delayed until tomorrow.

In an internal SANDF bulletin released yesterday, General Meiring says that failure to have submitted the intelligence report to Mr Mandela would have been a dereliction of duty. He denied claims that no attempt was made to verify the information or that he had not told Defence Minister Joe Modise of his plan to submit the report to the president.

General Meiring said that during 1997 a report was compiled from a number of pieces of information the SANDF had obtained which indicated planning for a possible plot against the Government. The SANDF tried to confirm or refute the information, but by early 1998 had been unable to do this.

He had decided to avoid the normal intelligence channels and processes because of

To page 2

Meiring defends his handling of coup report

From page 1

the sensitivity of the information and to submit it directly to Mr Mandela.

The commission looking into the compiling of the report, headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mohamed, began its work on Satur-

day. It has interviewed General Meiring as well as civilian intelligence heads and Linda Mtshali, the chairman of the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee.

It is reliably understood the report was not cross-checked with civilian intelligence agencies.

ARG 31/3/98

The main source for the military intelligence report is reported to be Vusi Mbatha, who was arrested with Mr McBride in Mozambique. Those who have rejected the authenticity of the claims in the report have called into question Mr Mbatha's background as an alleged double agent.

Far-reaching shake-up in MI expected

(264)
BY JOVIAL RANTAO

Political Correspondent

Mar 31/3/98

The judicial commission appointed to probe a report that left-wing army officers and ANC officials planned a coup is expected to recommend a major shake-up of military intelligence (MI), which is believed to be the source of the report being probed by the commission.

The commission, consisting of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Appeal Ismail Mahomed and Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone, completed its work yesterday after interviewing, among others, the head of the SA National Defence Force General Georg Meiring, and Deputy Intelligence Minister and chairman of the National Intelligence coordinating committee Joe Nhlanhla.

A report is expected to be handed to President Nelson Mandela today.

The commission, which completed its work in three days, has been hailed in political circles as the fastest and best course of action.

Government sources said that pending the answers provided by Meiring and others, Mandela might have to sack Meiring as well as high ranking securocrats associated with the report.

The Star was told that the Cabinet had, as early as two months ago, approved a review of MI's operational methods, its structures, its sources and its conduct.

Intelligence sources have described MI as "the most untransformed" intelligence unit.

► Modise knew of report - claim

Exposing the generals

(254) Sowetan 31/3/98

H stood by President Nelson Mandela's side on May 10 1994 as the air force helicopters carrying the new South African flag flew past in a salute to the new order

And at that moment, Defence Force chief General George Meiring, PW Botha's man symbolising the old order turned anew, prepared to serve Mandela

It was a dreamy moment that brought tears to many eyes and gave hope to many that white soldiers, tutored in the hate and denigration of black people, were at last prepared to serve under a black President

For a genuine fear permeated the corridors of power at the time, that white seurocrats would rebel against the new order, and could launch a coup and take over. It did not happen, and instead Meiring gave his unflinching support and loyalty to Mandela and the democracy he represented. That was then

Now Meiring, who retires next year, stands before a commission of inquiry headed by the country's top judge

He has to explain why a report alleging a coup plot by ANC members and compiled from a single source with old guard informer status and with the potential to plunge the country into crisis was rushed to Mandela

Talk is that he may not even last the next three months and may be fired within the next ten days. How did it all come to this?

On February 5 this year, Meiring requested an urgent meeting with Mandela where a report compiled by Military Intelligence (MI) was handed to the president

The report stated that a group of the President's own people within the ANC was plotting a coup. These people allegedly included incoming defence force chief Siphwe Nyanda, Lieutenant General Lambert Moloi, Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, former Umkhonto we Sizwe operative Mr Robert McBride and United Democratic Movement leader General Bantu Holomisa

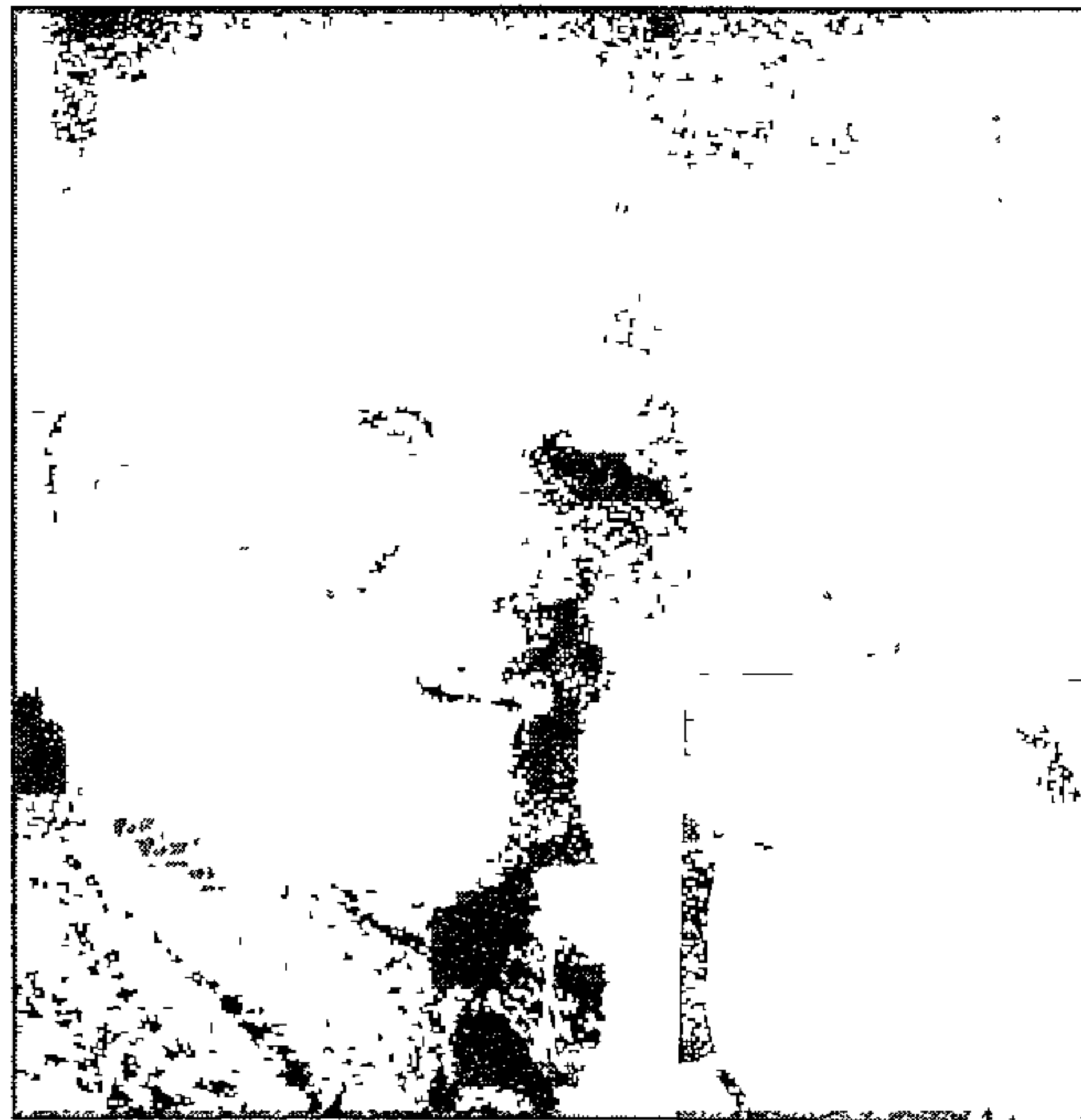
The report apparently stated that medical supplies and military hardware were stolen from military bases and stored in the ANC headquarters in preparation for the coup

In presenting the report to Mandela, Meiring had bypassed Defence Minister Joe Modise, implying that though his name was not in the report, he too could not be trusted with the information

In discussions with Mandela, Meiring is said to have assured the President that the source of the report, one now very infamous Vusi Mbatha, and his handler, had both been put through a lie detector test and had passed, meaning that the information was true

The old guard "uncovering a plot" to overthrow the new Government could have led to a crisis in SA.

Mathatha Tsedu examines the issues ...



President Mandela in an angry mood during his announcement of a judicial commission to look into Meiring's (inset) antics.

The import of all this was that Mandela could have then declared a state of emergency, arrested a number of people, but above all, such a move would have meant Nyanda's hopes of leading the force were over. In that case, Mandela could have either asked Meiring to stay on after July, or have turned to him for advice about a successor

Mandela thanked the general and did not act on the report. Instead, he called in his men, Thabo Mbeki, Sydney Mufamadi, Joe Nhlanhla, Modise and a separate verification exercise of the report got under way

Mufamadi is said to have had a scheduled briefing with Police Commissioner George Fivaz a few days after the meeting with Mandela. Mufamadi did not talk about the report nor did Fivaz, but the latter spoke instead about the issues contained in the report without mentioning its existence

"This showed that he was aware of its existence and the details he gave without having read it showed he knew a lot about it," a source told *Sowetan*

Enter McBride, the ex-MK operative and

ANC intelligence man who some time last year had applied for a licence to run a gun shop

McBride was arrested by Mozambican police on March 10, while allegedly investigating gun running operations. He was in Mozambique with Mbatha, the man who had told MI that McBride was part of a plot to topple the government

As the storm broke around McBride, Fivaz dispatched General Suiker Brits to investigate, and the latter, on his return, said evidence he had seen would have sent McBride to jail in a South African court

Meiring's report was at this point also leaked, leading to anger within Government, especially Mbeki, who felt the white officers in both the army

and the police were up to something serious and needed to be dealt with sternly

Mandela, however, is said to have been uneasy about a tough stand, "but eventually Mbeki won the day. The generals had to go and their tactics were exposed. Hence Mufamadi's speech in Parliament. That speech had been written by Mbeki himself and had to be toned down," the source said

With the agreement to deal with the generals, a method had to be found and on Friday Mandela announced that Chief Justice Ismail Mohamed and Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone would conduct an investigation into the dissemination, compilation and compiler of the report

They will not investigate its content as this is seen as unnecessary

And so Meiring's world comes tumbling down. And with it possibly that of Fivaz too. Mohamed is expected to report within the next few days but not later than two weeks

That period may just be what is left of Meiring's days at the helm of the South African National Defence Force

Meiring's rejects

coup im politicat ion

By Mathatha Tsedu

TODAY is D-day for SA Natal Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring, as the high-powered judicial commission of inquiry into the compilation and verification of a military report alleging a coup plot, reports to President Nelson Mandela.

And as the embattled military chief faced what appears to be his last days, he fought back yesterday, denying that he had ever given the impression that the single-source report had been verified before it was given to

Mandela on February 5.

Meiring also denied overlooking Defence Minister Joe Motlase, saying the minister had "known of the report".

Mandela's office announced last night that the commission, headed by Chief Justice Ismael Mohamed and including Constitutional Court senior judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone, would report to him when he reached Cape Town on the luxury liner QE2 this morning. Informed sources said last night that although a decision to fire

Meiring had been taken, an "honourable way out" would be sought and he would be given the opportunity to resign early and receive a handshake.

The sources said they could take some time of negotiation. Meiring's five-year contract ends next year. Sapa reports that Meiring yesterday rejected reports that he was implicated in the Military Intelligence document on an alleged plot to overthrow the Government. He also stressed that the SANDF had been unable to confirm the information in the MI report.

The chief of the SANDF wishes to make it clear that, contrary to media reports, he is not implicated in the information contained in the report "at all" the Department of Defence said in Pretoria.

Meiring said the report, based on information provided by a single source, was compiled last year. The SANDF had since made attempts to confirm its contents. "By early 1998, the SANDF has been unable to do this. The information, because of the sensitivity thereof, could therefore not be treated in the normal way by being fed into the

normal intelligence channels." Because of the serious nature of the information, Meiring said, Mandela was personally informed of the report. This was done on February 5, this year, making it clear that the information was unconfirmed.

The action was taken with the prior knowledge of the Minister of Defence. Failure to have taken this step would have been a dereliction of duty, Meiring said. He said his appearance before the commission on Saturday and Sunday was evidence of his support of the inquiry into the matter.

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Boisera 3/13/98

End of the line for SA soldiers of fortune

Star 11/4/98

(254)

By Jovial Rantao
Political Correspondent

Cape Town - Legislation preventing South Africans from being hired as soldiers of fortune was passed yesterday by the National Council of Provinces, with amendments to prohibit foreign citizens living in South Africa involving themselves in armed conflicts for private gain.

Political parties and delegates to the NCOP unanimously agreed that the Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill should become law. However, the amendment means that the bill will be referred back to the National Assembly before being sent to President Nelson Mandela for his signature.

Mohseen Moosa, chairman of the select committee on security and justice, said the committee believed that the net of the bill should be cast to include foreign citizens who conduct or participate in armed conflict within

South Africa's borders, except as provided for in the constitution.

"The committee is of the view that the definition of a 'person' limits the operation of the legislation to South African natural and juristic persons only. This, in the committee's view, creates a legal-technical problem which may be exploited by foreigners who wish to conduct armed conflict on South African soil. It is the belief of the committee that it was never the intention, in terms of policy or otherwise, for such a lacuna to be created in this bill. The committee therefore recommends that urgent attention be given to this issue, which may cause problems in the future," Moosa said in a report tabled in the NCOP.

Once the bill becomes law, all activities which fall within the definition of foreign military assistance will be regulated through the issue of permits by the National Conventional Arms Control Committee chaired by

Professor Kader Asmal.

Penalties for transgression of the law would include fines, imprisonment and forfeiture of property. Also, no limit has been placed on the maximum penalty that may be imposed by the courts. The bill also empowers South African courts to adjudicate upon acts committed outside the country.

Defence Minister Joe Modise said the bill would enable the process of law to distinguish between genuine, lawful activities and a mercenary's direct participation as a combatant in armed conflict for private gain.

"The bill, however, is not intended to obstruct anyone from rendering legitimate, lawful military assistance where such legitimate activities include technical and training support rendered to democratically elected governments by private companies or individuals. It is not the bill's intention to curtail such legitimate activities but merely to regulate them," he said.

Bill outlawing mercenary activities gets approval (254)

Wyndham Hartley PD 1/4/98

CAPE TOWN — The National Council of Provinces yesterday approved the "mercenary bill" with tough new amendments which will make it a crime for any foreign national to promote or launch mercenary activities from SA soil.

The Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill prohibits any mercenary activity by South Africans, but council members said there was a loophole which could allow foreigners to do in SA what locals could not. They suggested amendments which closed the loophole.

Defence Minister Joe Modise said he accepted the changes which further "fine-tuned" the bill. Because of the amendments, the bill will have to go back to the National Assembly for final approval before it can become law.

Modise said the bill was a unique and exceptional piece of legislation "unlike any that has been tabled anywhere in the world".

"It places the onus on the SA citizen or company, or foreign citizen within the republic's borders, who may be involved in such activities, to take serious stock of their liability under the law," Modise said. He said penalties for transgressions — including fines, imprisonment and forfeiture of property — were extremely severe.

The bill does not provide for a maximum penalty, which is left to the discretion of the courts.

DP, FF 'support apartheid legislation'

Vuyo Mvoko

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party (DP) and the Freedom Front (FF) were accused yesterday of supporting "apartheid legislation" through their vehement opposition to the passing of the Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Bill.

Introducing the bill in the National Council of Provinces, Housing Minister Sankie Mthembu-Mahanyele told members: "The bill before you allows for nothing more or nothing less than what the constitution instructs us to do." The bill was meant to scrap the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, "one of the most objectionable and inhumane laws ever created by the apartheid regime" and one that was, under the current dispensation, unconstitutional, she said.

The present constitution states that no person may be evicted from their home or have their home demolished without an order of court made after considering all relevant circumstances, and no legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.

The constitution states also that "no one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application, and no law may permit arbitrary deprivation of property".

The DP, which had not objected to the bill when it was passed in the National Assembly, had decided to "revisit" its decision, according to its member, William Misi.

Explaining the about-turn to the council, Misi said the bill dealt criminalised squatting and land invasion, and instead criminalised a land owner's actions. Although the intentions of the bill "appeared honourable", in practice the bill made it difficult for an ordinary property owner to evict an unlawful occupier.

Furthermore, he said, a section of the bill swung the balance even further in favour of the illegal occupier; who may apply for state legal aid in the event of the owner seeking a court order to evict.

The FF's Gen Hendrik Groenewald described the bill as the poorest piece of legislation ever tabled, saying parliament should have rather waited until better legislation was tabled. The bill had many weaknesses and would be difficult to correct later.

The African National Congress (ANC) said its member, Nyambeni Madau, was "not surprised" that the DP and the FF preferred to support "apartheid legislation" and not legislation that sought to transform SA society.

National Party member Stanley Fisher expressed his party's concern with certain clauses of the bill, but supported it.

Mthembu-Mahanyele said the new bill created a perfect balance between "restoring the human dignity of the masses of people who fell prey to the deeds of cruel landlords", and also gave "security and assurance to land owners that illegal occupation of their land will not be tolerated".

Although the opposing parties called for a division, the ANC and the NP ensured it was passed. The bill would now be signed by the president to become law.

PD 1/4/98

Coup report dismissed as 'fraudulent'

Sowetan 2/4/98

By Joe Mdhlela

THE REPORT, now popularly known as the Meiring report, which last week alleged a coup by former MK operatives was imminent, was nothing more than a fraudulent piece of work aimed at destabilising the Government, a Government spokesman said yesterday.

Also, the report which hit newspaper headlines at the weekend, was described as the work of certain military generals whose motives were to sow seeds of confusion.

Although at this stage it was difficult to ascertain the list of people who compiled the report, sources close to Government yesterday said it was not inconceivable that right-wing generals played a part in its compilation.

However, Government spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe yesterday told a media briefing at the Union Buildings in Pretoria that the President is studying the report and will make whatever public announcement may be deemed necessary in due course.

The judicial commission set up by President Nelson Mandela to investigate the Meiring report presented the report to Mandela in Johannesburg yesterday. The commission was headed by Chief Judge Ishmael Mohamed and Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone.

Responding to questions from journalists,

Netshitenzhe said the report lacked credibility. The fact that a report of that magnitude could only depend for its authenticity on a one-source intelligence report made it even more suspect, said Netshitenzhe.

He said with the 1999 general elections not far off, it was possible that a disinformation campaign would suit the ends of elements wanting to destabilise the Government.

The claim that South African National Defence Force Chief of Staff General Siphwe Nyanda could be involved in an attempt to plot the unseating of the present Government was not possible.

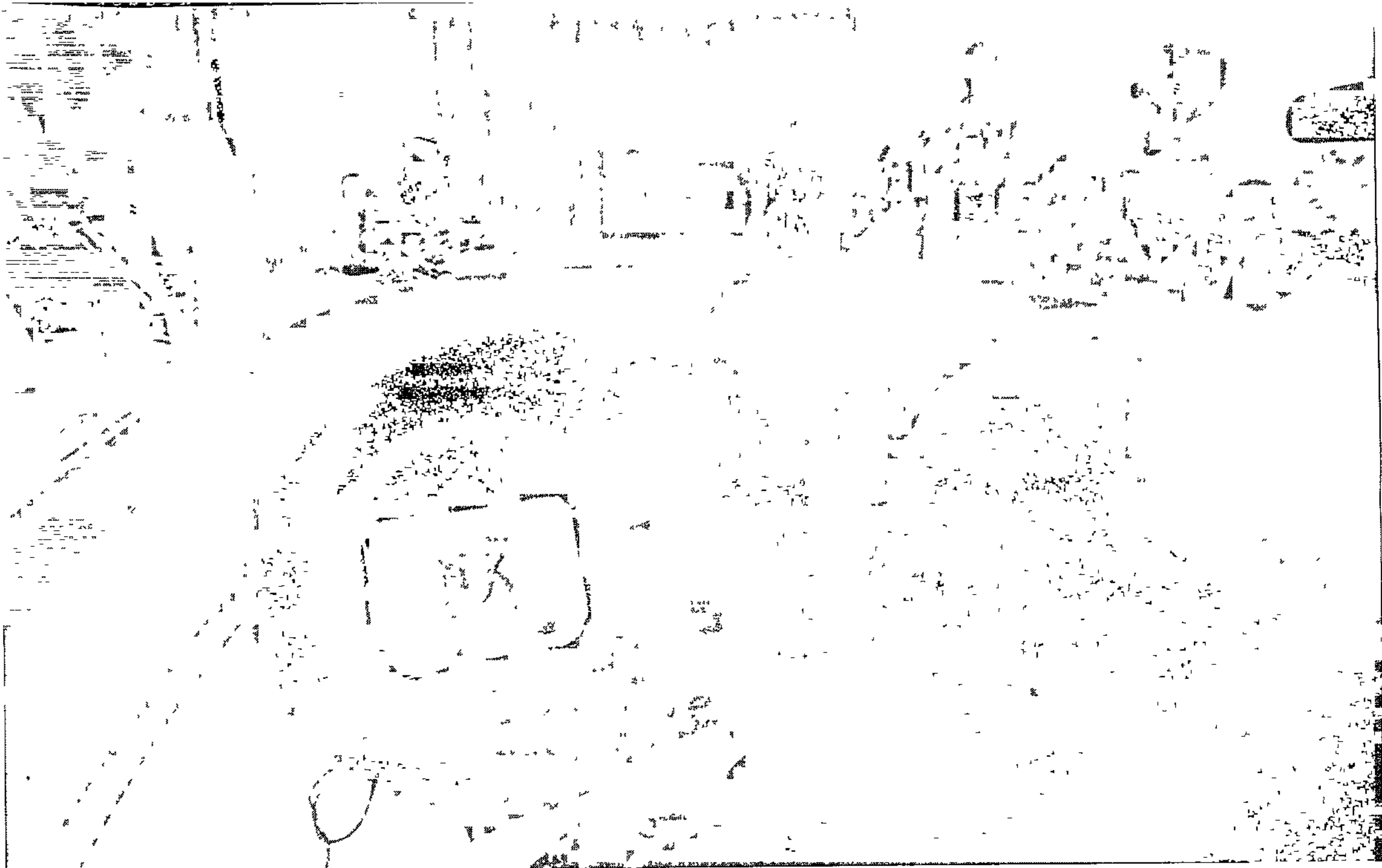
Discredited claim

Netshitenzhe said Mandela had discredited a claim by the report that Nyanda and other MK operatives could be involved in a coup.

"This is the work of elements who want to destabilise the Government not only militarily but economically as well. It would be naive to narrow down the destabilisation tactics to Military Intelligence," he said.

Although the chief protagonist in the military coup theory, SANDF Chief General Georg Meiring is expected to retire next year, Netshitenzhe said he could not prejudge what would happen to him in the light of the new developments.

Meiring has claimed that his boss, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise knew about the report.



Unfounded . . . an enormous press contingent turned out yesterday to hear government communications head Joel Netshitenzhe (seen in the viewfinder of a TV camera, foreground) say that a report on an alleged coup was without substance

Govt shrugs off report of planned coup

star 2/4/98

Investigation that slipped through procedural gaps may put general's career on the line

BY RYAN CRESSWELL AND SAPA

A Military Intelligence report claiming there was a plot to topple the Government could not be taken seriously, head of government communication Joel Netshitenzhe said in Pretoria yesterday.

President Nelson Mandela was briefed on the findings of a judicial inquiry into the MI report yesterday after a three-person commission investigated the way in which the report was compiled, and subsequent Presidential spokesman Parks Mankah said "The president wants to indicate that insofar as that particular process is concerned, the commission has found that the process was flawed. "Because of this, it is im-

possible to even take the report seriously"

SA National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring handed the MI report to Mandela on February 5.

Meiring was still waiting to be briefed by Mandela on the report yesterday.

The commission's finding could mean the death knell for Meiring's career. He handed the report to Mandela without subjecting it to normal intelligence verification. He has earned the wrath of many in the ANC and there have been calls for his immediate dismissal.

Netshitenzhe said "The commission might be making certain recommendations about what needs to be done. But there will certainly be actions that would be taken."

Asked if Meiring was to be

Georg Meiring . . . still waiting to be briefed

axed, Netshitenzhe said Mandela was studying the report and would make whatever public statement he deemed necessary within days.

The Government would also probe the contents of the re-

port, Netshitenzhe said, pointing out that both Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had already stated there were elements within the state and outside intent on destabilising the Government.

"It could well be that this report, the process through which it went and perhaps the intention of those who prepared it, is linked to that destabilisation campaign."

The MI report claimed that various former and present ANC members, including Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, detained Foreign Affairs deputy director Robert McBride, National Defence Force Chief of Staff Siphwe Nyanda and United Democratic Movement co-leader Bantu Holomisa, were plotting to overthrow the Government.

It was solely based on information provided by alleged police spy Vusi Mbatha (aka Madida) who is currently detained with McBride on suspicion of gunrunning in Mozambique.

Mandela and senior ANC members apparently viewed the report as a possible attempt by the old guard to sow dissension and was not happy with Meiring, who is now in a difficult position.

SANDF spokesman Louis Kirstein said he had talked to the defence force chief and was told the general would not speak to anybody about the issue until he had more information.

Meiring, who has a masters degree in physics, joined the old South African Defence Force in 1959 as a part-time commando and was commissioned several years later.

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Moment of truth ahead for the TRC

Final report proves nightmare for staff

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's own moment of truth – the presentation of its final report to President Mandela on July 31 – is almost at hand, and the build-up is proving something of a nightmare for its hard-pressed staff.

For more than two years, the 17 commissioners (now 15) and their staff have been travelling the length and breadth of the country, meeting several thousand perpetrators, victims and witnesses along the way.

Responses to them have included tearful accounts of unspeakable atrocities, powerful appeals for reconciliation, justice or – occasionally – even retribution; dramatic confessions, heated denials, pathetic excuses, outright lies, bitter accusations of bias and angry allegations of a witch-hunt against certain sectors of South African society.

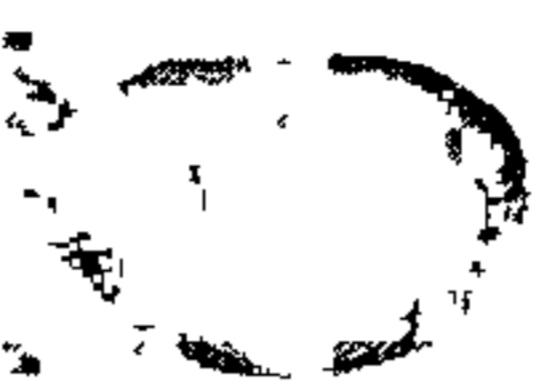
Now the commission is struggling to translate those myriad responses and requests into a single, coherent account which describes how and why people of all political persuasions committed gross human rights violations during the era March 1960 to May 1994 and which makes recommendations on how to avoid such a situation in future.

This account will take the form of the commission's final report.

The commission's research department, headed by University of Cape Town reader Charles Villa-

THE STORY

After more than two years, the TRC is now drafting its report to the president, writes **JOHN YELD**. Pictures by Leon Muller



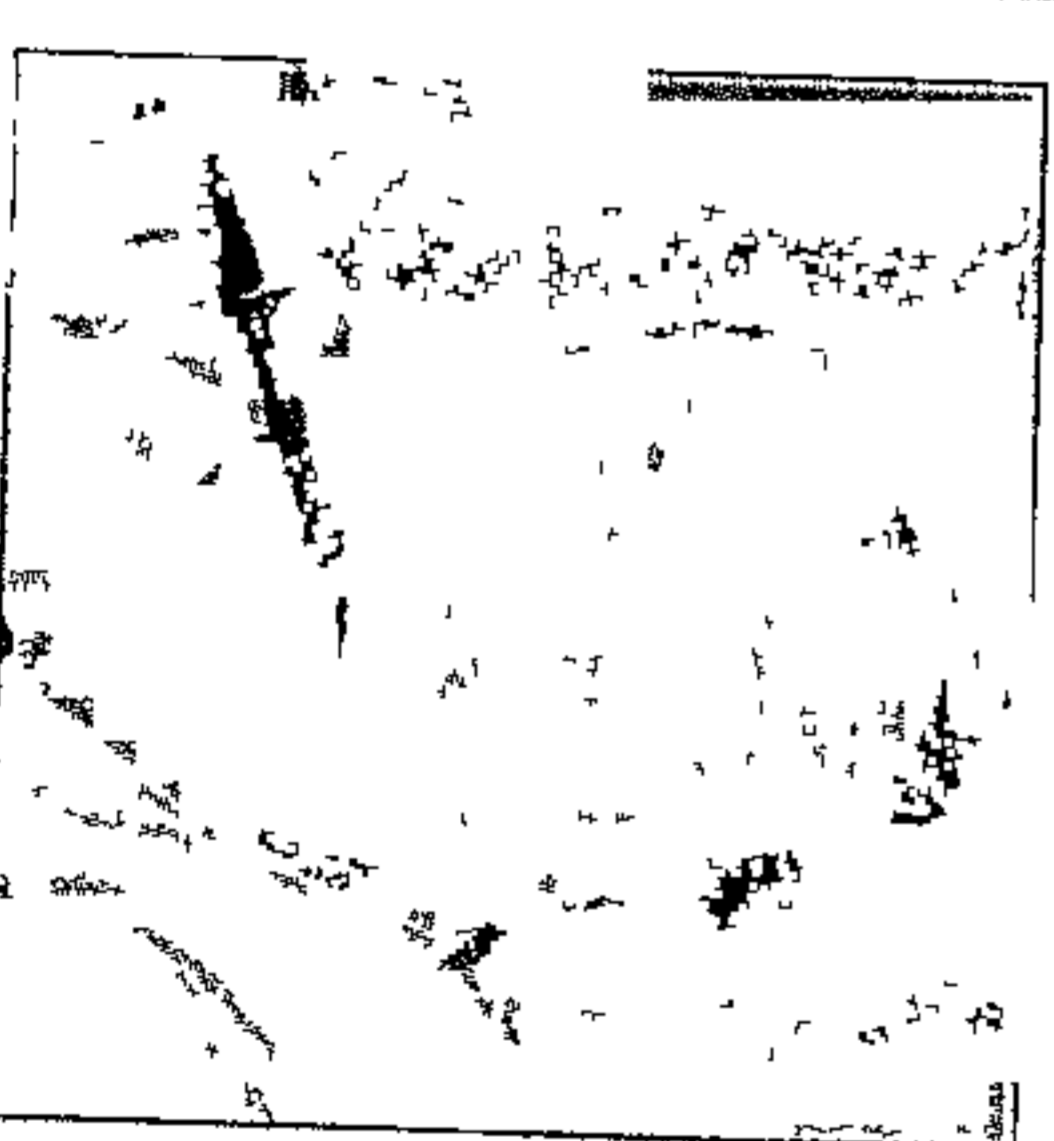
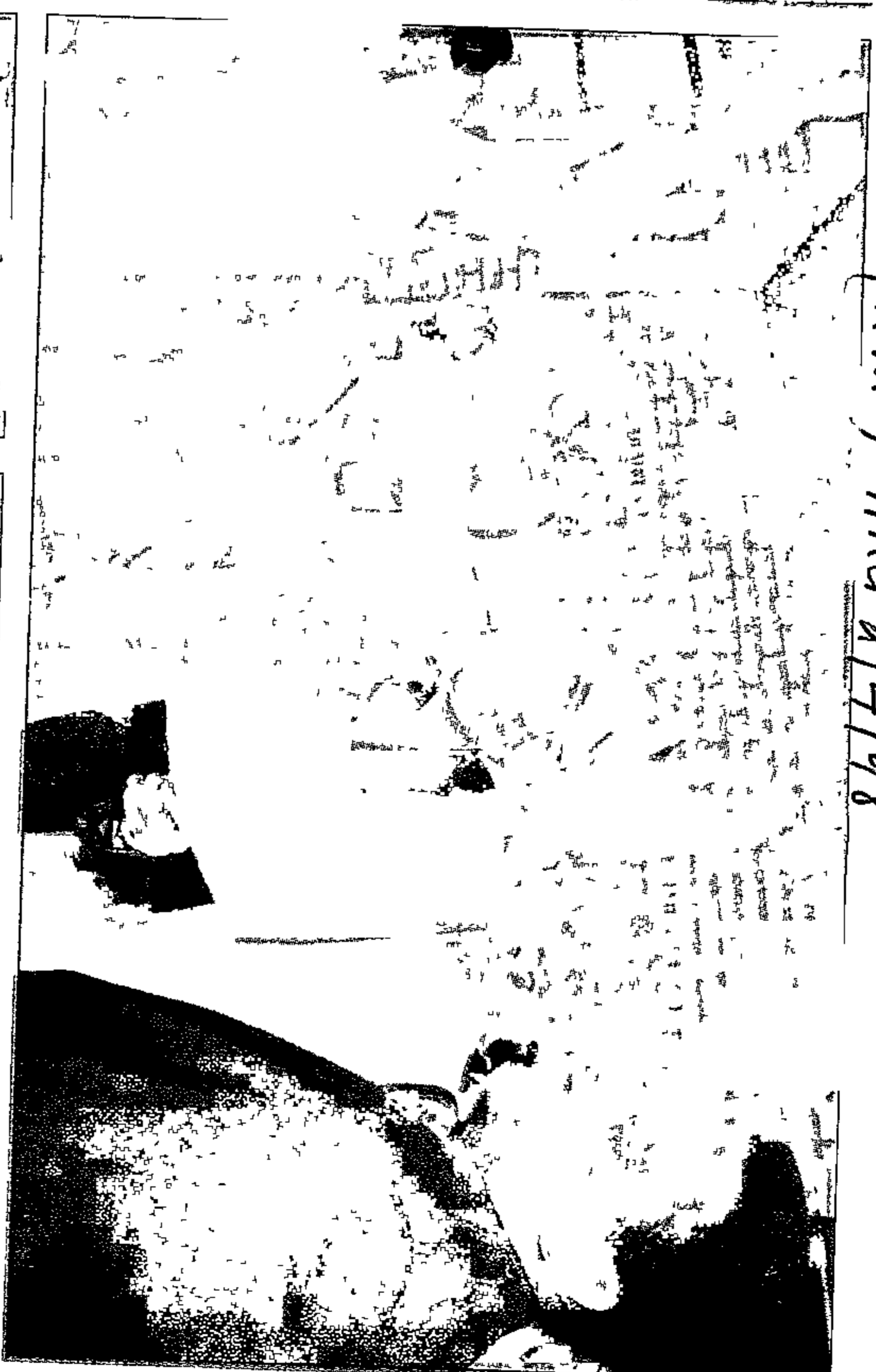
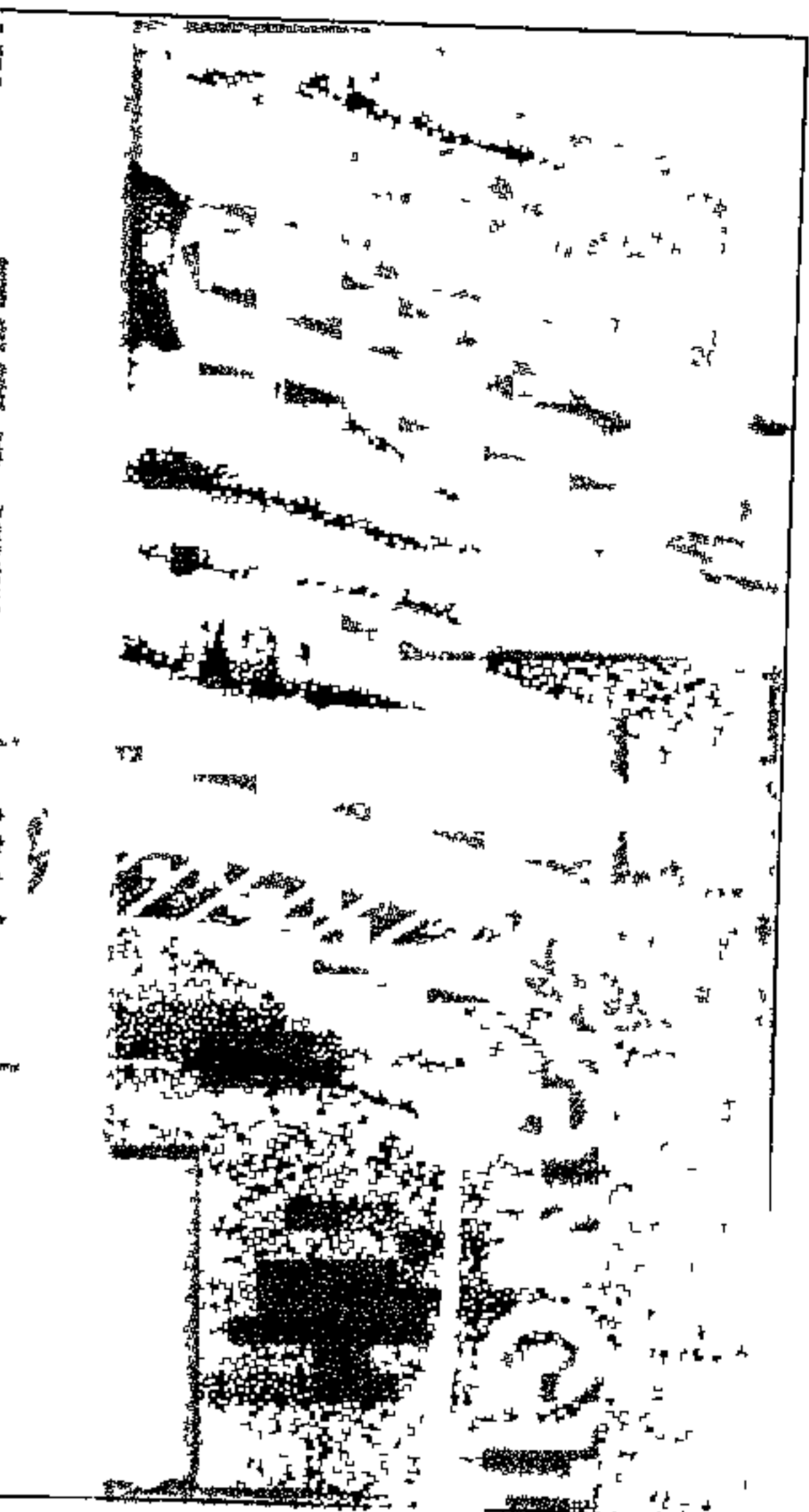
grandson of apartheid architect Hendrik Verwoerd.

The research team, some of the commissioners and members of the commission's three committees are sharing the task of writing various chapters of the report.

"There is no principal author – a whole range of people are putting words on paper," explains Professor Villa-Vicencio.

Each draft chapter goes before the full commission, which makes various comments before a redrafting (or several re-draftings), and several of the introductory chapters already are complete.

The writing of one – the so-called "mandate" chapter – proved to be particularly time-consuming. This is because it includes the



Final countdown: among those who will feature in the Truth Commission's Final Report are, clockwise from left, former security policeman Jeffrey Benzen, demonstrating his infamous "wet-bag" torture method, TRC chairman Archbishop Tutu with deputy defence minister Ronnie Kasrils, president-elect Thabo Mbeki, former NP leader FW de Klerk, and former Eastern Cape security policeman Gideon Nieuwoudt, applying for amnesty.

(Aria) AKG 2/4/98

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PEC 2/4/98

Vicencio, is responsible for co-ordinating and managing the writing of the report

Not surprisingly, its proposed format has changed several times during the past two years, but is now effectively finalised

It is likely to consist of about 21 sections in four volumes, running to an estimated 2 000 pages overall. Because the amnesty committee will not have completed its work by July 31, there will, of necessity, be an addendum

The commission also plans to produce a fifth volume, which will take the form of an inexpensive, "popular" version of the final report

Among the commission's 15 full-time researchers and another 15 or so on contract are historian Professor André Odendaal, administrator of Robben Island, Dr Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission; Professor Abraham Viljoen, brother of Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen, and Wilhelm Verwoerd,

commission's interpretations of moral dilemmas - such as the so-called "just war" and "legitimate" orders to commit gross human rights violations - posed by the text of the commission's founding act

Professor Villa-Vicencio describes its drafting as "extremely difficult" before the mandate chapter came

occasions, over a seven-month period. Initially, discussion was very wide-ranging, but on each of four or five later occasions the commission wrestled with that chapter during a full-day's workshop, while seeking to fine-tune and articulate as clearly as possible our understanding of that mandate

Will the final report be ready in time? "That's a terrible question!" responds Professor Villa-Vicencio. "We've got a lot of stuff written, but many of the chapters are going to have to be edited until the day we give them to the printer. So, the process of

producing this report is nothing short of a nightmare at the moment. Not only has the research department - and, indeed, the whole commission - been almost overwhelmed by an immense amount of documentation and data, but it also must draft the report while the work of the commission is pressing ahead

"For example, a vast number of very important amnesty applications are being heard, findings are being made, Section 29 subpoenas to closed inquiries are being heard, and the United Democratic Front (UDF) hearing is scheduled for April 2," says Professor Villa-Vicencio

"So, while we are trying to access and digest and analyse material, we're also actually busy writing, and this is an horrendous experience"

Because there is simply no way in which all the information at the commission's disposal can be packed into the final report, the authors have chosen to include "window studies" which, while significant in their own right as incidents of gross human rights violations, also suggest patterns and illustrate wider trends.

Some of these studies are of high-profile events deeply etched into the nation's consciousness: the murder of the "Craddock Four", the notorious "Trojan Horse" shooting incident in Athlone, the killing of the "Gugulethu Seven", for example

But others are less well-known, or even previously unknown to the public at large.

"We are trying to ensure that ordinary people, and the extent of the suffering by ordinary people, is reflected," says Professor Villa-Vicencio.

"So some of those 'window cases' will tell the story of ordinary people. We're trying to capture the commonplace stories of ordinary people who have suffered at a very banal level."

He agrees that, because the commission has attempted to be as even-handed and unbiased as possible, it

has succeeded in annoying most political groupings in the country. And the final report is not likely to appease that anger

"I should imagine that no particular political grouping is going to be particularly happy with the so-called perpetrator chapter, where we look at the gross violation of human rights committed within the context of certain political groupings and institutions.

"We've had to go into those things very carefully and very hard. We have tried to investigate those allegations very, very carefully.

"For example, the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) has given us a list of 422 people whom they claim were victims of gross violations of human rights in Kwazulu Natal

"Let me assure you, we're going through that list with a fine tooth-comb at the moment. We want to be able to say to the IFP we've followed up on those questions to the best of

our ability"

It's unfortunate that the commission will not have the luxury of time to shape and polish the final report, Professor Villa-Vicencio believes

He is also concerned that the public might be expecting too much "This report will be what it says it is the report of a government commission," he says

"The act requires us to identify and to articulate the motives and perspectives of all the players. So it's a kind of internal history, it's trying to get into the minds and the mindset of people. But we probably aren't going to be able to capture many of the nuances because we just don't have the time. This is a task which others will hopefully embrace in the years that he ahead

"Tragically, we are not going to be able to produce the Rolls Royce that we may have once planned

"I just hope it won't be a broken-down bakke"

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Yet the final report may still prove the key to the commission's ultimate success, because it unlocks the door to the vast data-base that has been accumulated. The research department has been working closely with the national archives to ensure that all the commission's documentation is transferred in an orderly way as quickly as possible.

"Maybe the success of the commission will be that we've created this incredible archive," muses Professor Villa-Vicencio.

"I would see our final report as offering significant and important insights.

"I see it as a road map that will lead investigative journalists and scholars and politicians and critics and - I hope - poets and musicians and everyone else into that body of material, so that they in turn will be able to critique it and address many of those issues that we in the commission simply do not have time to"

Coup report discredited by probe

(254) ET 2/4/98

OWN CORRESPONDENT

PRETORIA: An intelligence report claiming a left-wing plot to destabilise and possibly overthrow the government was without substance and had been discredited, the government has announced

Speaking at a cabinet briefing here yesterday, government communications head Mr Joel Netshitenzhe said President Mandela and his government believed the report to be bogus and hinted that government believed it was the work of elements bent on sowing disinformation

"One would surmise that one wouldn't expect the people who prepared the report to be so stupid as not to have maybe one or two facts thrown into it to try to lend credence to the kind of picture they were trying to weave," Netshitenzhe said

"Therefore various elements of the report will be investigated but government is quite certain the substance of the report is not true."

The report was allegedly based on information received from Vusi Mbatha, who was arrested along with Robert McBride in Mozambique last month. The report was handed to Mandela in February by SA National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring

A judicial commission to investigate how it was compiled, why it

was not verified and why Meiring bypassed the usual intelligence channels in dealing with the report presented its findings to Mandela in Johannesburg yesterday

Netshitenzhe said Mandela would first study the report and finding before making a statement perhaps in the next few days.

Earlier a no-show by Mandela at a scheduled briefing at the Office of the President and a no comment

on the commission left organisers a bit red-faced and journalists more than a bit flustered

It was Netshitenzhe's first cabinet briefing - which he handled most diplomatically

But the same cannot be said for Welfare Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, who was invited to discuss the situation of children in prisons "I think we should also pay attention to what the minister

has announced" said Netshitenzhe when it became clear Fraser-Moleketi was beginning to feel a bit neglected.

"Maybe we should institute a judicial inquiry, then we could get the same attention," she quipped.

But not a question was asked of her. Finally she grabbed her notes and walked off in a huff

With no real advance on Netshitenzhe's earlier statement, journalists became more direct

"Can you at least tell us some details of the meeting between the President and the commission, like when and where they met, who was there or what they were wear-

ing so we've got something to write for tomorrow," one asked in frustration

"They were wearing nice suits," replied presidential spokesperson Mr Parks Mankahlana

'Various elements of the report will be investigated but the government is quite certain that the substance of the story is not true.'

Probe finds Meiring report was flawed

Pule Molebeledi
and Stephen Laufer

SPECULATION that SA defence force chief Gen Georg Meiring will be sacked grew yesterday after a three-man judicial inquiry found serious flaws in a military intelligence report accusing senior African National Congress officials of plotting a coup

Meiring handed the report to President Nelson Mandela in February. The judicial commission, set up by Mandela last Friday and consisting of judges Ismael Mohamed, Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone, gave Mandela its findings yesterday.

Government spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said Mandela was studying

the judges' findings, which were presented to the cabinet during its regular weekly meeting in Pretoria yesterday

A further announcement would be made in due course. Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said the judicial commission found the report flawed and, because of this, it was impossible to take it seriously

Meiring and various ministers testified before the commission last Saturday and Sunday. Meiring was accused of by-passing relevant authorities when he decided to hand the unverified report derived from a single source to Mandela

The report named alleged gun smuggler Robert McBride and Lt-Gen Siphwe Nyanda, who is tipped to re-

place Meiring as defence chief, among former senior Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres implicated in the alleged plot. Meiring issued a statement this week claiming Defence Minister Joe Modise had prior knowledge of his plan to hand the coup report to Mandela

Netshitenzhe confirmed government did not think the contents of the report were credible and that it did not warrant any investigation. "The view of government is that it is not possible such a plot existed." He said the president had gone about consulting quietly and had set up a commission only after the military intelligence report was leaked to the media

Picture: Page 2

Cancelled meeting costs R25 000

Wyndham Hartley (254)

CAPE TOWN — A high-powered defence delegation flew to Cape Town for a meeting in Parliament last month at a direct cost of more than R25 000 — only to have the meeting cancelled at the last minute.

Defence Minister Joe Modise said in response to a parliamentary question that he had not ordered an investigation into the reasons for the meeting being cancelled at short notice and had accepted the explanation of Tony Yengeni, Parliament's defence joint standing committee.

He said Yengeni had also given the assurance that this would not happen again. Modise said he would not be taking steps to try and recover the money from Parliament. He did not say what Yengeni's explanation was.

In response to a further question from National Council of Provinces member Gerhard Koornhof, Modise

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said Parliament was separate from the executive and as such there was nothing he could do to prevent a recurrence.

Koornhof said that, in the absence of an explanation, the responsibility for the bungle had to be laid at the door of the African National Congress as it controlled both the defence force and the defence committee in Parliament.

He said incidents like this damaged relations between politicians and the SA National Defence Force (SANDF).

It is understood that two meetings of the defence joint standing committee were scheduled for that day — one to discuss the military disciplinary code and the other a closed meeting for a briefing on the procurement packages being considered by the SANDF. The intention was to cancel the one meeting and have only the second.

Instead, both meetings were cancelled. The defence delegation found a note on the door to that effect and simply retraced their steps to Pretoria.

Coup plot backfires on old guard

Wally Mbhele, Stefaans Brümmer and Carlos Cardoso

(254) MCT 3-8/4/98

The military "disinformation" report handed to President Nelson Mandela in February and the arrest of Robert McBride have backfired on old guard remnants within the country's security forces whom the government believes could have been involved in a huge destabilisation campaign against the democratic order.

It appears increasingly likely that Department of Foreign Affairs official McBride, arrested in Mozambique last month, was set up by the old guard to give credence to the military intelligence (MI) "coup" report after Mandela refused to buy it. The report, handed to Mandela personally by South African National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring on February 5, alleged there was a left wing plot to topple the government.

Government officials this week said the MI report — which claimed McBride Winnie Madikizela Mandela, Bantu Holomisa and Meiring's likely successor, Lieutenant General Siphwe Nyanda, conspired against the government — was a clear disinformation attempt.

One, who saw the report, said it was so obviously wrong that only "racist arrogance" could explain why the authors assumed Mandela would take it at face value.

Chief government communicator Joel Netshitenzhe said the government was investigating whether the report, the process it went through and the intention of those who prepared it were "linked to the destabilisation campaign".

Methods of destabilisation could be economic or related to violence and crime. "It is quite possible you would find those people in MI and other structures of the army, in civilian intelligence agencies, among the police, or perhaps business or elsewhere," he said, in the most direct statement yet by the government acknowledging the existence of a broad ranging third force with a politically mischievous agenda.

The *Mail & Guardian* reported after McBride's arrest three weeks ago that the former Umkhonto weSizwe guerrilla was on an operation in Maputo for a special intelligence unit established late last year after word filtered out that organised gangs with apartheid links were planning to destabilise the government through crime.

There is feverish speculation that Mandela — who briefed the top brass of the defence force on Thursday — is about to announce the sacking of Meiring as its chief, and the jobs of a number of other securocrats could also be on the line.

Netshitenzhe confirmed a judicial commission of inquiry, chaired by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed and appointed by Mandela last weekend, found the handling of the report

to have been "procedurally flawed".

Increasing the likelihood that McBride's arrest — by now clear to have been orchestrated by elements of South Africa's security forces — was intended to boost the claims of the MI report is an element of coincidence in the cast of characters involved.

A senior National Intelligence Agency (NIA) official investigating the McBride arrest and the MI report this week confirmed he was aware of prior contact between three people central to both matters: informant Vusi Mbatha, police Superintendent Lappies Labuschagne and MI operative PP Pretorius.

Mbatha is the police and military informant arrested by Mozambican police with McBride, who was first unmasked by the *M&G* two weeks ago. It appears the Mozambicans are using him as the primary witness against McBride.

Significantly, the MI coup report was based on information originating from Mbatha. Mbatha's MI handler is Pretorius, who was the channel for that information. He was allegedly seen with Mbatha shortly before McBride's arrest.

At the same time, Mbatha was an informer for Labuschagne, who was appointed last week to the South African police team helping Mozambican police investigate the McBride case. So far police Deputy Commissioner Zolisa Lavisa and Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi have resisted calls for his removal from the case.

But police sources in Mpumalanga, where Labuschagne is based, this week confirmed that Labuschagne and Mbatha had had contact before McBride's arrest — and also that Labuschagne had boasted about being party to "setting up" McBride in Mozambique. The following reinforces the theory of a plot connecting the MI report and McBride's arrest.

● The NIA official confirmed this week that Labuschagne — alleged by Vlakplaas killer Eugene de Kock to have taken part in

cross border assassinations against African National Congress members in the 1980s — is under suspicion in both police and intelligence structures for a history of involvement in gun running and other cross border crimes. He said this appeared to have continued after 1994.

Lavisa last week defended Labuschagne's record, saying he had a "credible professional name", was "fully conversant with transnational crimes" and has worked extensively with the Mozambican police.

A senior ANC politician this week questioned the decision to keep Labuschagne on the McBride team. "How can you allow someone who was involved in an elaborate trap to follow it up in the form of an investigation?"

● Last Saturday, Mozambique's Minister of Housing and Public Works, Roberto White, was robbed by three men with police identity cards. Driving to Johannesburg International airport, White and two consular officials were signalled to pull over by the occupants of a vehicle without number plates, but showing those IDs. A Mozambican official told the *M&G* that White was robbed of his laptop and cellphone and White's driver was beaten. The assailants told the Mozambicans the attack was in retaliation for McBride's arrest. South African police have confirmed they are investigating the possibility the attackers were policemen.

While Mozambican officials who have officially complained to South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs — have dismissed the link between the McBride case and last Saturday's incident, the possibility remains that the attack was calculated to harden Mozambican attitudes against McBride.

● SABC television news this week discovered a South African car following McBride's wife, Paula McBride, in Mozambique. It appears the car belongs to a businessman involved in trade between Mozambique and South Africa.

● There is widespread suspicion in Mozambique that that country's police force has been deeply involved in all kinds of crime, from gun running to car smuggling and drug trafficking. It is common knowledge among drug users that much of the heroin retail business is in the hands of the police. There is also suspicion that apartheid's third force developed deep links with Mozambique's security forces.



Georg Meiring

Dead MK man's wife sues Mufamadi

Stefaans Brümmer

Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi has shrugged off murder claims against Superintendent Lappies Labuschagne, the member of the police team investigating Robert McBride — but now Mufamadi faces civil action for the death of one of Labuschagne's alleged victims.

Mufamadi and police Deputy Commissioner Zolisa Lavisa have resisted calls for Labuschagne's removal from the team helping Mozambican police probe the McBride gun running allegations.

The *Mail & Guardian* last Friday published claims by convicted police hit man Eugene de Kock that former security policemen Labuschagne and Johan Botha had assassinated prominent African National Congress cadres in Swaziland in 1987, including national executive member Cassius Maake, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) commander Paul Dikeledi and an MK special operations chief, "Comrade Viva". Two young South African students, apparently only ANC sympathisers, were also killed when Viva was ambushed.

Mufamadi reportedly responded by saying the allegations were "untested and malicious", while Lavisa put out a statement saying the police did not "discriminate against any member only on the basis of previous affiliations, unless we have reliable and proven evidence of past human rights violations".

But Viva's widow, former MK member Felicia Dlodlo, is preparing civil proceedings against Labuschagne and Botha — and against Mufamadi in his capacity as police minister — for the death of her husband, whose real name was Theophilus Dlodlo. Her lawyer at the Legal Resources Centre in Johannesburg is also considering criminal charges against the two policemen.

Ironically, the identity of her husband's alleged killers was confirmed to Dlodlo last Monday, the day Labuschagne was appointed to the McBride team, when she visited De Kock in prison. This ended 11 years of uncertainty which was not resolved when she pleaded, at a televised hearing of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission two years ago, and again on the *Truth Commission Special Report* in February, for help in finding her husband's killers.

The truth commission has had access for some time to De Kock's amnesty application and trial records, which name Labuschagne



Seeking justice: Felicia Dlodlo plans civil action against two policemen and Sydney Mufamadi in connection with the death of her husband. PHOTOGRAPH: RUTH MOTAU

and Botha as Viva's killers, but never put two and two together to inform Dlodlo.

Dlodlo this week told the *M&G* about her meeting with De Kock: "I had a strange mixture of emotions. First of all I was relieved to put names to the people who did it. But at the same time there was a feeling of anger. I appeared twice on television. Even if [Labuschagne and Botha] didn't see it, someone must have told them. And they have not applied for amnesty."

De Kock told Dlodlo how Labuschagne had told him how he and Botha followed and fired at a car driven by Viva in a suburb of Mbabane on May 22 1987. Viva and two students in the car with him were killed.

Dlodlo still has niggling suspicions that her husband, who had been appointed area chief

of special operations for MK, may have been sold out by apartheid state collaborators within the ANC, as he was apparently investigating them at the time. De Kock told her this was possible, and that the tip-off about Viva's whereabouts had indeed come from an informer.

Said Dlodlo: "One of the things that really haunts me is that for the first time [the night before his death] he told me he was frightened. I said 'Is it because the Boers are around?' He said yes, but also because people we thought we could trust, we can't trust them anymore."

About Labuschagne investigating McBride, she said: "Robert McBride was my hero. He may or may not be guilty, but it angers me that someone who killed my husband should investigate someone whom we regarded as a hero."

Matter of fact

In the March 20 to 26 edition, the *Mail & Guardian* incorrectly reported that an African National Congress task team was investigating a "communist plot" at the party's Mafikeng conference last year. The task team was in fact appointed by the South African Communist Party.

In the Friday section of March 27 to April 2, we said Victoria Brittain was a journalist with *The Independent* newspaper in London. Brittain works for *The Guardian*.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

(20/4/98)
(2/5/4)

Machinations in military ranks

Probe by high-powered commission

In a plot worthy of John le Carre, a military intelligence report meant to alert the ANC-led government to an alleged conspiracy involving former commanders of its guerrilla army has itself become the target of a high-powered inquiry

Where high-ranking former MK members now serving in the South African National Defence Force, including SANDF Chief of Staff Sphiwe Nyanda, are targeted in the report, their former adversaries in the old South African Defence Force are now under suspicion for compiling it in a bid to disseminate disinformation and generate demoralisation

FM 3/4/98

One of the suspects in the alleged disinformation plot is SANDF chief Georg Meiring, who gave the contentious report to President Nelson Mandela because of "the serious nature of the allegations in it"

The clearest sign that Mandela and his colleagues view the intelligence report in the gravest light was the decision to appoint a judicial commission to hurriedly investigate it. The commission's members

underlined the point it was headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mohamed, with Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone.

But, judging from Mandela's comments to CNN after the commission's appointment, government is suspicious of "elements who are bitter that the minority has lost power" rather than fearful of conspirators within its own ranks

The focus of the judicial inquiry was on the process leading to the report rather than its contents. It was due to report to Mandela on March 31

The commission attracted much media attention but even before it started its work government signalled its belief that the intelligence report was an attempt to destabilise the post-apartheid State by using disinformation to create despondency

Safety & Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi's statement on behalf of government to parliament 10 days earlier was pertinent, in it he referred to a leaked military intelligence report to *The Citizen* that warned of a "violent uprising". An alleged conspirator named in the report is Robert McBride, currently detained in Mozambique. One of his unlikely co-conspirators is alleged to be Bantu Holomisa

Declaring that the intelligence report was leaked to the newspaper by "people working within the state security forces", the government statement says "(It) has neither been properly processed nor subjected to the due process of verification"

The statement goes on to accuse the report's authors of trying to undermine "peace and stability" and warns them that government "is perfectly familiar with disinformation techniques used to prepare for and to legitimise destabilisation programmes"

Meiring, however, has been uncowed by either the allegations of disinformation or the high-powered commission. Meiring says he and his colleagues would have been in breach of duty had they not acted the way they did. He expressed confidence in the commission, saying "I and the SANDF will give it our maximum support"

Meiring admits that the intelligence report was based on information from a single source — understood to be Vusi Mabatha, alias Vusi Mabida, who is suspected of spying for the security forces in the old white-ruled SA and who was arrested with McBride in Mozambique. He admits, too, that the information was unverified

But the SANDF chief states unequivocally that Mandela was told that the report contained untested information and that the decision to hand the report to Mandela was taken with the "prior knowledge of the Minister of Defence"

The report's sensational contents appear to have been received with equanimity by Mandela, until it was leaked to *The Citizen* by unidentified "elements in the security forces" after McBride's arrest. Patrick Laurence

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Coup plot: South Africa is entitled to some answers

Sowetan 3/4/98 (254)

By Kaizer Nyatumba

TO MANY people around the world, our continent does not have a good image, as many who have visited or lived abroad will attest

For many years Africa has been associated with a lot that is bad including corruption on a massive scale, dictatorship and military coups.

The good that happened on the continent, if it ever got reported overseas, was often seen as an exception.

Although it might be tempting to blame Africa's poor image abroad on allegedly "biased" foreign journalists who always look at things on the continent through Western eyes, the sad truth is that Africa has been its own worst enemy.

With the exception of a few countries - South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, for instance - there simply have not been too many success stories on the continent.

For some reason we have produced more military dictators and corrupt governments than we care to remember, and in most instances the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has been either unable or unwilling to interfere in the domestic affairs of member states and step in to intervene when things go wrong.

Great success story

South Africa, therefore, has been a great success story as an African country that managed to solve its problems reasonably peacefully.

It has one of the best constitutions in the world and has a popularly elected government, its President is probably the most respected leader in the world today, and it has been reasonably successful in reconciling blacks and whites.

We are not perfect, but we certainly have a lot going for us.

Unfortunately, the news last week that President Nelson Mandela had appointed a high-powered judicial commission to probe the compilation and handling of a secret military report, which stated that some former Umkhonto we Sizwe generals and some prominent individuals were planning a coup against the Government, will have sounded familiar in certain quarters abroad.

Those who do not wish this country well would have been able to say, with a great sense of satisfaction that we are a typical African country after all, not immune to a coup.

So how seriously should we take South African National Defence Force (SANDF) chief General Georg Meiring whose report that SANDF chief of staff Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, retired General Lambert Moloi, General Davidson Masuku, Ministry of Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride, African National Congress (ANC) Women's



SANDF chief General Georg Meiring.

League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and United Democratic Movement (UDM) co-leader Bantu Holomisa were plotting to overthrow the democratically elected Government?

Well, obviously not at all. The idea itself may not be so preposterous, but certainly the claim that the individuals mentioned would be behind such a move is nothing but ludicrous.

Thankfully, even the Government appears to realise that because the Ismail Mahomed-Pius Langa-Richard Goldstone Commission has been appointed to report not on the content of the report, but rather on its handling by Meiring.

In particular, his failure to refer it first to the National Intelligence Coordinating Committee and Defence Minister Joe Modise before it was brought to Mandela's attention, will be scrutinised.

Although anything is possible the allegations do not make sense. Nyanda, for instance, is widely tipped to succeed Meiring in a matter of months as SANDF chief. Moloi is now retired and Masuku was recently appointed surgeon-general.

What do they stand to gain from toppling a Government they helped put in office by fighting for the country's liberation?

Unlike some disgruntled former MK cadres, who are now unemployed and walking up and down the country's streets in search of work, these men have a vested interest in the Government's perpetuation in office.

McBride almost gave his life for the liberation of the country. He and his organisation may have made errors of judgment about targeting civilians during the dark days of apartheid, but the fact remains that he has proven his deep commitment to his organisation and his country.

Madikizela-Mandela and Holomisa may be regarded as populists, but there is nothing to suggest they contemplated a coup.

Madikizela-Mandela, who remains very popular in the ANC in spite of the controversies which have followed her, has repeatedly made it clear that



President Nelson Mandela.

she has no intention of quitting the ANC, let alone joining another party.

She has made no secret of the fact that she considers herself a custodian of real, unadulterated ANC policies.

The biggest threat Madikizela-Mandela faces to the ANC is as an outspoken internal critic of the organisation's policies.

Holomisa was a military ruler in the former homeland of Transkei, where he had ousted Stella Sigcau in a coup but since his expulsion from the ANC he has committed himself to the democratic process.

Together with Roelf Meyer, he now co-leads the UDM, which fully intends to contest next year's general elections.

The other thing that Meiring's secret compiler of the alarmist report ignores is that in order to stage a successful coup, those party to such a conspiracy would have to have a reasonably high level of support within the defence force itself.

They would need that so that they could impose their will on the country as well as those in the force who attempt to resist them.

Jail for treason

Otherwise they run the risk of being arrested and sent to jail for treason for many years.

What, then, is happening here? Could it be that some people in the SANDF, who were members of the old South African Defence Force, may be trying to sow confusion in the country?

If so, what could their intentions be? The country is still entitled to answers.

After all, it was the same Meiring who cried wolf in the run-up to the 1994 elections when he alleged, falsely, that the ANC was secretly smuggling arms from Mozambique into KwaZulu-Natal in order to attack the Inkatha Freedom Party.

We eagerly await further information.

(The writer is the Editor of 'Saturday Paper' in Durban, soon to be relaunched as 'The Independent Saturday'.)

MEIRING MAY GET CHOP

Mandela's faith in top brass was firm

CT 3/4/98 (254)

JOHANNESBURG: Georg Meiring could face the chop after he handed a report to Nelson Mandela alleging a coup. **ANDRÉ KOOPMAN** of our Parliamentary Bureau reports.

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela told his top generals yesterday that he had never believed the allegations in the military intelligence coup report presented to him by chief of the SA National Defence Force General Georg Meiring.

At an hour-long meeting in Pretoria with the leadership of the SANDF, Mandela said he "did not doubt the loyalty of any of the members of the leadership of the force, especially those who had earned their colours in the former liberation army", spokesperson for the President Mr Parks Mankahlana said.

The report named several top defence force officers who were members of the liberation movement.

Mandela spoke to the generals at his residence, Mahlabandlopfu after receiving the findings of a three-judge commission, led by Mr Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed, which examined the report handed to the President in February.

The judges found it "fraudulent and of no substance". They also found "glaring shortcomings" in the compilation, verification and subsequent handling of the report into "organised activities to overthrow the government".

The report named, among others, Meiring's deputy, Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, former uMkhonto weSizwe special operative and foreign affairs official Mr Robert McBride (being held in Mozambique on suspicion of gun-running), the President's former wife, Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, and co-leader of the United Democratic Movement General Bantu Holomisa. The last two have

stated their intention to sue those who compiled the report.

After being handed the findings of the Mahomed commission on Wednesday, Mandela spoke to Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki and Justice Minister Dullah Omar, Defence Minister Joe Modise, his deputy Mr Ronnie Kasrils, and Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla.

Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and his deputy Mr Joe Matthews could apparently not attend because of prior engagements.

Meanwhile, defence analysts differed sharply on the implications of the report and the findings of the commission, ranging from a belief that Meiring had to go, to a less drastic conclusion that there had to be a shake-up of military intelligence — which prepared the report — and the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee.

Mankahlana said yesterday that Mandela was continuing with his consultations on the "next course of action" and would issue a statement soon.

But Mr Joel Netshitenzhe, Mandela's senior spokesperson, said after the President had received the Mahomed commission findings that Mandela might take action within the next few days against those who prepared the report and gave it to him.

The commission interviewed Meiring and senior defence force

and intelligence officials, civilian and military, during its three-day inquiry.

On Wednesday Netshitenzhe emphasised that the government still believed there were forces in the state apparatus and the military and security services who wanted to destabilise South Africa.

Echoing this, Professor Peter Vale of Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape said yesterday of the coup report "This is the logical outcome of the failure to deal effectively with the military at the end of apartheid".

"This was predestined to happen — as the sun rises over Sunrise Beach every day."

"This is the logical outcome of the failure to deal with the military at the end of apartheid."

He said that "essentially" the military had not changed. "There has been an absorption rather than an integration (in the military)".

"There has been no change of military culture. There

has been no fundamental attempt to rethink military doctrine, and the military remains an instrument of gobbling resources rather than an instrument of giving."

The matter had shown the capacity of the military to get involved in disinformation and if Mandela was satisfied with what the judges had told him about the report he would have to ask Meiring to resign, Vale said.

But defence analyst Mr Helmoed Romer-Heitman felt that not Meiring or Nyanda, or any of the former liberation force generals would have been intent on destabilising the government.

He felt there had been a "botch-up" at a lower level. He seemed to think that the severest implications would be a "major shake-up". — Parliamentary Bureau

Mandela ticks off generals over 'flawed' coup report

PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

President Mandela yesterday confronted his generals with his unhappiness over the way a report alleging a leftwing coup plot had been handled.

Mr Mandela briefed the generals, led by SA National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring and General Siphwe Nyanda, about the findings of the Mahomed Commission, which investigated the report.

It is understood that the judges - Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed, and Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone - found that the way the report was

ARG 3/4/98
compiled was flawed.

After meeting the generals for over an hour, Mr Mandela reiterated he had never believed the allegations in the report handed to him on 5 February.

But he said he did not doubt the loyalty of any of the top officers of the SANDF, in particular those who earned their colours in the former liberation army of the national liberation movement.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said Mr Mandela, who has consulted Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and several Cabinet ministers about the affair, would continue consultations.

"The Office of the President will

(254)
issue a statement in this regard as soon as, in the opinion of the president, all the necessary consultations have been completed," said Mr Mankahlana.

General Meiring, who handed the report to Mr Mandela without subjecting it to normal intelligence verification, has earned the wrath of many in the African National Congress - and there have been calls for his immediate dismissal.

The report named Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, detained Foreign Affairs deputy director Robert McBride, SANDF Chief of Staff Siphwe Nyanda and political leader Bantu Holomisa as part of an alleged coup plot.

Nats blamed for smear against UDM

Shake-up of MI expected after report controversy

(254) Star 4/4/98

By ESTELLE RANDALL

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Military Intelligence (MI) had breached the laws governing intelligence operations in SA in the way it gathered information and conveyed this to President Nelson Mandela in the controversial Meiring report, sources within the security establishment believe.

The National Strategic Intelligence Act of 1994 prohibits MI from covertly collecting domestic military intelligence or foreign non-military intelligence - something which was done to compile the report. A major shake-up of MI and an examination of its role and that of police intelligence within SA's intelligence structures are likely outcomes of Mandela's continued consultation on the flawed MI report which SA National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring handed to him on February 5.

Greater control

The publicity around the report is also likely to speed up placement of former non-statutory armed force members into the command structures of the SANDF and result in greater control over the activities of security force members.

The judicial commission of inquiry established by Mandela this week found that the process of compiling the report was so flawed that it was impossible to take its allegations seriously. Mandela is continuing consultations with key government ministers on the next course of action and the findings of the commission.

Doubts have now been cast on the MI unit's credibility, and its future is in question. The controversial report has also cast doubt on the circumstances around the arrest in Mozambique of Robert McBride on gun-running allegations.

Mandela will brief leaders of opposition parties early next week on the findings of the commission of inquiry.

SEE PAGE 2

More holes than a

Shaw 4/14/98

254

By ESTELLE RANDALL

A Military Intelligence report on an alleged coup plot against the Government did not follow accepted procedure, a commission of inquiry appointed by President Nelson Mandela has found

SA National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring gave the report to Mandela on February 5, without first passing it through the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Nicoe), and the Ministry of Defence, the route it ought to have taken.

In a statement sent to SANDF staff, placed on the Internet and faxed to journalists, Meiring said this week that he breached this procedure because the information was sensitive and could not be treated in the normal way. Meiring's statement contrasted with others involved in the inquiry, who refrained from comment

Gun-running

Meiring's statement failed to explain why Nicoe knew nothing about the decision to gather information on Foreign Affairs senior official Robert McBride, who was detained in Mozambique last month on suspicion of gun-running. The surveillance had been conducted from 1995. This contradicts the National Strategic Intelligence Act of 1994.

Until about two months ago, MI head Major-General Dirk Verbeek sat on Nicoe as chief of intelligence of the SANDF and before Meiring received the information, Verbeek, as

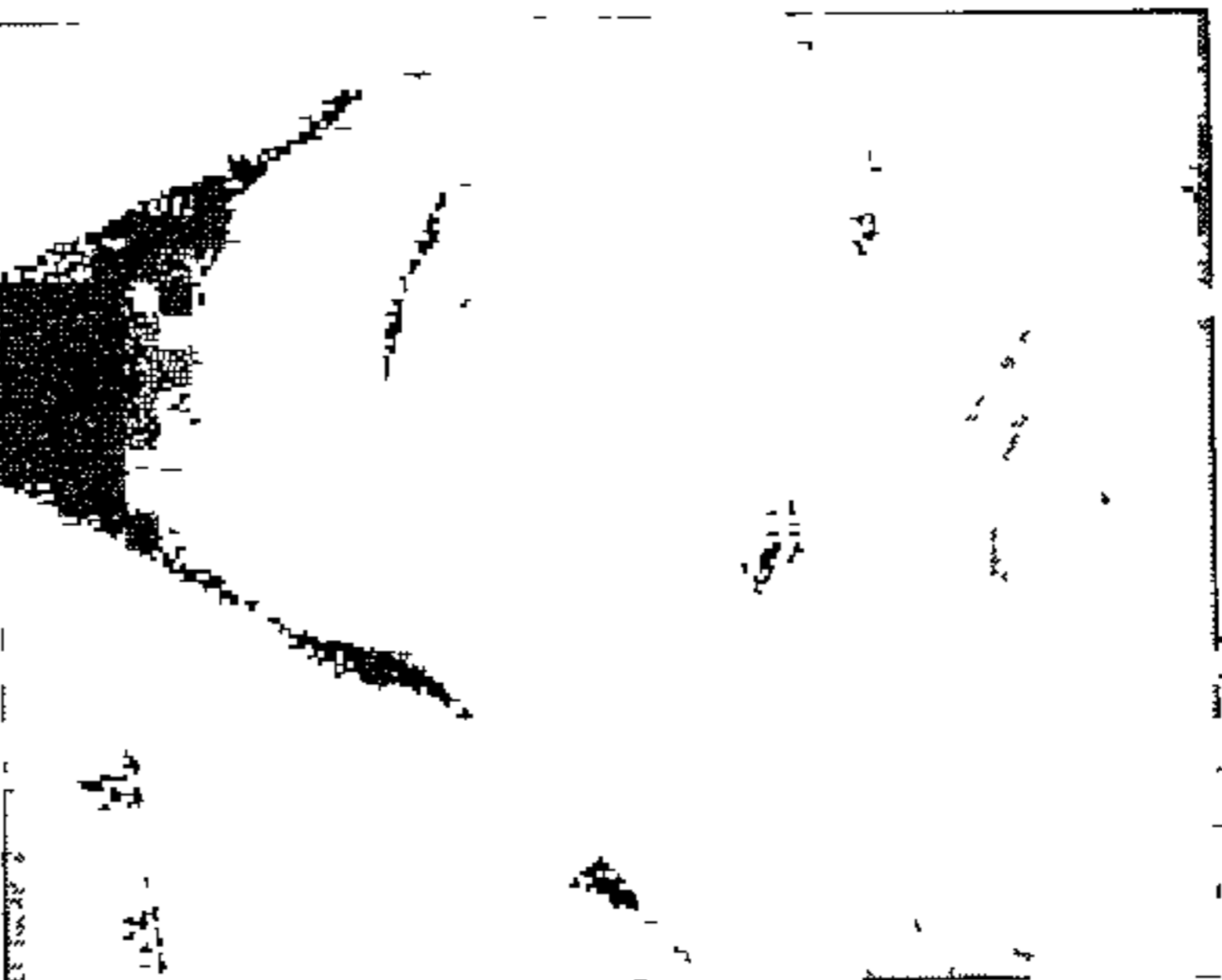
head of MI, would have received it. This was confirmed by Meiring's spokesman. Nicoe was formed in January 1995, the same year MI began gathering its information for the report. Nicoe was set up specifically to make intelligence accountable to the president and the Cabinet.

Those serving on Nicoe are its co-ordinator Linda Mti, the directors-general of the National Intelligence Agency and the South African Secret Service, the chief of intelligence of the SANDF, and the SAPS head of national crime prevention.

Meiring's statement also failed to explain why SANDF generals were said to be planning to meet with Assistant Commissioner Suiker Britz, the man responsible for investigation of illegal weapons possession, murder and robbery and special projects in the SAPS's Special Investigation Unit. There is also no explanation about how the report came to be leaked to the press shortly after McBride's arrest in Mozambique.

The *Citizen* reported on March 14 that senior SANDF officers had approached Britz to allegedly inform him of a plot against the Government, which involved McBride. The *Citizen* said it had learnt of a report containing information gathered by MI on an organisation allegedly gathering weapons and personnel for illegal activities, including a violent overthrow of the Government.

Britz, who did not meet McBride in Mozambique during his information-gathering trip to that country, said later that there



GEORG MEIRING: Did not follow correct procedures in submitting report

was enough evidence to convict McBride of arms smuggling. Britz confirmed that he was approached by an SANDF general who wanted urgently to meet him to discuss the McBride case. The SANDF admitted it was working closely with the police.

Sources in the Government insist McBride was not working alone in his investigation into gun-running networks between SA and

Until Fvaz completes his investigation and decisions are made about what emerges, Britz remains the de facto head of murder, and robbery and special projects in the SAPS investigation unit. However, he has not been sent to Mozambique as part of the SAPS/South African Secret Service team assisting the Mozambique police with their investigations.

Mozambique and that these investigations were leading him to prominent former security force members who are still in the army and police. McBride's probing of who is behind the gun-running route from Mozambique to SA, they say, got him too close to the truth. He had to be set up to prevent this and also to add credence to the allegations contained in the MI report.

There would have been less doubt about the coup allegations in the report if McBride had been caught in possession of weapons when Mozambique police arrested him. But this did not happen, making it necessary to leak the report to the press, to stoke rumours about McBride's arrest in Mozambique, the sources added.

Mandela was suspicious of the report from the outset because it implicated trusted members of his Government in an alleged coup based on information from one source - Visi Madida. Madida, also known as Visi Mbatsha, is a self-confessed informer for the former security forces whose credibility was questioned by Lawyers for Human Rights in 1993 and last year by the Truth Commission.

Although Mandela did not take immediate public action, he consulted his security and intelligence ministers and the deputy president. He was forced to go public with his concerns and appoint a judicial commission of inquiry last weekend when the report was leaked to the press and used to fuel rumours that McBride was guilty of gun-running. Madida, the sole source of information in

Arrest warrant

A warrant was issued for Mamba's arrest by Mozambican authorities after McBride and Madida/Mbatsha were arrested. However, he has not yet been apprehended, and the SAPS declined to comment on whether there was a warrant of arrest for him in SA.

It has not yet emerged whether Britz knew about the trap. Britz is currently being investigated by national police commissioner George Fvaz, following Britz's comments on the arrest of McBride.

Until Fvaz completes his investigation and decisions are made about what emerges, Britz remains the de facto head of murder, and robbery and special projects in the SAPS investigation unit. However, he has not been sent to Mozambique as part of the SAPS/South African Secret Service team assisting the Mozambique police with their investigations.

SIWVE

SANDF chief with a history of controversy

(254) Stan 4/4/98
By KAIZER NYATSUMBA

South African National Defence Force Chief Georg Meiring, who has been in the news in the past few days, is not new to controversy.

He succeeded General Kat Liebenberg on November 1 1993 as chief of the then South African Defence Force.

As chief of the army, Meiring, then a lieutenant-general, often found himself in the news as a result of secret reports he made to the government of F W de Klerk as well as numerous public statements he made in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections.

Although former defence minister Kobie Coetsee's announcement in August 1993 that Meiring would succeed the retiring Liebenberg from November 1 that year was not entirely unexpected by military observers, it came as a bolt from the blue in some political circles, especially those on the Left.

The then 58-year-old Meiring, chief of the army since March 1990, had gained the reputation of being the most political of the leaders of the three arms of the former SADF, never missing an opportunity to take shots at the ANC.

When Meiring clashed repeatedly with the ANC in 1992, it was felt he had greatly harmed his chances of elevation to the top job in the defence force.

Announcing the appointment, Coetsee described Meiring as a soldier who was "outstandingly equipped to develop peace and stability", and hailed him as the best man for the job of leading the SADF "during the present circumstances in South Africa".

Coetsee was effusive in his praise of Meiring, but also expressed concern about his controversial statements and political bent. And Meiring's political gaffes - most of which took place in 1992 - had been many. In September that year he had claimed that armed

members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, and self-defence units (SDUs) had been moved to Kwa-Zulu Natal as part of the ANC's plan to disrupt Shaka Day celebrations.

No disruptions of the celebrations occurred. Later, Meiring alleged that MK members planned sabotage as part of the ANC-led tripartite alliance's "rolling mass action". The plan, he said, was to target government installations and infrastructure in certain homelands and black-residential areas, and to put the blame on the security forces.

He alleged that Sphiwe Nyanda, then MK chief of staff, and Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils, then a prominent member of the SA Communist Party's central committee, had given instructions to arm MK and SDU cadres. Again, he produced no evidence to substantiate the claim.

Secret operation

Some months later, *The Star* revealed details of "Project Echoes", a clandestine SADF operation launched in April 1992 to discredit the ANC by gathering and feeding information to journalists about alleged links between MK and the Irish Republican Army, as well as the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Judge Richard Goldstone subsequently subpoenaed Meiring to testify before the Goldstone Commission, which was then investigating allegations of hit-squad activities, and Nyanda threatened to sue. However, Meiring defended his actions. He had to defend "the safety and security of South Africa and all its people", he said.

Predictably, Liebenberg and the then defence minister, Gene Louw, jumped to Meiring's defence, denying that the statements were party-political. Meiring then adopted a low profile - and was promoted about a year later.

SANDEF Chief Georg Meiring, who has been in the news in the past few days, is not new to controversy. Kaizer Nyatsumba reports

Defence chief in the

firing line - again

(2574) ARK 4/4/98

George Verheug, the chief of the African National Defence Force, is no stranger to controversy.

General Meiring succeeded General Kat Liebenberg on November 1 1993 as chief of the then South African Defence Force. As Chief of the Army, General Meiring, then a lieutenant-general, often found himself in the news as a result of secret reports he made to the F W de Klerk government and the numerous public statements he made in the run-up to the country's founding democratic elections in 1994.

This week General Meiring went public again with his presentation to a three-member judicial commission appointed by President Mandela. The commission was appointed to investigate his handling of a secret report that alleged that some prominent ANC members (including, most interestingly, General Meiring's most likely successor, Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda) were planning a coup against the Government.

The commission, made up of Chief Justice Ismail Mohamed and Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone, has already handed its report to the president.

Those implicated in the sensational coup report, which General Meiring took straight to the president rather than to the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee or Defence Minister Joe Modise as protocol requires, include Foreign Affairs director Robert McBride, who was recently arrested in Mozambique, ANC Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and United Democratic Movement co-leader General Bantu Holomisa.

Mrs Madikizela-Mandela and General Holomisa have since threatened legal action.

Although former defence minister Kobus Coetsee's announcement in August 1993 that General Meiring would succeed the retiring General Liebenberg on November 1 that year was not entirely unexpected by military observers, it came as a bolt from the blue for some political circles, especially those on the left.

The then 58-year-old General Meiring, Chief of the Army since March 1990, had gained the reputation of being the most political of the leaders of the three arms of the former SADF, never missing an opportunity to take shots at the ANC, an organisation regarded for decades by the security forces as the "enemy".

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Announcing the appointment, Mr Coetsee described General Meiring as a soldier who was "outstandingly equipped to develop peace and stability"



LEON WÜLLER

General Meiring: his handling of the secret report that alleged that some prominent ANC members were planning a coup against the Government could cost him his job

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of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and members of self-defence units (SDUs) had been moved to KwaZulu Natal as part of the ANC's plan to disrupt Shaka Day celebrations on September 27.

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But General Meiring defended his actions: he had to defend "the safety and security of South Africa and all its people", he claimed.

Predictably, General Liebenberg and the then defence minister, General Louw, jumped to General Meiring's defence, denying that the statements were party-political.

General Meiring adopted a low profile until his promotion about a year later.

The Conservative Party welcomed the appointment, the Democratic Party's retired General Bob Rogers let it be known he would have preferred Air Force chief Lieutenant-General James Kriel for the post, and the ANC said it would carefully monitor General Meiring's performance with regard to the establishment of multi-party control of the security forces.

Theories about General Meiring's promotion abounded. Some dismissed it as a stop-gap measure by then President F W de Klerk, who wanted the conservative general to consolidate SADF support for the peace process and warm up the seat for Lieutenant-General Pierre Strydom, the SADF Chief of Staff.

General Strydom, described as more "politically correct" and therefore acceptable to the ANC, was believed to be unpopular with the old guard in the SADF because he had led the hunt for military intelligence dissidents undermining the ANC.

Military expert Jakkie Celliers, co-director of the Institute for Defence Policy, said then that General Meiring had been chosen because the Cabinet knew he could pull the army behind him.

"He was the officer commanding the South West Africa territorial forces at the time of Namibia's independence and knows what transition is about," Dr Celliers said at the time.

MI broke law in compiling coup report

ESTELLE RANDALL

Military Intelligence breached the laws governing intelligence operations in South Africa in the way it gathered information and conveyed it to President Mandela in the bogus "Meiring" report.

The National Strategic Intelligence Act of 1994 prohibits MI from covertly collecting domestic military intelligence or foreign non-military intelligence.

A major shake-up of MI and an examination of its role and that of police intelligence within South Africa's intelligence structures are likely outcomes of Mr Mandela's continued consultation on the flawed MI report, which SA National Defence Force (SANDF) chief Georg Meiring handed to him on February 5.

A consequence of publicity around the bogus report is also likely to speed up placement of former non-statutory armed forces members into the command structures of the SANDF and result in greater control over the activities of security force members.

AKG 4/4/98

February 5 was not the first of Major-General Meiring's solo meetings with Mr Mandela. He has asked to see Mr Mandela on his own three times this year, his spokesperson said. In other state structures it would be unusual for directors-general to seek or be granted such audiences.

It appears that the latitude which General Meiring was allowed has not been reciprocated. And attempts to keep the army generals happy have not stopped dirty tricks from continuing. At best they have been unable to effectively root out the disinformation activities characteristic of the former era.

The judicial commission of inquiry established by Mr Mandela this week found that the process of compiling the report was so flawed it was impossible to take its allegations seriously.

Mr Mandela was also suspicious of the report from the outset because it implicated trusted members of his Government in an alleged coup based on information from one source.

Vusi Madida Mr Madida, also known as Vusi Mbatha, is a self-confessed informer for the former security forces whose credibility was questioned by Lawyers for Human Rights in 1993 and last year by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The report named SANDF chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda, military intelligence deputy chief Moreti "Mojo" Motau and Deputy Minister of Defence Ronnie Kasrils as co-conspirators in the coup plot. Mr Nyanda is tipped to replace General Meiring and General Motau is tipped to replace head of military intelligence Dirk Verbeek when both retire by July.

United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and high-ranking government official Robert McBride - who is currently being held along with Mr Madida in a Mozambican jail for alleged involvement in gun-running - were also named.

General Meiring handed the report to Mr Mandela without first passing it through the National Intel-

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Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Nico) and the Ministry of Defence - the route it ought to have taken.

In a statement sent to SANDF staff, placed on the internet and faxed to journalists, General Meiring said this week that he had breached this procedure because the information was sensitive and could not be treated in the normal way.

General Meiring's statement failed to explain why Nico knew nothing about the decision to gather information on Mr McBride and others, which had been taking place since 1995. This contradicts the National Strategic Intelligence Act of 1994.

Until about two months ago, Lieutenant-General Verbeek sat on Nico as chief of intelligence of SANDF, and before General Meiring received the information, General Verbeek, as head of military intelligence, would have received it. This was confirmed by General Meiring's spokesperson.

Mr Mandela is continuing consultations with key government ministers on the next course of action.

Just when we thought Stratcom was dead

CP 5/14/98 (254)

*Stories on false 'coup' report
are reminiscent of the old
media flunkies of apartheid*

THE ANNOUNCEMENT by President Nelson Mandela on Friday, March 27, that he had appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the process of the compilation and subsequent treatment of an SANDF report on "Organised Activities to Overthrow the Government" scuppered an elaborate disinformation campaign which was apparently intended to be launched on Sunday, March 29.

With obvious intentions to support the claims of a blatantly false and malicious report implicating former cadres of the national liberation movement in a conspiracy to undermine the state, three newspapers with a reputation of supporting right-wing causes devoted acres of space to fabrications and distortions whose only goal could have been to generate an atmosphere of panic and uncertainty.

One newspaper did a pleasant job in taking its readers into the past. Obviously at the behest of elements whose loyalties still reside in the old apartheid order, it published the following lies

- President Nelson Mandela has fears of a violent uprising,
- Mandela has instructed a probe into "economic sabotage",

dangerous terrorists,
□ The obsession with the "root gevaar" syndrome and the danger posed by communists even in the new order, despite the reality that the SACP is part of the alliance that governs the country,

□ The activities of the so-called plotters against the state surprisingly seem to have commenced at the same time as the discovery of the "letter" in the wreckage of Nongxina's car

Why should a Sunday newspaper readily accept that its own "independent" discovery of a document in a car wreck could corroborate information in another document prepared separately by Military Intelligence? Even more questionable is the fact that the coup plot report is based on information gleaned from one person, a long-standing agent of the apartheid regime and a proven liar. Judging by the series of reports in the three newspapers, they must have known the source's identity.

Ahead of the announcement that the President had appointed the commission to investigate the compilation, verification and handling of what came to be known as the Meiring report, it became clear to the government that the three publications had been fully appraised of the con-



FULLY TRUSTED BY MANDELA... Commander of the SA National Defence Force in Gauteng, Lt-General Siphwe Nyanda

□ An investigation is being made into a possible connection between the visit of "a deputy minister" to Vryburg and the problem that emerged there shortly afterwards.

□ There were activities of a "Fourth Force" that could be connected to the announcement that Mandela has appointed a commission chaired by Chief Justice Mahomed,

□ That what Mandela refers to as "economic sabotage" includes farm attacks, cash-in-transit heists and bank robberies, weapons smuggling and the promotion of unrest in South Africa, and

□ The existence of a "Fourth Force"

This Sunday newspaper crowned its disinformation attempt by publishing a desperate plea from a businessman to get a contract awarded to himself by making unsubstantiated allegations against his competitors. The newspaper parades this letter as proof of the existence of a national conspiracy to carry out economic sabotage.

The background of the handwritten note which this newspaper uses to substantiate claims of a coup is as follows:

While he was still Deputy Director General at the Department of Public Service and Administration, Advocate Sandile Nogxina served in a task team appointed by the minister, Zola Skweyiya, to investigate the operation of the provincial administration in the Eastern Cape Province. Among many documents given to the committee was a letter from one Bheki Jacobs, who brought some information to the task team's attention but also made representations for himself and his business colleagues with the aim to influence a decision to award a certain contract. Nogxina got involved in an accident on February 4 1998.

With the apparent collaboration of someone at the Automobile Association (or the police?) the Sunday newspaper landed its hands on the "Jacobs" letter which, together with several other documents, has since gone missing. The documents were in Mr Nogxina's car when he got involved in the accident.

We are told a list of names of SACP members was found in the car. We are not told who they were and what other information was obtained on them.

What is the connection between an obviously untested litany of allegations by this businessman and the "conspiracy to overthrow the government"?

In the web of intrigue contrived in the pages of these newspapers, former operatives of Stratcom left indelible footprints which lead straight into the apartheid era's dark alleys.

□ The conjuring up of the ANC or its former cadres as violent, corrupt and

lies a story based on it on March 17. "Senior officers of the SANDF yesterday approached Deputy Commissioner Suiker Britz for an urgent meeting allegedly to inform him of a plot against the government. Commissioner Britz confirmed that he had been approached by an SANDF general. However, a daily has learnt that the meeting could concern information gathered by Military Intelligence on an organisation inside South Africa which is allegedly gathering weapons and personnel for illegal activities which could include a violent uprising against the government." According to the same daily, the government allegedly included prominent South Africans and a senior SANDF officer. The daily also reported that at the previous weekend military intelligence had confirmed the problems surrounding McBride. Conveniently, the SANDF refused to



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The media must refuse to be manipulated to further the aims of any nefarious plans to undermine our hard-won democracy, writes PARKS MANKAHLANA, Presidential spokesperson.

commit itself on the reports. Instead, they referred the matter to the police (Suiker Britz).

As a sequel to the appointment of the commission of inquiry, we are told by none other than General Georg Meiring himself that the report was not verified. But his men had already passed it on to the police to investigate a possible crime, and a substantial portion of the mass media had already been mobilised to support the claims. The three newspapers had by then embarked on a scheme to lay the foundation for the authentication of the claims of a plot to overthrow the state. Curiously, almost all the stories were by journalists who, in the past seemed to have connections to the former Security Branch and Military Intelligence structures.

The claims cited above, broadly published by the three publications – fear on the part of the President of a violent uprising, that the President had instructed a probe into "economic sabotage", the promotion of unrest in the country, the alleged visit of a deputy minister (whose name a weekly paper fears to mention) to Vryburg to fuel unrest – were all devious lies to foment a situation of instability and civil commotion. It was hoped they would give credence to the actual forces that want to bring

ernment

In the 1980s the disinformation networks of the apartheid regime perfected the antics which the three newspapers reminded us of in the past weeks. Often, the scene would be set in the mass media for a massive crackdown against defenceless women and children in the townships or prior to destabilisation operations in the neighbouring states.

For the record, we would like to state the following:

□ President Nelson Mandela has no fears of a violent uprising in the country. There is not even a remote possibility that the state could be subverted by former members of the liberation movement, be they from the ANC or Umkhonto we Sizwe. Cadres of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe constitute the bedrock of the movement to transform South Africa into a non-racial, united, non-sexist and democratic

society. Umkhonto we Sizwe provided the cutting edge in the fight to liberate our people from bondage and white domination.

□ President Mandela and his government have absolute faith in the loyalty of the

armed forces in the country. The difficulties encountered in integrating the armed forces notwithstanding, the South African National Defence Force is well on its way to becoming a force representative of all South Africans and capable of defending our territory from all kinds of foreign aggression.

□ We admit immediately that as in all sectors of society and more especially in the public service, there are elements of the old order in the SANDF that still live in the past and who connive with remnants of Stratcom appendages in the mass media to sow seeds of destruction and counter-revolution. The willing collaborators in the three newspapers dealt with are evidence of this. Happily, these forces are in the minority. The new democratic order has the will and capacity to crush them completely.

□ President Nelson Mandela does not believe in any notion of "economic sabotage", including in the form of cash-in-transit heists and bank robberies, weapons smuggling and the promotion of unrest in South Africa. The handlers and planners could well be the source of the stories in these newspapers, not ANC members.

□ President Mandela ordered an investigation into farm attacks late in 1997. The team that carried out the in-

no evidence of a conspiracy to drive farmers off their land. The report has been discussed widely in government and in the agricultural community. Based on the report and other investigations, the police have launched various operations and solved 95 percent of the murders or attacks on farms. The government is in full control of the security situation in the farming communities and is confident that in time, the attacks will be stopped.

□ To date, the police have arrested about eight suspects in connection with the cash-in-transit heists. It is clear from the arrests already made and investigations that are still underway, and from the continuously improving intelligence-gathering capacity, that more arrests are going to follow. The spectacular breakthroughs which the police are making daily point to a police force which has the capacity to stop these heists in the medium to long term. Even more significant is the arrest of policemen collaborating with criminals. More than anything else, the arrest of the policemen by their own colleagues is an indication of the loyalty of the overwhelming majority of our policemen and women to the government of the day, the Constitution and the laws of the land.

□ There is no "Fourth Force" in the country which is "connected to the announcement of the Mahomed Commission."

The notion of a "Fourth Force," is a consummation of a well orchestrated campaign to portray former Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres as a degenerate group that was engaged in cynical murders and crime syndicates.

There are elements in the former South African Defence Force that have a record of running contraband in Southern Africa. They financed destabilisation of the subcontinent through illegal sales of ivory and diamonds from Angola, Namibia and other southern African countries. They are the ones who understand the art of combining lawlessness, disinformation and bogus security operations more than anyone else inside South Africa. They gave birth to the smuggling rings. They made up the heart of the "Third Force." Like they did in the past weeks, individual journalists in a number of newspapers were then at hand to dismiss the notion of a "Third Force" and covered up for the likes of Ferdi Barnard and others.

□ There is no deputy minister that went to Vryburg to stoke unrest.

The South African media, irrespective of political affinity, must refuse to be manipulated to further the aims of any nefarious plans to undermine our hard-won democracy. All of us, black and white, stand to gain from a flourishing democracy, whether we be members of the ANC, PAC, NP, DP, UDM, the Conservative Party, AWB or Inkatha. Peace is in the interest of us all.

Vacate post or face the chop, Meiring told

■ From page 1
if he was fired

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It is also starting to emerge that the Meiring report started in February last year when the Defence Minister announced the restructuring of the top level of management in the defence force

This saw the promotion of several former MK cadres to senior positions in the army and Modise's announcement that some key personnel from the former SADF were going to be replaced. It was generally speculated that Meiring would be replaced by Nyanda.

It is understood that the impending changes did not go down well with Meiring and other generals. Soon afterwards, a campaign of disinformation questioning the competence of those who were about to take over surfaced.

Meiring is alleged to have personally approached Modise, claiming to have obtained certain informa-

tion about Nyanda which could force the minister to review his decision.

Modise is understood to have ignored Meiring's expressed concerns. This action is said to have culminated in the drawing up of the MI report, which was handed to Mandela on February 5.

Meanwhile, senior defence force officials are expected to inquire into who might have collaborated with Meiring in using a departmental bulletin to respond to personal criticism about the MI report.

The use of the bulletin, which is normally distributed to staff to communicate internal issues of transformation, was seen as an attempt by Meiring to try to mobilise support for his cause within the SANDF.

Mandela is expected to brief the leaders of the opposition parties on the findings of the Mahomed Commission of Inquiry into the compl-

ing of an MI report on an alleged coup against the government.

Presidential aide Parks Mankahlana said "This briefing will only be for opposition leaders whose parties are represented in Parliament."

Mandela's announcement came in the wake of a demand by United Democratic Movement co-leader Bantu Holomisa that he be furnished with copies of the initial MI report and a copy on the Mahomed Commission's findings.

The president's office confirmed receiving Holomisa's request, and said although it was still considering it, the initial attitude was that the report was in the realm of security, and therefore Holomisa did not automatically qualify to get it.

Holomisa said that because he was mentioned in the report compiled by MI and handed to Mandela by Meiring, he was entitled to see its contents.

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Starry-eyed generals watch their epaulettes

WILLEM STEENKAMP
SECURITY WRITER

IN a stroke of military precision, the SANDF has seen fit to change the rank insignia of its generals — but informed opinion has it that all that will be fit to be seen is stars

Now pay attention This is complicated stuff, but there is method in this madness — or is there?

As of April 1, by Military Command Council decree, the SANDF adopted the "star" system of ranking to bring the general officer ranking system in line with inter-

national trends

The rank of brigadier was also upgraded to that of brigadier-general (as it was in years past) and included in the general officer rankings.

And in the navy, the rank of commodore (equivalent to brigadier — sorry, brigadier-general) has fallen away and been replaced with rear-admiral (junior grade)

A brigadier-general (or a junior rear-admiral, but only while wearing summer dress) will now wear on his or her epaulettes a crossed sword and baton with

one small nine-pointed star — and be a "one-star" general (or admiral, but only in summer dress)

bottom line

A major-general (or rear-admiral, but only in summer dress), similarly, will have two stars, a lieutenant-general (or vice-admiral, but only in summer dress) three stars, and full general — read the chief of the SANDF only — four stars.

But the funny thing, according to those in the know, is that the new ranks don't look much like those of other defence forces, which either have only the star system (without the swords and stuff), don't count brigadiers as generals or — as with most Commonwealth countries — have a ranking system that looks more like that used by the SANDF until Tuesday

The new system, put bluntly, is a bit of a mongrel

And to cap it all, the new major-general or two-star insignia (but only in summer dress if it's a rear-admiral) looks very much like the old lieutenant-general's rank.

Confused? I thought so Now spare a thought for that nervous sentry guarding the entrance to an international gathering of military chiefs — for him it's a disa-star

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Sources confirm Meiring's discharge as a result of intelligence

Drew Forrest

(2/14) PD 6/14/98

SENIOR government sources confirmed yesterday that SA National Defence Force (SANDF) chief Georg Meiring and half a dozen other officers were to be cashiered due to their part in the military intelligence report discredited by the Mohamed commission.

The sources said an announcement on the "clean-out" would be made soon, after a meeting took place between Meiring and senior government representatives, including Defence Minister

Joe Modise, last week. "There is a need for disciplinary action, we are responding quite harshly."

City Press reported at the weekend that Meiring had been given the choice of a face-saving retirement or dismissal. However, the sources rejected reports of an impending shakeout of old-order elements in the SANDF.

An insider said a restructuring of the army had already been on the cards, although the Meiring saga would give it impetus. "We are looking at (severance) packages to bring about

the desired transformation — there will be no big-bang approach."

The source said there was an opinion in government that military intelligence, which was largely unrefined, should be dismantled. The division's fate would be settled by a committee reviewing all intelligence functions.

SANDF spokesman Maj Louis Kirstein said the force could not respond before its commander-in-chief, President Nelson Mandela, had released a statement.

The sources said the action against

Meiring and others had to be seen as a disciplinary response to their "malicious" role in a report linking senior black officers to a coup conspiracy.

Among those implicated were Meiring's heir apparent, Gen Siphwe Nyanda, and service corps head Gen Lambert Moloi. A judicial inquiry headed by Judge Ismail Mahomed dismissed the report as "without substance".

Mandela was said to have been told by what he saw as Meiring's ally of his direct access to the president, implying a lack of confidence in

the minister Meiring is alleged to have circumvented Modise and Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlane in submitting the report to the president.

SABC News reports that the sole informer in the alleged coup conspiracy, Vusi Mbayte, was labelled a liar by his brother. The report said Mbayte had admitted to the truth commission that he was a former police spy. Questions remained on whether Mbayte and his former police handlers had arranged for the arrest of Robert McBride on gun-running charges in Mozambique.

Report

Meiring's hands in his resignation

By Themba Molefe

THE storm around South African National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring broke yesterday when he prematurely and surprisingly announced his retirement.

Reaching almost immediately in Pretoria, President Nelson Mandela accepted Meiring's resignation.

"President Mandela decided with regret to accede to the request of the chief of the SANDF General Georg Meiring to allow him to retire early," Cabinet secretary Mr Jakes Gerwel told journalists at the Union Buildings.

Quoting Mandela, Gerwel said Meiring's decision was "appropriate and honourable."

Gerwel said Mandela would confer with his Cabinet about Meiring's successor.

Quick acceptance

Mandela's quick acceptance of Meiring's resignation overtook the general's intention to ask the President to suspend his contract which ends next April.

It was Meiring's action on February 5 that sealed his fate. He accepted a Military Intelligence "report" which, it was later learned, had been compiled by a single source, Vusi Mbatsha, alias Vusi Madida, who has been found by a



President Nelson Mandela has accepted the resignation of General Georg Meiring.

court to be unreliable.

Mbatsha was arrested with senior Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride in Mozambique on March 7 and was said to be the sole source of the controversial Military Intelligence report, which claimed McBride and several other senior



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political figures were plotting to overthrow the Government.

Meiring's handling of the report, which he gave to Mandela without verification, resulted in his coming under under close Government scrutiny in going straight to Mandela.

Meiring bypassed the Intelligence Coordinating Committee and Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise, who would probably have vetoed the report.

The report mentions Meiring's successor, General Siphwe Nyanda, ousted African National Congress

leader Bantu Holomisa and Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela as among those who were planning a coup.

A three-member judicial commission headed by Chief Justice Ismael Mahomed found the report flawed and without substance.

Yesterday Meiring said that his move should be seen in the light of developments around a Military Intelligence report about a plot to overthrow the government.

Sinister motives

"I have, after due consideration of all the facts . . . decided that it would be in the best interests of the SANDF if I would ask the president to suspend my contract and allow me to retire on early pension without prejudice," Meiring said.

He said Mandela and Defence Minister Joe Modise were aware of his decision. The move was not an acknowledgement that he had acted wrongly or with sinister motives.

He said he was the individual who took the responsibility for the mistrust unleashed by the inaccurate MI report.

"My position of trust has been unsettled by the report, which leaves me no choice but to come to this decision.

"My early retirement therefore is an effort to restore trust in .. the SANDF," he said.

Nyanda set to replace Meirings

Star 7/14/98

Former Umkhonto weSizwe boss, named in discredited report, likely to be new defence force chief

POLITICAL STRIFE AND SABA

Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda is likely to be named General Georg Meirings' successor as chief of the SANDF following the announcement that President Nelson Mandela had accepted Meirings' request for early retirement.

Nyanda was one of those named in a Military Intelligence (MI) report about an alleged coup plot, which was dismissed by a commission of inquiry and led to Meirings' downfall.

Barley an hour after Meirings announced his wish to step down yesterday, cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel said. "President Mandela with regret decided to accede to the request of SANDF chief Georg Meirings to allow him to retire early with effect from May 31."

Meirings was due to retire at the end of April next year, and Nyanda - formerly the commander of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and currently chief of staff of the SANDF - has been widely touted as his successor.

Meirings said his request for early retirement was prompted by "discredit and distrust" sparked by the leakage of the MI report on the alleged coup plot. Talks with Mandela and Defence Minister Joe Modise led him to believe he had no other choice, Meirings said.

The names of prominent former MK commanders were mentioned in the report. Meirings handed the document to Mandela on February 5, making it clear that the contents could not be corroborated.

After the report was leaked to a newspaper, Mandela 10 days ago appointed a three-man commission to investigate the



Siphwe Nyanda... new chief?

compiling, verification and subsequent handling of the report. It found the process by which the report was compiled was flawed.

Meirings said yesterday: "In view of developments around the report, I have decided it would be in the best interests of the SANDF if I would ask the president to suspend my contract and allow me to retire on early pension without prejudice."

Meirings was adamant he was not forced to leave. He said his stepping down was not an admission that he had acted wrongly or with sinister motives. Gerwel concurred. "He certainly had a choice. The decision was not forced on the general."

Asked whether there had been a plot to overthrow the Government, Meirings said he did not wish to go into the matter. He said the contents of the report must still be investigated. The report is not mine to discuss. Gerwel, however, said there was no reason to investigate the contents of the report, which he said would be made public as soon as possible.

Georg Meirings... survived the new order after 1994 against the odds, but said yesterday he was retiring to promote harmony in the defence force

'Political soldier' defeated by the pen, not the sword, after report slammed

Star 7/14/98

BY RYAN CRESSWELL AND MARCO GRANELLI

There has been pressure on the Government to ditch General Georg Meirings since the 1994 general election, but he has been able to hang on to his job - until a report described as "inconsequential and Janzani-like" brought about his fall.

ANC before the 1994 elections. Meirings, who has a manager's degree in physics, joined the old South African Defence Force in 1959 as a part-time commando member and was commissioned some years later. In 1963 he became a permanent member and by 1969 was the commander of the SANDF's signals unit in South West Africa (Namibia). In 1987 he became the general commanding both territorial and South African forces in SWA and in 1989 he was made chief of the army.

Meirings was made chief of the South African Defence Force in 1983 by President F W de Klerk, but has since confirmed that the two of them never really got on. Many politicians and activists on the Left where surprised by the appointment of Meirings as head because they saw him as a political officer who took political shots at the ANC and its armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe.

As late as 1992 he was criticised for trying to confirm links between MK and the Irish Republican Army and Palestine Liberation Organisation. Despite this, Meirings has been seen as a good planner who kept an eye on the statistics, and this may be one of the reasons he was kept on in the top post. Massive transformation was by the pipeline and a battle plan was needed. The general oversaw the integration of various forces into the SANDF, a process which has not been without hiccups.

which is honourable and which could induce trust and harmony back into the defence force," Meirings said yesterday. Asked how he felt about ending his career this way, Meirings admitted the would have liked to complete his contract. "You know, if you play soccer or rugby and you are replaced by a reserve before the end of the match, you have a sort of mixed feeling. One that you are glad that your part in the game is over, the next that you feel you could have done more. It's the same."

SIPHIWE NYANDA LIKELY SUCCESSOR

Army chief's

JOHANNESBURG: A survivor who kept his job as chief of the defence force through the transition from apartheid to democracy, General Georg Meiring has finally bowed out.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL Siphwe Nyanda is likely to be named as General Georg Meiring's successor as chief of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). President Nelson Mandela accepted Meiring's request yesterday for early retirement

Nyanda was one of those named in the Military Intelligence report about an alleged coup plot — dismissed as a fabrication by a judicial commission of inquiry — which led to Meiring's downfall

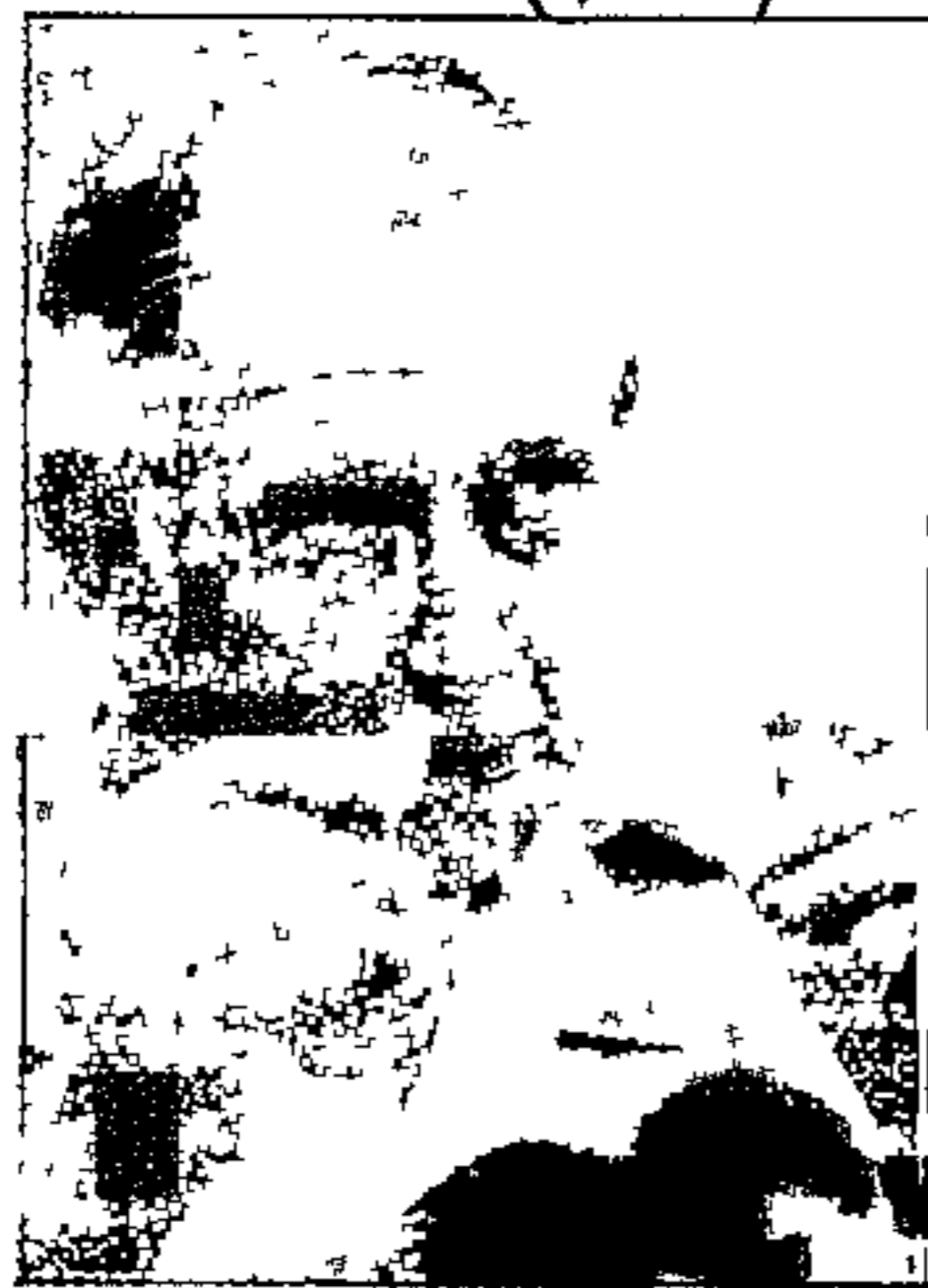
Barely an hour after Meiring announced his wish to step down, cabinet secretary Dr Jakes Gerwel said "President Mandela, with regret, decided to accede to the request of the SANDF chief Georg Meiring .. to allow him to retire early with effect from May 31 "

Gerwel described Meiring's move as appropriate and honourable, saying the next step was for Mandela to confer with the cabinet on Meiring's successor

Meiring was to retire in April next year. Nyanda, formerly commander of the ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe and current chief of staff of the SANDF, was widely touted as his successor.

Meiring said his request for early retirement was prompted by "discord and distrust" sparked by the leakage of the MI report on the alleged coup plot. Talks with Mandela and Defence Minister Joe Modise had led him to believe he had no choice.

The names of prominent former MK commanders were mentioned in the MI report. Meiring handed the document to Mandela on February 5, saying the contents could not be corroborated. After the report was leaked, Mandela



THE HONOURABLE ROUTE:
General Georg Meiring

appointed a three-man judicial commission to investigate the compiling, verification and handling of the report

The commission found the process through which the report was compiled was flawed

"My position of trust has been unsettled by the report, which leaves me no choice but to come to this decision. My early retirement is an effort to restore the trust and promote *esprit de corps* in the SANDF "

Gerwel said Meiring's decision was voluntary. "The decision was not forced on the general." However, sources speculated that he stood before a choice. Retire or be fired

Asked if there had been a plot to overthrow the government, Meiring said he did not wish to go into the matter. "The contents of the report must still be investigated. The report is not mine to discuss "

Gerwel, however, said there was no reason or intention to investi-

gate the contents of the report, which he said should be made public as soon as possible

Perceived as a "political soldier", Meiring has been unusually outspoken for a senior military bureaucrat. He also had repeated public clashes with the ANC before the 1994 elections

Meiring, who has a master's degree in physics, joined the old South African Defence Force in 1959 as a part-time commando

In 1963 he became a permanent member and by 1969 was commander of the SADF's signals unit in South-West Africa (Namibia). In 1987 he became the general commanding both territorial and South African forces in SWA and in 1989 was made chief of the army.

Meiring was made chief of the new SANDF in 1993 by President F W de Klerk

Many politicians and activists on the left were surprised by Meiring's appointment because they saw him as a political officer who sniped at the ANC and uMkhonto weSizwe

As late as 1992 he was criticised for trying to confirm links between MK, the IRA and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation

Despite this, Meiring was seen as a good planner who kept an eye on statistics and this may have been the main reason he was kept on in the top post by Mandela.

Massive transformation was looming and a hardened planner was needed. The general oversaw the integration of various forces into the SANDF

Asked how he felt about ending his career this way, Meiring said: "If you play soccer or rugby and you are replaced by a reserve before the end of a match you have a sort of mixed feeling. You are glad that your part in the game is over, but you feel you could have done more. It's the same " — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Choice to step down,

CT 7/4/98

(254)

Meiring 'left with no choice but to retire'

Stephané Bothma
and Drew Forrest

PRETORIA — Gen Georg Meiring announced his early retirement as chief of the SA National Defence Force yesterday, saying talks with President Nelson Mandela had left him no choice.

The move followed intense speculation that Meiring would be cashiered after he sent an intelligence report to Mandela implicating senior black officers — including his heir apparent, chief of staff Lt-Gen Sphiwe Nyanda — in a coup conspiracy. The report was discredited by a judicial inquiry.

Meiring will step down at the end of May, a year before he is due to retire.

Government sources confirmed that at a meeting with Defence Minister Joe Modise, his deputy Ronnie Kasrils and Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla last week, Meiring was told to retire or face dismissal.

They said disciplinary steps against others involved in the report were likely. "The Meiring affair has given us the opportunity to accelerate change," said one insider.

Mandela's office said the president had "with regret" acceded to the general's request for a suspension of his contract. Meiring had done the "appropriate and honourable thing", Mandela said in a statement read by cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel.

Gerwel said the decision to take early retirement was Meiring's, who "certainly had a choice. This decision was not taken without consultation."

Gerwel said Mandela had to consider Meiring's future capacity to perform his duties as head of the defence force.

Denying any "disciplinary issue or process", Gerwel said "deep levels of distrust and division" now existed in Meiring's management echelon.

The cabinet would meet soon to decide on a successor, he said.

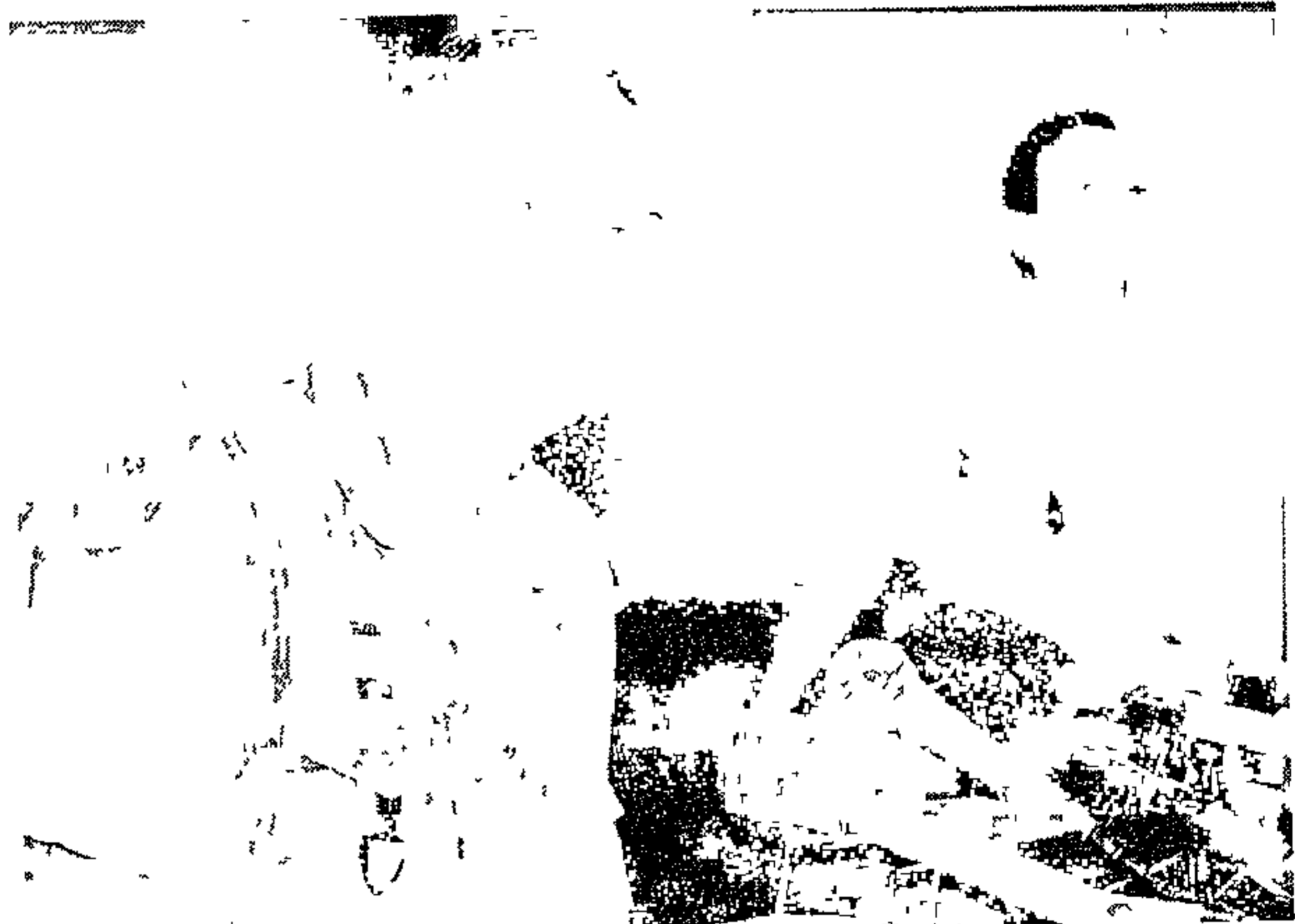
Meiring said his decision to quit did not mean he acknowledged that he had acted wrongly or with sinister motives. "The responsible person in the last instance has to see to it that the perceptions and distrust which have been unleashed by the leakage of the report are addressed." His position of trust had been unsettled by the report. His early retirement was in the best interests of the defence force.

Kasrils said it was unlikely other heads would roll over the report. The

transformation of the defence force was on track and several retirements, including those of army chief Reg Otto and defence intelligence chief Dirk Verbeek, were announced a while ago.

Meiring insisted that the drafters of the report "were only doing their jobs". He did not believe it was flawed or a case of disinformation. "The report was not generated by the old Stratcom, those structures no longer exist. It was drafted by the counter-intelligence section of the SA National Defence Force."

Continued on Page 2



SA National Defence Force chief Gen Georg Meiring announces his retirement in Pretoria yesterday.
Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Meiring (254)

Continued from Page 1

BD 7/4/98
He said Modise had advised him to hand the report to Mandela after they had discussed its contents.

Wyndham Hartley reports Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said: "It was folly of the ANC to have done this." Meiring was an excellent defence force chief who had proved his loyalty to Mandela.

Democratic Party defence spokesman James Selfe said it was to be hoped that Meiring's decision would be the beginning of the end of "weeks of intrigue, speculation and uncertainty which have undermined confidence in

our country"

While Meiring's offer to retire was intended to restore trust in the defence force, the complete restoration of trust could be achieved only once the report and the judicial commission's findings had been made public.

National Party spokesman Hennie Smit said Meiring had put the nation's interests before his own, and his departure "created the impression of a crisis". Parliament should be told what had led to "this drastic step".

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Velaphi Ndlovu said the Meiring announcement was acceptable provided "he was not pushed". He said Meiring had trusted those who had given him the coup report and had taken it to the president. "They let him down."

Old guard set for purge

Mandela briefs top brass on 'coup' probe

ALIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President Mandela was briefing his top brass and the opposition today on the findings of the inquiry into the coup plot fiasco - as the national defence force braced itself for a purge of old-guard officers involved in the affair.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankalana said the top echelon of the SANDF and the SA Police Service would be briefed first. Mr Mandela's official Pretoria residence. Leaders of opposition parties would follow. No media conference was planned.

The briefings would focus on the findings of the commission of three judges on the coup, verification and subsequent handling of a Military Intelligence report claiming there was a left-wing plot to overthrow the Government.

Defence Force chief Georg Meiring, who

handed the report to Mr Mandela, quit yesterday after he was given a choice of facing disciplinary steps or bringing forward his retirement.

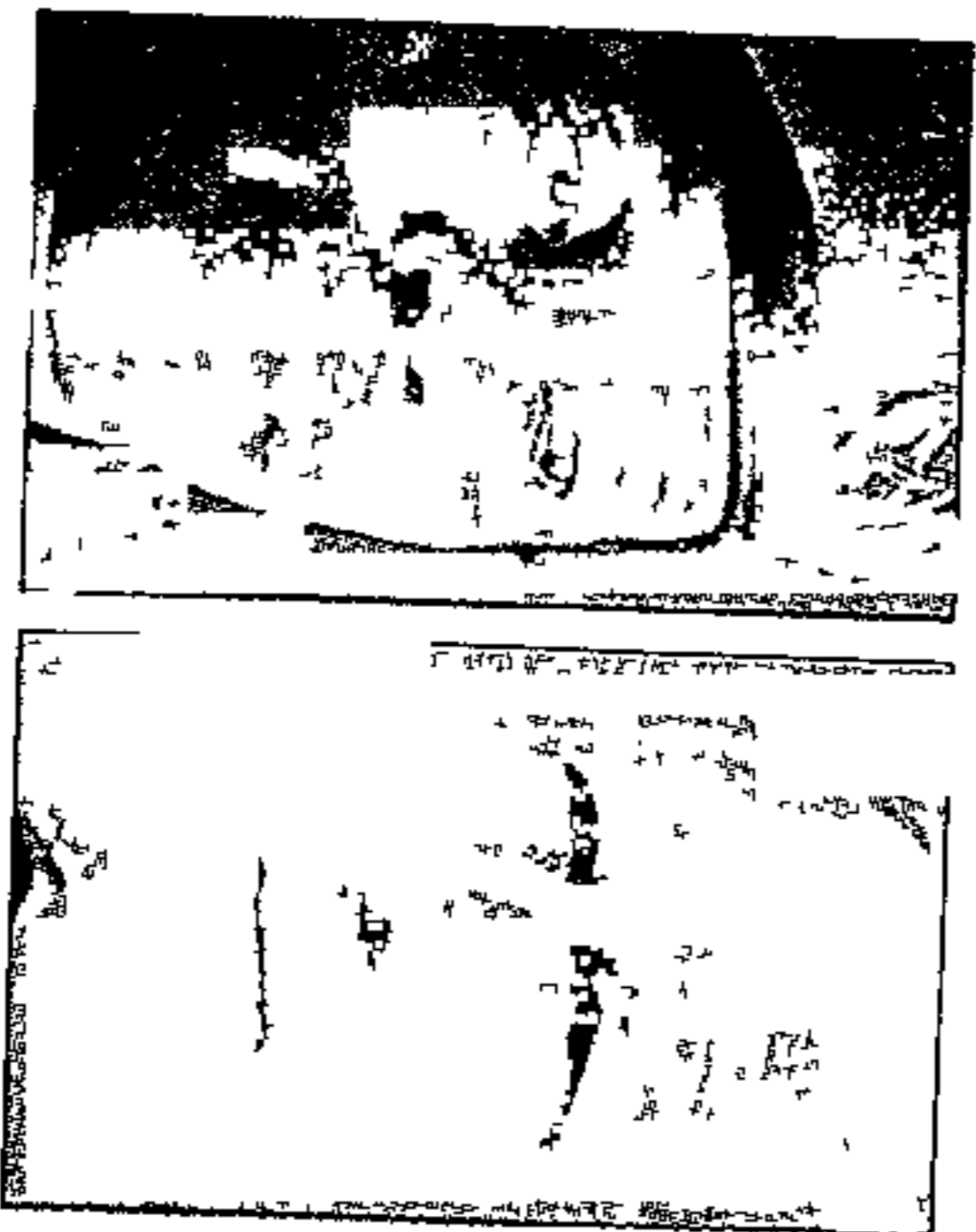
Talks with President Mandela and Defence Minister Joe Modise led him to believe he had no other choice, General Meiring said. Disciplinary action is expected against others involved in the report.

A question-mark hangs over the heads of military intelligence chief of staff Dirk Verbeek and Army chief Reg Otto, both also due for retirement soon.

The shake-up at the top of the defence force will bring forward the changing of the guard and place senior posts in the hands of former Umkhonto weSizwe officers.

Siphwe Nyanda is expected to succeed General Meiring.

This will give new impetus to the process of transformation of the SANDF, a task which General Meiring accepted after his



In? General Nyanda

Out? General Meiring

confirmation as defence chief after the 1994 democratic election.

General Meiring said his resignation, which was prompted by the "discord" that followed his handing the report to Mr Mandela, would take effect at the end of May.

ANNOUNCEMENTS ON THE FUTURE OF OTHERS INVOLVED IN THE COMPILATION OF THE REPORT, WHICH THE MAHOMED COMMISSION DISMISSED AS UNTRUSTWORTHY, ARE EXPECTED SOON.

Mr Mandela is expected to brief opposition party leaders today on the discredited report and events surrounding it.

National Party defence spokesman Henrie Smit said he hoped Mr Mandela would "play open cards" in the briefing and that Parliament should also be given the full reasons that led to General Meiring's departure.

"This resignation is another typical example of the catastrophic consequences arising from the shipshod handling of affairs by the ANC government," Mr Smit said.

"Had the president reacted earlier to reports and not made haphazard pronouncements, this situation could have been avoided."

Democratic Party defence spokesman

James Selfe said he hoped General Meiring's resignation would be the beginning of the end of weeks of intrigue, speculation and uncertainty which had undermined confidence in the country.

A complete restoration of trust in the defence force would be possible only once the contents of both the intelligence report and the inquiry were made public.

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen, a former SA Defence Force chief, said General Meiring's retirement was a "great shock" and a blow to stability in the country.

It was "stupid" of the African National Congress to get rid of General Meiring.

"The perception exists, without a doubt, that Meiring's white skin and the language he speaks made him unacceptable for further service in the defence force."

He said General Nyanda, the heir-apparent to the top defence post, had too little experience for the job.

ANALYSIS

Meiring ousting shows defence force is not afraid of a coup

Would a man of the experience and standing of defence chief Gen Georg Meiring have been hoodwinked by a controversial Military Intelligence report that ultimately led to his demise? Political correspondent Wyrndham Hartley examines the issue

GEN Georg Meiring did not wash the dishes at the SA National Defence Force (SANDF). In terms of the operational deployment of SA's still considerable military might, he had powers, exercised through the defence minister and his commander-in-chief, which made him one of the most powerful people in the country.

While it is true that amendments to the Defence Act substantially reduced the powers of the chief of the defence force and placed them in the hands of the civilian defence secretary, those that remained were considerable.

Meiring's appointment was controversial. He was, after all, an old-order military general who had been involved in the war against the African National Congress (ANC) before its urbanising in 1990. The decision by President Nelson Mandela and the ANC to put Meiring in charge of the new SANDF and the extremely delicate integration of Umkhonto we Sizwe and Azaman People's Liberation Army (Apla) cadres in-

to the new defence establishment of the nation was also predicated on delicate matters.

Not the least of these was the potential for disloyalty in the defence force. Measured against Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen's organising of armed resistance before the 1994 election, and rightwing bombers' attempts to blast the election into history, this was an important consideration. The defence establishment had to be welcomed on board the new SA until the new order had a firm grip on the reins of power.

Many observers, particularly those opposed to the old order, were surprised that Meiring, who was appointed to head the old SA Defence Force by then president F.W. de Klerk, was reappointed by Mandela. They pointed out that he was an outspoken critic of the ANC in the negotiations phase before the election.

He had apparently tried to prove links between the ANC and other international resistance movements. The assumption was

that this was exactly the profile needed for the chief of the SANDF during a period when large portions of the military were potentially hostile.

The reasons why Meiring was forced to resign are more difficult to understand.

For a start, it is very difficult to believe that the Military Intelligence coup story, as we know it from bits that have been leaked to the media, was taken seriously by a soldier of 35 years experience, who had risen through the ranks since 1959 and headed the defence force in the turbulent days before and after the 1994 election.

It is even more difficult to understand why, if the report is as ridiculous as we have been told, it should have led to the effective dismissal of such a senior person.

But then again, maybe that is not so strange. At the very least, it appears that the tabling of the report before the president was very bad judgement indeed by a man in this position. It is also strange that the report from Military In-

telligence remains classified and even leaders of political parties may read it but not talk about it.

The timeframe has also been questioned. Meiring apparently gave the report to Mandela in February. Three judges were asked to investigate it in the first week of this month. In between there was the arrest of senior foreign affairs official Robert McBride on March 10 in Mozambique on suspicion of gun running and the publication of parts of the intelligence report in a daily paper.

Exactly what the connection is, if any, between the McBride arrest, the leak and the sudden establishment of a commission of inquiry which had to work over a weekend in order to complete its work is not clear.

But it certainly cannot be expected that the president would have acted immediately on the report. He would have consulted and considered his options carefully. He would also have had to give Meiring a chance to state his case. Nothing strange about that.

8th 8/4/98

One of the theories and there certainly have been no shortage of those since McBride's arrest, was that Meiring was in the habit of bypassing his political heads, Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils and when he again took the intelligence report straight to Mandela they had simply had enough. But Meiring has claimed he at least discussed the report with Modise before laying it before the president.

But, said Lawrence Nathan of the Centre for Conflict Resolution, a close personal relationship with Meiring was nurtured by the president because of fears of the potential for a coup emerging, not from within the ANC, but from elements within the security establishment. He said it was quite possible that these elements did not particularly enjoy the level of access to the president which Meiring enjoyed.

Sources within the intelligence community said the problem could have arisen from the way in which Military Intelligence did its work.

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One said it never named a source. Normally the sources of a report would be coded in such a way that the chief of the defence force would be able to judge the relative seriousness of a report. Not even reports to the president, let alone the chief of the defence force, would identify sources.

It seems a little far fetched, however, that such a fanciful report could have received a code that would have made Meiring go straight to the president, bypassing his minister on the way. Unless of course he was set up.

While there is considerable amazement that Meiring took the report seriously, Nathan and others agree he presented an obstacle to transformation in the defence force. The rupture in the trust between him and his fellow officers was a chance to get rid of him.

Amid all the conspiracy theories, it is clear fears of a coup from the defence establishment are now over. There is as little threat from that quarter as there is from the conspirators in the report.



MEIRING

Intelligence, Mahomed reports to remain

Wynndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The discredited military intelligence report which led to the downfall of defence chief Georg Meiring and the Mahomed nomination report will only be made available to opposition political leaders on a confidential basis in the offices of the president.

This emerged yesterday after opposition leaders emerged from a briefing with President Nelson Mandela on the background to his acceptance of Meiring's offer to retire.

Meiring's early retirement followed his submission to the president of a report alleging a coup conspiracy. The report was discredited by an inquiry headed by Judge Ismail Mahomed.

Freedom Front chief Constand Viljoen said Mandela assured opposition leaders they would be able to read the reports but not be able to talk about their contents.

Viljoen said Mandela had spoken highly of Meiring. He voiced concern over new leaders taking over the SA National Defence Force in the run-up to the election.

The National Party's Sheila Camerer said Mandela had gone so far as to say that Meiring

had not erred in taking the report straight to him. The NP would read the documents and respond fully at a later stage.

She said a close study of the reports was necessary to establish why Mandela was convinced that serious harm had been done to the trust between Meiring and himself.

Democratic Party MP Douglas Gibson insisted that a confidential release of the documents to political leaders was not enough. He repeated his call for parliament's joint standing committee on defence to meet urgently and be fully briefed on both reports.

Mankahlana said Mandela's role in the matter had come to an end with Meiring's resignation. Any further action on the report would be taken within the defence department.

Reuter reports security analysts said yesterday Meiring's resignation has given Mandela an opening to speed up the process of putting back in the leadership of SA's armed forces. They said a quick succession to Meiring was also vital to maintaining command stability in the force.

Meiring's demise: Page 10

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8/4/98

needs to brief the whole of parliament at the earliest opportunity," Gibson said.

He said it seemed Meiring and SA had been let down by military intelligence, "and it is clear that a good spring clean is long overdue". He renewed the DP's call for the urgent appointment of an inspector-general of intelligence.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said that at no stage had Modise been informed of the existence of the report. Meiring spoke to Modise about an "alleged plot involving a certain person last year". It was then admitted that the information was uncorroborated.

Confidential

I spy only one general left at spook HQ

ARL 8/4/98

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PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

If the Government is considering a purge of the military department which produced an "intrinsically fantastic" report of an alleged coup plot, it is in for a surprise: there is virtually nobody to purge.

Of the eight top posts in the SA National Defence Force's Military Intelligence (MI) division, only three are filled. And of those three posts, two senior staff members have taken voluntary severance packages and will leave in June.

SANDF chief General Georg Meiring announced his early retirement on Monday

because of the "discord and distrust" caused by the leak of an MI report which alleged that former and present ANC members were plotting to overthrow the Government.

Named in the report were General Meiring's heir apparent, National Defence Force Chief of Staff Siphwe Nyanda, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, detained Foreign Affairs deputy director Robert McBride and United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa.

A three-judge commission led by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed found the report "fraudulent and of no substance", with "glaring shortcomings".

General Meiring's early retirement has

led to speculation that the Government is preparing to purge MI.

This would be an exercise similar to the "Night of the Generals" in 1993, when then President F W de Klerk sacked three generals and several other top officers.

But SANDF spokesman Major Louis Kirstein said yesterday that many of the senior intelligence staff from the former SA Defence Force had already taken voluntary retirement packages.

The only remaining senior member of MI will be a former MK soldier, Deputy Chief of Staff Intelligence Brigadier-General Moreti Motau.

Mandela urged to publish reports, page 3

I spy only one general left at spook HQ

ARG 8/4/98

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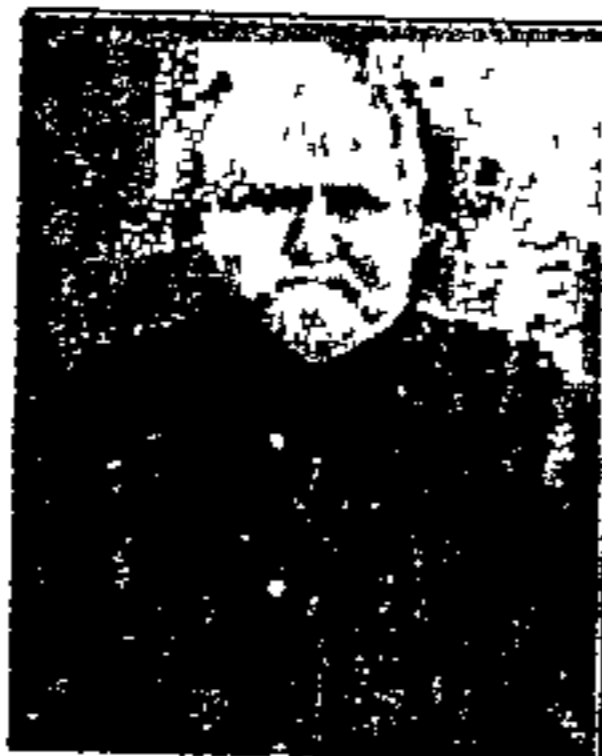
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Mandela urged to publish reports, page 3

The Cape Argus wishes all its Muslim readers Eid Mubarak

WEATHERMAN

PETE SAYS: Put away the raincoats for a weekend of sunshine



TONIGHT'S TV TIP

The Monk and the Honeybee. A tale of an old man's lifelong passion.

SABC1, 10.30pm



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MI transformation: Moerane to lead probe

(254) Star 9/4/98
By **MARCO GRANELLI**
Political Correspondent

Advocate Marume Moerane will head up a ministerial commission of inquiry into the transformation of Defence Intelligence, it was announced in Pretoria today.

Moerane has headed a number of commissions, including one currently investigating allegations of misconduct and maladministration against ousted Gauteng Safety and Security MEC Jessie Duarte.

Others on the commission, announced today by Defence Minister Joe Modise, his deputy Ronnie Kasrils and Deputy Minister of Intelligence Services Joe Nhlanhla, include advocate Vusi Pikoli, several members of the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Nicc) and several senior ANC politicians.

Pikoli, a deputy director-general in the Department of Justice, headed a commission of inquiry into the restructuring and transformation of the civilian intelligence service in 1997.

Among the political leaders on the commission are Tony Yengeni, chairman of Parliament's joint standing committee on defence, and Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, chairman of the joint standing committee on intelligence.

The commission will report directly to Modise and Kasrils but will also meet regularly with Nhlanhla to brief him. It will hand a final report to Modise and President Mandela containing its recommendations for the revamp of military intelligence.

It must review:

- The role and mission of the intelligence division within the new intelligence dispensation,
- The intelligence division's priorities, functions, capabilities and activities,
- The structures, lines of accountability and reporting – including the relationship between Defence Intelligence and the ministry, defence secretariat and the parliamentary joint standing committee on Intelligence,
- The representivity of those involved in intelligence and
- The past and present covert structures of the intelligence division.

The Government today denied the commission stemmed from the Meiring affair, saying it was the culmination of a process which originated in 1996.

Earlier this week, General Meiring announced he was quitting after the report he handed to Mandela – involving a coup plot – was found to be inaccurate by a judicial commission.

Lawyer to head investigation into military shake-up

'No link to Meiring affair'

ARG 9/4/98

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MARCO GRANELLI
POLITICAL STAFF

Pretoria - Advocate Marume Moerane is to head a ministerial commission of inquiry into the transformation of defence intelligence, it was announced today.

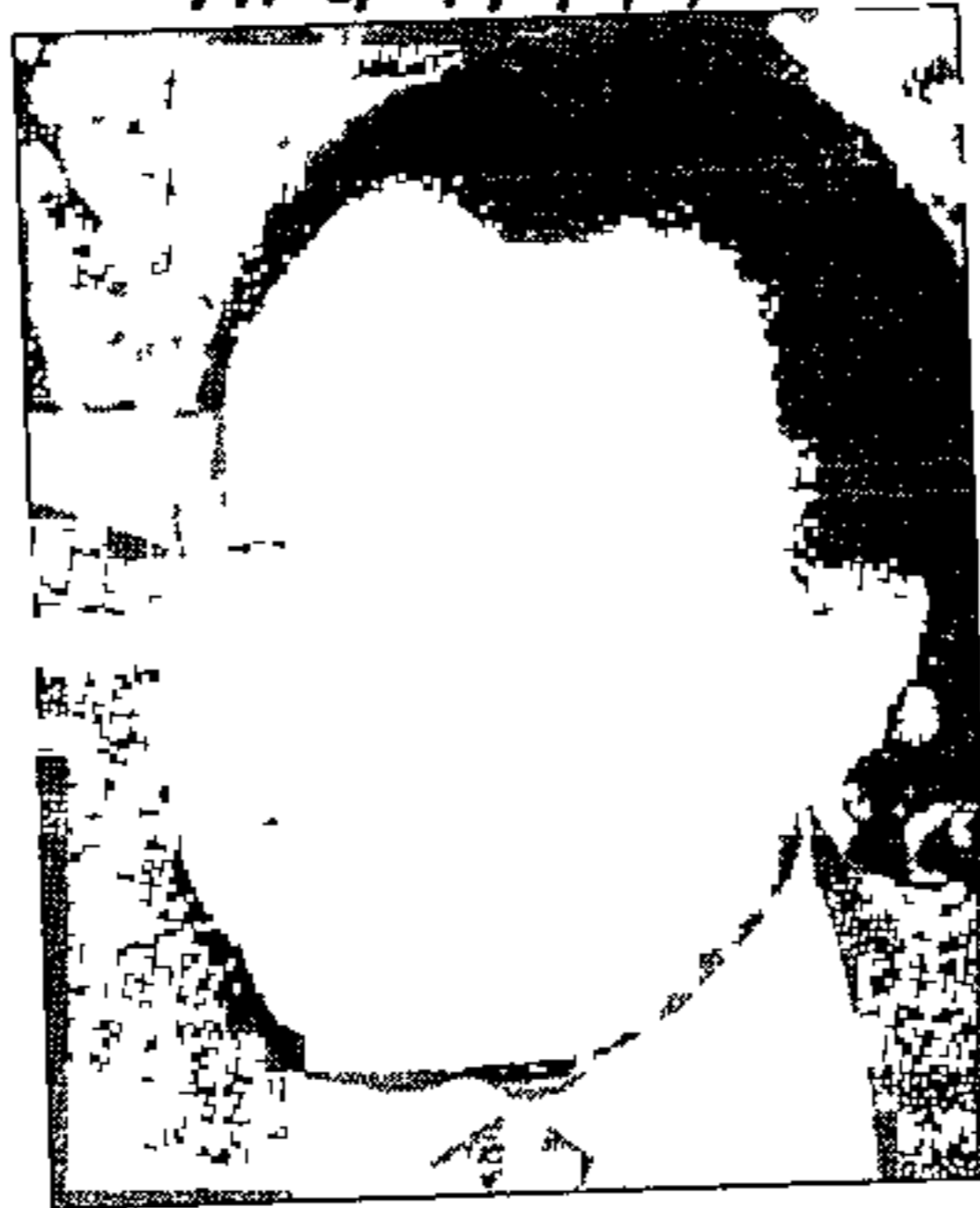
Mr Moerane is currently heading a commission investigating allegations of misconduct and maladministration against former Gauteng Safety and Security MEC Jessie Duarte

The commission's members were named today by Defence Minister Joe Modise, his deputy Ronnie Kasrils and Deputy Minister of Intelligence Services Joe Nhlanhla

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Announcement: Joe Modise

The commission, which will report directly to Mr Modise and Mr Kasrils, will hand a final report to Mr Modise and President Mandela

Among its mandates are a review of

- the role and mission of the intelligence division within the new intelligence dispensation,

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- the representivity of those involved in intelligence; and
- the past and present covert structures of the intelligence division

The Government today denied the appointment of the commission stemmed from the Meiring affair and said it was the culmination of a process which had its origins in 1996

In a statement, the Government said the new commission "is in no way related to the inquiry recently appointed by President Mandela to investigate the circumstances surrounding a specific report"

The establishment of the commission is at the urging of Mr Kasrils and Mr Nhlanhla, who were asked by the Cabinet last year to investigate how to begin the delicate process of overhauling the old structures set up by the previous government

It is believed the Meiring incident affected the appointment.

Earlier this week, General Georg Meiring announced he was quitting after the report he handed to Mr Mandela - which claimed a number of prominent military and political leaders were involved in a plot to overthrow the government - was found to be inaccurate

A judicial commission set up to investigate the process by which the report was compiled, checked and finally delivered to Mr Mandela, found the process to be flawed



CASUALTY: This Wood's Cycad is extinct in the wild, and now exists only where it is grown artificially

PICTURE: JOHN DONALDSON

NP agrees coup report was 'inherently fantastic'

(254) CT 9/4/98
ANDRE KOOPMAN

AFTER viewing the discredited Meiring coup report, the National Party yesterday slated its contents as being "inherently fantastic"

The party said it would be wrong to publicise the untested allegations, which defamed a large number of prominent figures, but urged that the matter be referred to the parliamentary portfolio committee on intelligence

Democratic Party leader Mr Tony Leon said his party had refused President Nelson Mandela's invitation to view the military intelligence (MI) "coup" report and the subsequent Mahomed Commission report because of the confidentiality conditions attached to the invitation

The report alleging a left-wing coup attempt, found to have no substance, led to the resignation of defence force chief General Georg Meiring. The handling of the report, which was leaked to the press, is expected to lead to a wide-ranging shake-up in the military,

particularly the intelligence community, and a purge of old-guard officers

Intelligence deputy minister Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy Mr Ronnie Kasrils have called a press conference in Pretoria today to announce the "transformation of defence intelligence"

Leaders of the opposition were briefed on the contents of the MI report by Mandela on Tuesday and were given the opportunity to view the documents yesterday

National Party leader in the National Assembly Ms Sheila Camerer, who read the reports, thanked "Mandela for taking us, as a loyal opposition party, into his confidence" and confirmed that the NP would respect the confidentiality provisions

She said that allegations about the existence of a private underground army called Fapla and a conspiracy to murder the President and overthrow the state were, as stated in the Mahomed report, "inherently fantastic"



NEXT CHIEF? Siphwe Nyanda, who is tipped to succeed Georg Meiring as chief of the SA National Defence Force.

PICTURE: THE STAR

Nyanda was top name on security forces' wanted list

HOPEWELL RADEBE

JOHANNESBURG. In his days as an uMkhonto weSizwe guerrilla, Siphwe Nyanda was top of the South African security forces' most wanted list, establishing himself as one of the most elusive fighters in the underground armed struggle.

At only 47, the former MK chief of staff, now filling the same post with the rank of lieutenant-general in the SA National Defence Force, is tipped to step into the boots of SANDF chief General Georg Meiring, who is vacating his post on May 31.

Nyanda became the highest-ranking former MK soldier in the SANDF when he was appointed Meiring's deputy in March last year.

Since the integration of the liberation movement armies into the SANDF, Nyanda has come to be regarded as one of the boldest reformists in the defence force. He gave up a career as a sports

reporter on the *World* newspaper, which was later banned, when he left the country in February 1976, four months before the June 16 Soweto uprising.

He quickly rose through the ranks in MK, becoming the officer responsible for directing operations in the former PWV region (now Gauteng) during the 1980s. During that time, Nyanda assumed the MK alias General Gebhuza.

His name popped up so often in treason and terrorism trials in the former Transvaal that it became familiar to judges, magistrates and officials in the security apparatus.

Nyanda first became commander of the Transvaal urban region from 1977 to 1983 and was appointed chief of staff for the Transvaal from 1983 to 1987.

After the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, he was seconded to lead Operation Vula, a campaign to establish underground ANC structures in South Africa as insurance against the possible failure

of negotiations.

He was detained for four months for his role in Vula together with Mr Mac Maharaj, and released from jail in Durban after being granted indemnity.

He succeeded the slain South African Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani as the MK chief-of-staff in 1992.

In the past four years of integration, Nyanda has survived criticism from former soldiers of the liberation armies for not being radical enough in transforming the SANDF.

He described this period as the biggest challenge the MK has had to face, as disgruntled former guerrillas drafted into a new national defence force demanded a fresh approach to integration.

However, Defence Minister Joe Modise and the ANC have stood by him, expressing their support and confidence in the role he played in effecting far-reaching restructuring of the SANDF.



Parties split over Mandela's invitation

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Opposition parties are deeply divided over President Nelson Mandela's invitation to read the military intelligence (MI) "coup" report and the Mohamed commission's report into the circumstances surrounding it

The leaders of the Democratic Party (DP) and the Freedom Front, Tony Leon and Constand Viljoen, rejected the invitation while the National Party's (NP's) Sheila Camerer read the report yesterday morning. Kenneth Meshoe of the African Christian Democratic Party and Stanley Mogoba of the Pan Africanist Congress said they had every intention of reading the reports.

Those who read the reports were bound by an oath of secrecy preventing them from repeating any of the information contained in them. The discredited report and the findings of the ju-

80 9/4/98
dicial commission of inquiry led on Monday to the sudden resignation of defence force chief Gen Georg Meiring.

Leon said he was grateful for the invitation on such an important national security issue but he would not read the report as it would bind him and his party, preventing them from probing the matter in future.

Viljoen was less complimentary. He said the confidentiality was political manipulation and he distrusted the whole situation. He said it would also be a vote of mistrust against the men who had prepared the report and whom he knew personally. He said he would in likelihood read the commission report but would not go anywhere near the MI report because "something so wrong is clearly not over".

Leon and DP colleague Douglas Gibson again urged Mandela to brief Parliament and suggested that an ide-

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al opportunity for this was the occasion of the president's budget vote when Parliament reconvened on April 21.

Sapa reports that Camerer said it was true that the judicial commission found allegations of the existence of a private underground army, known as Fapla, and of a conspiracy to murder the president and overthrow the state to be "inherently fantastic".

It was also true the report contained extensive, detailed and serious allegations about a large number of prominent people, in addition to the intelligence data, Camerer said.

"In our view it would therefore be quite wrong for the report, containing all these untested and apparently, in most instances, unsubstantiated allegations, to be made public." However, the NP felt the report raised many questions which should be investigated by parliamentary committees.

Govt continues with Denel privatisation

Robyn Chalmers

DD 9/4/98
THE privatisation of Denel is moving ahead with government having instructed the defence parastatal to kick off with the formation of internal transformation structures.

Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau said a meeting with stakeholders would be held next week to thrash out a view on Denel's future. The form and extent of any privatisation would be on the agenda.

"I have asked (Denel's) MD to form the necessary structures such as sectoral and enterprise task teams. We are going to start moving ahead with the privatisation process now," she said.

Sigcau said any decision on Denel's future had been delayed because there was a need for extensive internal restructuring. This included separating its information technology operations from the core military business, downsizing its head office and transforming the make-up of its board and management.

Denel MD Seshu Chonco announced recently that at least 95 of Denel's 190 head office staff

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were being retrenched. He said that Denel's overheads and corporate office employment costs far exceeded its operational requirements.

The group cancelled a number of foreign orders last year due to political pressure and this reflected on the company's profitability, he said. It was expected to move into the red in the year to March 1998. Denel's net profit fell sharply to R82m in the year to end-March 1997 from R370m the previous year.

Gross revenue also dropped to R3bn from R3,4bn previously which was the result of higher levels of competition, lower economic growth and cancelled contracts.

Chonco has previously thrown his weight behind Denel's partial privatisation, saying an equity partner should be found for the group's aviation operation.

However, other operations, such as guided weapons, were strategic and should not be opened up to foreigners.

A public enterprises ministry review said continued local as well as international defence expenditure would lead to increased pressure on Denel's profitability.

soon refuse

to obey some orders

Mar 11/4/98
(754)

By ESTELLE RANDALL
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A revamped Defence Act, which will allow soldiers to refuse to carry out unlawful or unconstitutional orders, is to be presented to Parliament's joint standing committee on defence this month.

Defence Ministry spokesman Colonel Puso Tladi said the new legislation would bring the Defence Act in line with the new constitution and South Africa's new democracy. The new military disciplinary code would entitle members of the SA National Defence Force to refuse to carry out unlawful commands.

"In the old dispensation, a command was a command and soldiers had to obey their commanding officers," Tladi said, "but the new code will distinguish between lawful and unlawful commands." The draft bill, prepared by a team in the Defence Ministry, has been under discussion for some time - some believe for too long.

Ironically, the former SA Defence Force once discussed the principle of a code of conduct under which soldiers, as "citizens in uniform", would be entitled to disobey unlawful or unconstitutional orders. In 1992, the then SADF chief of staff, Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, ruffled feathers in the military hierarchy by proposing such a code.

Courts martial

The row over the proposal, which was discussed with the ANC before it was put before the Defence Command Council, is widely believed to be the reason Steyn was not promoted to chief of the defence force the next year. That went instead to Georg Meiring, who this week resigned after the controversy over a supposedly bogus intelligence report on a coup plot against the Government.


The new Defence Act will have its biggest impact in the area of military courts martial.

Tony Yengeni, chairman of the joint standing committee on defence, was one of those who had been very open about the need for change in the SANDF.

"But we need to be very cautious and very focused. You're dealing with men and women who have been trained to kill. In such a context, you need to keep things together while you change them."

However, he believed the time had come for radical and urgent change to take place, especially around ensuring representivity in the SANDF and also regarding rank promotion.

As chairman of the committee, he faced many complaints from former Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) members who said they were being blocked from promotion and that courts martial were used to victimise them.



CHANGE IN SIGHT: Soldiers will have the right to ignore unlawful or unconstitutional orders if forthcoming amendments to the Defence Act become law.

"I could end up getting confused, trying to fight fires," Yengeni observed, "so for the purposes of my sanity I have to focus, and my focus has been to ensure that the military disciplinary code is changed as quickly as possible."

He had just returned from the Castle in Cape Town where, for some time, he has been observing courts martial being held. The most common charge in courts martial now, he said, was absence without leave (AWOL).

"People go off for one or two days more than they had permission for. Sentences could range from fines of about R400 or 30 days' detention. Of course there are cases of straightforward ill-discipline. But there are a number of reasons why people are AWOL. The people administering the system perhaps forget that apartheid destroyed people as well as family structures. So now you get a guy who has come back after maybe five or 10 years in exile. He's got married, had some children and set up home in Cape Town. Then he gets posted to some base in Pretoria. At the end of the month he gets two days' leave. For him to travel to Cape Town could take at least a day of his leave. It's a problem."



MILITARY CONCERNS:

Tony Yengeni

He said all the problems related to implementing the military disciplinary code did not necessarily stem from malicious intent often the main problem was ingrained bigotry.

"One officer told me today that before 1994 there were fewer courts martial - they'd be held maybe once a month. Now they are held twice a week."

"That officer's understanding was that integration of the non-statutory forces (MK and Apla) into the SANDF had brought ill-discipline into the ranks," said Yengeni.

Sometimes the military code was also used to get rid of substitutes with whom officers had problems. Yengeni said, instead of trying to work out the problems.

Mentality shift

"If there is a problem, people tend not to look at it as a problem. They first and foremost see the person who is bringing the problem. Is it an ex-MK or Apla person? Is it someone from the old SADF? If going to take a lot of education to shift the mentality of all those in the SANDF. We must get all sides to make the shift because the problems are not just about racism, sexism or resistance to the new order. The problems in the SANDF are not new or unique - they're a reflection of what's happening in our society generally."

He was confident that by September there would be new, appropriate laws in place.

Security legislation in line for overhaul

EX-SPIES

face big

squeeze

8/11/98

(7/14) (8/11)

By ESTELLE RANDALL
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Law Commission is to review all existing security legislation and make recommendations to regulate the conduct of private security operations and the activities of retired or former members of the state's intelligence and security establishment

The review is part of the Government's plans to overhaul the elaborate network of spooks and spies that bolstered apartheid rule

The ministerial commission of inquiry into the activities of Military Intelligence, announced this week, is only one of several measures to rein in state and private intelligence and security bodies

In the pipeline is improved regulation and control of the activities of intelligence and security members who leave government structures as well as the mushrooming private security company industry Regulations likely to come up include a prohibition on former state-security and intelligence members' involvement in private security or intelligence activities

The Law Commission's work will complement that of the commission to review the operations of Military Intelligence, which was announced this week.

The Government says the Cabinet approved establishment of the MI review commission earlier this year, before South African National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring handed the discredited MI report to President Nelson Mandela. The idea of conducting a thorough review of MI took firm root about two years ago, when the Cabinet instructed the ministers of defence and intelligence to make recommendations to it on the issue

Meiring announced his resignation as SANDF chief this week after the report he handed to Mandela - which claimed a number of prominent military and political leaders were involved in a plot to overthrow the Government - was found to be inaccurate

The judicial commission, headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed, which investigated how the report was compiled, checked and finally delivered to Mandela, found the process was flawed and called for further in-depth investigation into the compilation and verification of intelligence reports

"I'm clear in my mind that we need to insist on urgent and radical transformation of MI," said Tony Yengeni, chairman of Parliament's standing committee on defence and a member of the MI review commission

The commission will conduct an independent investigation into the past and present activities of MI, including scrutiny of its personnel, assets, covert and overt structures, operational procedures and structure. There will be special emphasis on covert operations, and former members of MI are also likely to be grilled.

The eight-member commission, headed by advocate Marume Moerane, includes members of the departments of defence and justice, the defence secretariat, Parliament's joint standing committees on intelligence

and defence, and the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee.

Nicoc was established to co-ordinate intelligence activities and is accountable to the Cabinet. This was the body which should have approved the intelligence-gathering conducted by MI in its compilation of the discredited Meiring report and through which the report should have passed before it reached Mandela. Because Nicoc has no powers of arrest, intelligence gathered is handed to relevant departments to deal with.

Nicoc also established the National Intelligence Estimates Board to carry out intelligence-gathering and monitoring on a day-to-day basis. Those on the NIEB are nominated by their directors-general. Robert McBride, the Foreign Affairs Department official who is in custody in Mozambique on allegations of gun-running, was an NIEB member.

The MI review commission will report directly to Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, but will also meet regularly with Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla to brief him on developments. A final report and recommendations will go to Modise and Mandela.

The need for tighter legislation was one of the directives from the ministerial commission of inquiry into the transformation of civilian intelligence - the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) and the South African Secret Service (SASS). The commission, established in July 1996, was headed by advocate Vusi Pikoli, a deputy director-general of human resources in the Department of Justice, now deputy chairman of the review commission on defence intelligence.

The "Pikoli commission" recommended that:

■ The NIA and SASS continue to function as two distinct and independent services, with the NIA continuing

to function as a domestic intelligence service and the SASS as South Africa's foreign intelligence service.

■ The NIA and SASS intensify their crime collection efforts to support the police's crime intelligence tasks

■ Intelligence priorities be subject to Cabinet approval and annual reports of intelligence activities, containing assessments of performance, be submitted to the Cabinet

■ Regulations and directives be reviewed
■ Legislation be considered to regulate the conduct of private intelligence and security companies and to regulate or control activities of former or retired members of state intelligence and security services.

This month Parliament also approved amendments to the Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill. The amended bill, still to be adopted by the National Assembly, aims at preventing SA involvement in mercenary activities. It contains stiff penalties, including imprisonment, for soldiers of fortune based here and enables SA authorities to track down South African-based mercenaries wherever they are in the world.

Nhlanhla and Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi are yet to announce when an examination of police intelligence will occur.



MINISTER JOE MODISE:
Will receive the reports

Military intelligence faces revamp as state

ESTELLE RANDALL

The new commission of inquiry into the activities of Military Intelligence (MI) is one of several Government measures to rein in South Africa's state and private intelligence and security operations.

In the pipeline are improved regulation and control of the activities of intelligence and security members who leave Government structures and the mushrooming private security company industry.

Regulations likely to come up include a prohibition, for maybe five years, on former state security and intelligence members' involvement in private security or intelligence activities.

The Ministry of Intelligence has confirmed that the Law Commission will review all existing security legislation and make recommendations about laws to regulate the conduct of private security operations and the activities of retired or former mem-

bers of the state's intelligence and security establishment.

This need for tighter legislation was one of the directives from the ministerial commission of inquiry into transformation of civilian intelligence - the National Intelligence Agency and the South African Secret Service. The commission, established in July 1996, was headed by Vusi Pikoli, a deputy director-general of human resources in the Department of Justice, now deputy chairperson of the revamp commission on defence intelligence.

Little is known about the activities of former intelligence members

In February last year the "Pikoli Commission" recommended that the Government "consider legislation to regulate the conduct of private intelligence and security companies and consider legislation regulating or controlling activities of former or

retired members of state intelligence and security services".

Little is known about the activities of private security companies or the current activities of former state security and intelligence members. The Civil Co-operation Bureau, branch of MI under the former

government, was officially disbanded in 1994 - but what has happened to all its operatives?

The Security Officers' Board, a statutory body established in 1994 to exercise control over the private security sector, said there were 4 817 private security companies which had registered with it. It is not known how many of these are engaged in intelligence work, but about half are involved in security activities. Most are small operations, with only 195 of the 4 817 registered compa-

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ies employing 150 people or more.

This month, Parliament also approved amendments to the Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill. The amended bill, still to be adopted by the National Assembly, aims at preventing South African involvement in mercenary activities.

It contains stiff penalties, including imprisonment, for soldiers of fortune based here and enables South African authorities to track down South African-based mercenaries wherever they are in the world.

Together with the Law Commission's review of security-related laws, legislation prohibiting mercenary activity is a further important step in controlling the activities of private security companies. However, observers believe the Government will find it difficult to administer.

International law is weak on the issue and South Africa and the United States are the only two countries to have introduced legislation prohibiting mercenary activity.

This week's announcement of the

commission to review the operations of military intelligence will complement these existing steps and help to further bring state intelligence and security structures in line with South Africa's new democracy.

The Government says the Cabinet approved establishment of the MI review commission earlier this year, before South African National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring handed the bogus MI report to President Mandela.

The idea of conducting a thorough review of MI took firm root about two years ago, when the Cabinet instructed the ministers of defence and intelligence to make recommendations to it on the issue. The Meiring report had only speeded up and given urgency to planned processes, says the Government.

General Meiring announced his resignation as SANDF chief after the report he handed to Mr Mandela - which claimed prominent military and political leaders were involved in a plot to overthrow the Government -

was found to be inaccurate. The judicial commission, headed by Chief Justice Ismael Mahomed, which investigated how the report was compiled, checked and finally delivered to Mr Mandela, found the process was flawed and called for further in-depth investigation into its compilation.

Tony Yengeni, chairperson of Parliament's standing committee on defence and a member of the ministerial review commission into MI operations, said "I'm clear in my mind that we need to insist on urgent and radical transformation of MI. We need men and women in that portfolio who are not only skilled in how to do the job, but who've made a shift in understanding".

The commission will conduct an independent investigation into the past and present activities of MI, including scrutiny of its personnel, assets, covert and overt structures, operational procedures and structure. There will be special emphasis on cover operations and former members of MI are likely to be grilled.

The eight-member commission, headed by Marume Moerane, includes members of the departments of defence and justice, the defence secretary, Parliament's joint standing committees on intelligence and defence and the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Nico). Nico was established to coordinate intelligence activities and is accountable to the Cabinet. This was the body which should have approved the intelligence gathering conducted by MI in its compilation of the discredited Meiring report and through which the report should have passed before it reached Mr Mandela.

The commission will report directly to Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, but will also meet regularly with deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla to brief him on developments. Mr Modise and Mr Mandela will receive a final report containing recommendations for the revamp of MI.

bulis in the reins

'Merrington report' hastens plans to overhaul state network of spies

ESTELLE RANDALL
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The discredited "Merrington report" alleging an imminent coup will hasten Government plans to overhaul - notanker with - the network of Spooks and spies that bolstered apartheid rule.

There's a mystique around intel- ligence which is unnecessary," a Government source observed, "but we must balance between making information available and not compromising investigations."

"It's important to let the public know what mechanisms are being put in place to prevent the intelligence abuses of the past."

This week's appointment of a review commission into the past and current activities of the South African National Defence Force's intelligence division is part of the Government's attempt to put such mechanisms in place.

It is also the Government's first step in transforming its non-civilian intelligence apparatus. In his budget vote speech in May last year, Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlamhla indicated that transformation of military and police intelligence was on the cards.

Mr Nhlamhla said "It is intended that in 1998, the Ministry of Intelligence services in consultation with

the ministers of Defence and Safety and Security will be paying much more attention to the transformation of military intelligence and that of the police services.

"While accepting that grey areas demarcating line function responsibility needs to be clarified, we are of the strong view that the transformation of these divisions, particularly the areas of supervision, co-ordination and the introduction of a new ethos governing the conduct of intelligence of these divisions is central and inseparable to the transformation of the entire intelligence community.

"Special attention will be paid to covert structures, accountability and strict measures of control and supervision."

Mr Nhlamhla and Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi are yet to announce when an examination of police intelligence will occur. Also still to be finalised is the appointment of an inspector-general of intelligence.

An early measure to begin to make state intelligence accountable was the 1994 National Strategic Intelligence Act. This outlined the specific areas of operation for South Africa's four intelligence structures - police intelligence, military intelligence, the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) and the South African Secret Service (SASS).

This Act also established the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Niccoc), which was formed in 1995, and made state intelligence structures accountable to the Cabinet.

"Niccoc is the attempt to co-ordinate the activities of all four intelligence structures and to do away with self-tasking of the past - to make intelligence accountable to the Cabinet," said Intelligence Ministry spokesperson Hellmuth Schlenther.

Members of Niccoc are its co-ordinator, Linda Mti, the director-general of NIA, and SASS, the chief of intelligence of SANDF and the SA Police Service's head of national crime prevention. Niccoc's ex-officio members are the director-general of foreign affairs and Jakes Gerwel, the director-general of the president's office.

Mr Schlenther said "Niccoc co-ordinates intelligence supplied by members of the intelligence community, (and) produces and disseminates intelligence of national strategic importance to facilitate co-ordination."

Cabinet gives Niccoc a list of issues for the year and these are added to by the Cabinet committee on intelligence.

"For example," said Mr Schlenther, "taskings for 1997 included violence in KwaZulu Natal and on the Cape Flats and for 1998 bank heists,

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gun-running and attacks on farmers are some of the taskings."

Because Niccoc has no executive powers - powers of arrest - intelligence gathered is handed to relevant departments to deal with further.

Niccoc also established the national intelligence estimates board (NIEB) to carry out intelligence gathering and monitoring on a day-to-day basis.

Those on NIEB are nominated by their directors-general. Robert McBride, the foreign affairs department official who is in custody in Mozambique on allegations of gun-running, was a member of NIEB.

The concept of Niccoc can go a long way in more effectively managing state intelligence but Government admits there is room for improvement. Mr Mti has said there are "ongoing discussions between police, military and civilian intelligence on (the) need to consolidate Niccoc."

He added that a detailed statement would be made in due course by the three ministers, on consolidating Niccoc's four intelligence components. Niccoc's actual ability to carry out its functions of co-ordinating intelligence and making intelligence accountable to the Cabinet also depends on the extent to which the four intelligence structures have been transformed.

Dirk Verbeek, across whose desk the Merrington military intelligence

report would have passed, sat on Niccoc as SANDF chief of military intelligence until about two months ago. Yet Niccoc was informed of neither the military intelligence investigation nor its report.

The imperatives of quickly and with the least fuss amalgamating former enemies into new structures loyal to the new Constitution has spawned problems which the Government is now having to address.

For example, when the state's civilian intelligence services - NIA and SASS - were formed, it involved amalgamating intelligence personnel from the formerbantustans, the former government's National Intelligence Service and the African National Congress' department of intelligence and security.

The need for speed in amalgamation meant that proper security clearances couldn't be conducted for all personnel of the new civilian intelligence structures. "So each former service vouched for their existing personnel," said Mr Schlenther.

Now, Mr Schlenther said, clearance procedures for intelligence personnel were under review, new applicants were being vetted and all existing personnel were being re-vetted.

The transformation of NIA and SASS were speeded up by a thorough investigation into these services' activities.

New laws for SANDF will curb the 'orders are orders' brigade

ARCT 11/4/98 (254)

ESTELLE RANDALL
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Military officers will have to think twice before they issue orders in future - they could be illegal.

A final draft of a revamped Defence Act and military disciplinary code will be presented to Parliament's joint standing committee on defence later this month.

Defence ministry spokesperson Puso Tladi said the new legislation would bring the Defence Act in line with the new Constitution and South Africa's democracy.

The military disciplinary code would entitle members of the SA National Defence Force to refuse to carry out unlawful commands.

Colonel Tladi said: "In the old dispensation, a command was a command and soldiers had to obey their commanding officers, but the new code will distinguish between lawful and unlawful commands."

The draft bill, prepared by a team in the defence ministry, has been under discussion for some time - too long, some believe.

Chairperson of the standing committee on defence Tony Yengeni said he had been one of those who had been open about the need for change in the force

"But we need to be very cautious and very focused. You're dealing with men and women who

have been trained to kill. In such a context, you need to keep things together while you change them"

As chairperson of the standing committee, he faced a barrage of complaints from former Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) members who said they were being blocked from promotion and that courts martial were used to victimise them.

"I could end up getting confused, trying to fight fires" said Mr Yengeni, "so my focus has been to ensure that the military disciplinary code is changed as quickly as possible."

He has spent time at the Castle in Cape Town, where he has been observing court martials.

The most common charge now, he said, was absence without leave (Awol). "People go off for one or two days more than they had permission.

"Of course there are cases of straightforward ill-discipline. But there are number of reasons for why people are Awol.

"The people administering the system perhaps forget that apartheid destroyed people as well as family structures.

"Now, you get a guy who's come back after maybe five or 10 years in exile. He's got married, had some children and set up home in Cape Town. Then he gets posted to a base in Pretoria.

"At the end of the month, he gets two days' leave. For him to travel to Cape Town could take at least a day of his leave. It's a problem"

He said the problems related to implementing the military disciplinary code did not necessarily stem from malicious intent - often the main problem was ingrained bigotry.

"One officer told me today that before 1994 there were fewer courts martial - they'd be held maybe once a month. Now, they are held twice a week. That officer's understanding was that the integration of the non-statutory forces (MK and Apla) into the SANDF had brought ill-discipline into the ranks," he said.

Sometimes the military code was used also to get rid of subordinates with whom officers had problems, said Mr Yengeni, instead of trying to work out a solution.

"It's going to take a lot of education to shift the mentality of all those in the SANDF. We must get all sides to make the shift because the problems are not just about racism, sexism or resistance to the new order. The problems in the SANDF are not new or unique - they're a reflection of what's happening in our society generally"

He was confident that by September there would be new, appropriate laws in place.



SANDF chief Georg Meiring and the purging of the old guard after the so-called 'Meiring Report' will lead to the fast-track promotion of more senior black officers.

THE EARLY retirement of General Georg Meiring as chief of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and the expected purging of other members of the military's old guard are likely to have one major and immediate benefit - the fast-track promotion of the black officers' corps.

But, warns the man widely expected to follow in Meiring's footsteps, Lieutenant General Siphwe Nyanda, while the promotion of senior black officers is inevitable, this will not be affirmative action for the sake of it.

Speaking to City Press soon after the release of the so-called "Meiring Report" but before Meiring quit as army chief, Nyanda said he has always impressed upon his former liberation army colleagues that they must study hard if they want to progress in the army.

If, as is widely expected, he takes over from Meiring, the movement of blacks to senior positions will be encouraged but this will depend on merit and nothing else, he said.

As deputy chief of the army, he reportedly emphasised to former comrades in Umkhonto we Sizwe and other aspirant black officers that they should acquire skills if they wanted to go up in the military ranks.

The "Meiring Report", compiled by Military Intelligence (MI) and submitted to President Nelson Mandela two weeks ago by Meiring, precipitated the present crisis in the army ranks.

The report alleged a coup plot by Nyanda, other senior black army officers, Winnie Madikizela - Mandela, Bantu Holomisa and so-called "hunts" in the ANC.

A commission headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed found that the report, based on information from a discredited police/MI informer, was flawed and had no substance.

The expected elevation of Nyanda and the promotion of other black officers to senior ranks in the army is likely to trigger accusations that former MK and Apla cadres lack experience and qualifications.

Nyanda has in the past dismissed such accusations as cheap sophistry. His argument has been that at the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer War and the creation of the Union of South Africa, Boer generals who were essentially guerrillas were inducted into the army with their ranks.

And that when the National Party came to power in 1948, it placed its own in senior positions in the army. Although it has never been publicised, there has always been a

Meiring's going opens way for black officers



Deputy Editor

Selection strictly on merit - upcoming army chief Nyanda

strong feeling that Meiring and other senior staff from the former South African Defence Force (SADF) represented the old guard which was resisting change.

Nyanda, aware of the enormous challenges in transforming the army - seen together with the police force as the last redoubt by many right-wingers - is reluctant to talk about the specific problems in the force.

Instead, he refers to a report by British military experts which highlighted some of the racial problems in the SANDF.

Although a number of whites in the military establishment have accepted Nyanda and other senior officers from the liberation movements, he still has to work hard to bring everyone on board.

Nyanda - better known as Gebuza after one of King Shaka's generals - leads by example. Always the favourite to take over from Meiring, he underwent the extensive training needed to head one of the world's most sophisticated armies.

Last year he raised eyebrows when he left headquarters in Pretoria to head the Gauteng command. There were whispers that he had been demoted.

Nothing could have been further from the truth. Nyanda had asked to be deployed to Gauteng in order to gain first-hand experience of being regional commander.

Although Nyanda was hoping to stay longer at the Gauteng post, he was redeployed back to headquarters. Word is that he was pressured by the ANC leadership to go back - a clear sign of how the party leadership values him.

The 48-year-old father of five refuses to be drawn into the "Meiring Report" debacle, except to say that it indicates some of the problems that exist in trying to integrate the statutory and non-statutory forces.

"We kept our side of the bargain. The same cannot be said about the

former SADF," is all he is willing to say.

While he may be reticent about integration problems (for this read racial problems), it is common knowledge that even with the expected departure of some senior white officers, many of the old guard who have not embraced the new order will remain entrenched in the military.

These officers will continue to be problematic, and Nyanda will have to be astute in dealing with them.

While some whites have accepted the new situation, there are others who were led to believe that changes in the force would not occur overnight or in their lifetimes.

"Suddenly there are these dramatic changes. It may not be that easy for them to cope with these developments," said one observer.

This situation is going to pose many challenges for Nyanda.

On the one hand, the expectations of blacks will be high, but at the same time, he will have to take into account the reality of white fears in the force.

To allegations that he was involved in a coup plot, the 1,8m-tall Nyanda looks me straight in the eye and chuckles loudly.

The question does not unsettle him in the least.

"People making these sorts of allegations do not understand MK. We are too professional to engage in those sorts of activities."

To him, the thought of MK cadres carrying out a coup against the government of the day - as commonly happens in countries like Nigeria - is unthinkable.

Nyanda trained as an infantryman in the former East Germany and at 48, some may consider him too young to be chief of the SANDF.

Nyanda says he was never in a hurry to take over the position.

"Whether I took over in a year's time or after five years was never a problem to me. I have never been in

a hurry," said the self-effacing Sowetan.

While Nyanda is unfazed by the latest developments, many are quick to defend claims that he is not experienced enough.

"You cannot compare Nyanda with Meiring or those who came before Meiring. They are to a large extent incomparable," said an observer.

"The SANDF is undergoing transformation just like the rest of South Africa. Nyanda has the necessary military background from MK and the SANDF. But more importantly, he is better attuned to transforming the army than any of his predecessors."

Another observer pointed out that the worst-case scenario would have been for Meiring to continue as chief after the crisis triggered by the MI report, or for a like-minded person to take over.

"It would be unthinkable for anyone from the old guard to continue being in charge. The recent events about a coup clearly showed there was a need for a change. Someone with a mental attitude in tune with the new South Africa was needed and Gebuza fits this bill."

If South Africa had always been a normal country - that is, without apartheid - Nyanda might well have been an academic. His first love is mathematics and he might have ended up teaching it.

But, like many of his compatriots, politics intervened in his quiet life.

Siphwe "Gebuza" Nyanda's short CV:

Born 1951, Dube, Soweto. Expelled, second year University of Zululand (1970).

Head of Transvaal Machinery, MK chief of staff, head of military affairs, Operation Vula.

SANDF chief of staff and deputy chief of the army.

Married to former MK cadre Moipone Sheila.



CHIEF-IN-WAITING . . . Lieutenant Sphiwe 'Gebuza' Nyanda, the favourite to take over from army chief Georg Mering, has always impressed on former MK colleagues that they should work hard to progress through army ranks

Motaung named in Meiring Report

BY JIMMY SEEPE

CP 12/4/98

Kaizer Chiefs boss is among over 120 implicated people



CHIEF IN WAITING... Siphwe Nyanda implicated as chief culprit in the discredited report Nyanda is tipped to succeed Meiring as SANDF chief

(CP) LEADING businessman and Kaizer Chiefs football club boss, Kaizer Motaung, is one of the leading public figures mentioned in the discredited military intelligence report handed to president Nelson Mandela by chief of the South African Defence Force, Georg Meiring, City Press has reliably established. The discredited MI report now commonly referred to as "Meiring Report" alleges that Motaung, along with senior SANDF generals who included Lt-Gen Siphwe Nyanda, were behind a sinister plot to overthrow the government.

Motaung's name is mentioned alongside American Black Muslim cleric, Minister Louis Farrakhan, who visited South Africa last year.

The Meiring report, which was eloquently described by Deputy Defence Minister, Ronnie Kasrils, as "laughable, nonsensical rubbish, and... a long, dirty thumbsuck," was rejected by Mandela who later instituted a judicial commission of inquiry into its compilation.

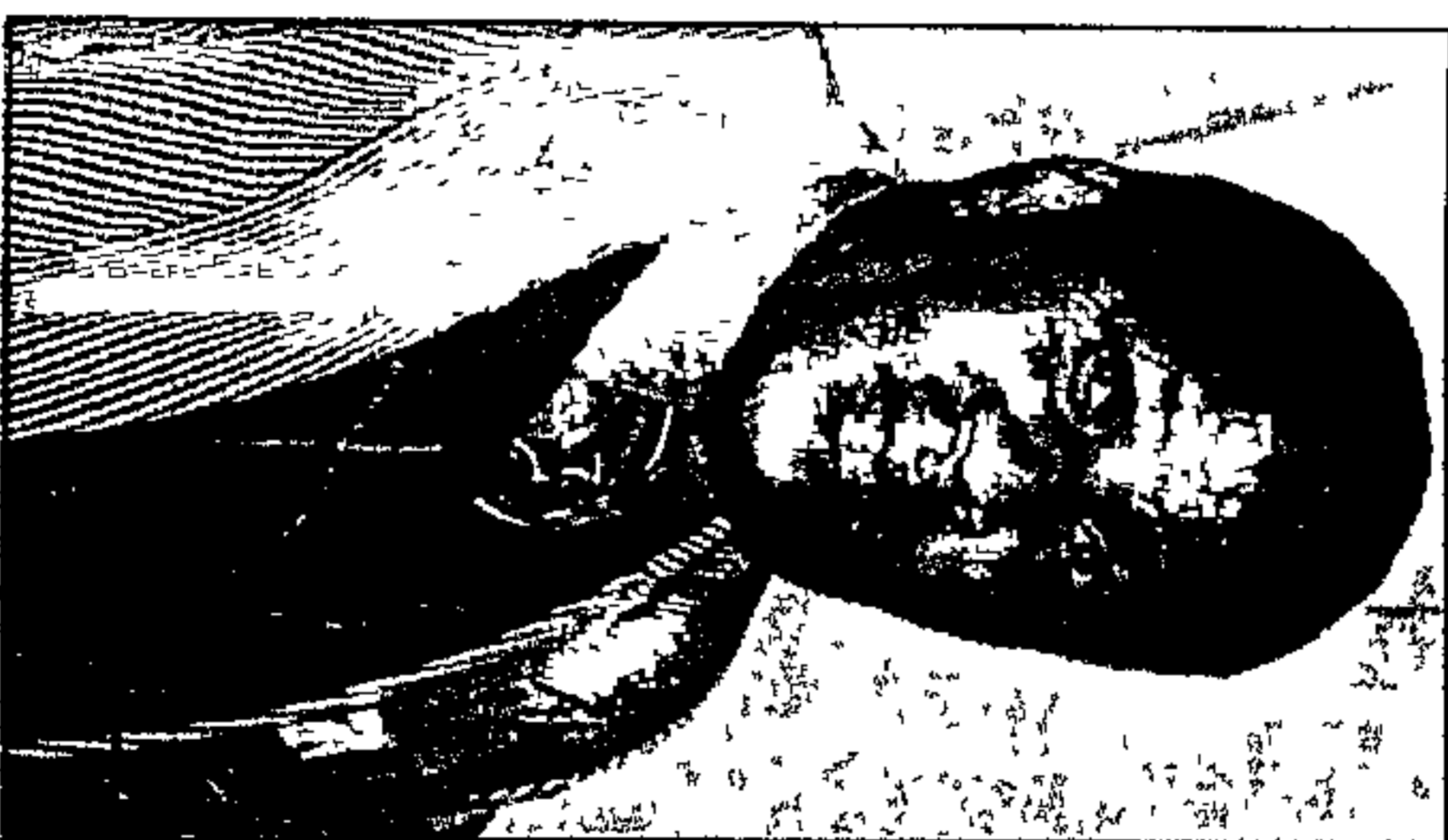
When contacted by City Press, the astonished Motaung laughed about being told that he features in the Meiring report.

"I think somebody was just being very naughty about including my name in the planned coup," he said. "I also think President Mandela must investigate some of the individuals who came up with this — they need their heads examined," said a very surprised Motaung.

Motaung said it was outrageous to think of him getting involved in a plot to remove a government that he had voted into power.

It is not clear how the Meiring Report saw the role of Motaung and Farrakhan in what Kasrils also described as a "concoction of a plot."

It appears that the report compilers, in an effort to legitimise the



DREAM SPORTS MINISTER... Kaizer Motaung was offered cabinet post by phantom coup plotters.

plot, sought to include every significant public and international figure.

It is suspected that the compilers of the report might have thought the president would be convinced by the report and lead him to think that Motaung was vying for the position of the Minister of Sports after the "successful coup".

Other well-known public figures who were mentioned in the report include ANC Women's League



MUSLIM GEVAAR... Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan among accused international figures

president, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, United Democratic Movement leader, Bantu Holomisa, suspended deputy foreign affairs director for Asian affairs, Robert McBride, and three other prominent SANDF generals.

The report claimed these individuals, along with more than 120 others, belonged to FAPLA (Force African Peoples Liberation Army) which had its aim of subverting the elections scheduled for next year.

New technology could allow Air Force to save R500m on training

JONATHAN ROSENTHAL

INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

Johannesburg — Advances in aerospace technology could allow the South African Air Force (SAAF) to cut by more than half its requirement for 24 trainer aircraft, Lt Col Lavern Machiné, an SAAF spokesman, said yesterday.

With industry estimates of the cost of the 24 aircraft ranging between R600 million and R1 bil-

lion, this could allow the SAAF to save between R300 million and R500 million on the acquisition of new trainers to replace the outdated Impala trainers presently in service.

In a request for information, sent out last month inviting several aerospace companies to bid on the supply of trainers, the SAAF said it envisaged flying between 200 and 250 hours a year in each plane. The planes were

expected to have a lifespan of 7 500 flight hours and would last about 30 years at that rate of use.

Several aviation experts, including a former military jet pilot, said an expected lifespan of about 7 500 hours, at 250 hours a year, was normal for aircraft built 30 years ago. They said, however, that air forces around the world were now flying more than double that number of hours a year, and expected a life-

span in excess of 10 000 flying hours.

Machiné said the SAAF needed its new trainer aircraft to generate a certain number of training hours a year, and if that number could be achieved with fewer but more modern aircraft, the SAAF could reduce its requirement.

"If we can generate the required training hours then we will happily take less," she said.

But she said the SAAF still had its sights set on 24 aircraft because it twinned training squadrons with flying squadrons, allowing newly trained pilots to increase their experience flying trainers without supervision before moving on to a jet fighter squadron.

The current requirement for 60 light utility helicopters could also be reduced if modern, and lower-maintenance, helicopters were purchased.

But the number of fighter aircraft required was unlikely to be cut below its current 38, she said.

The SAAF has already said it would cut its planned purchase of front-line fighters from 48 to around 38 to help fund the acquisition of trainers. But Machiné said the SAAF needed 38 fighters to equip two operational and one trainer squadron while keeping open the option of reactivating another fighter squadron.

OT (M/R) 15/14/98

(2514)

MILITARY CO-OPERATION FIRMLY ON AGENDA

SA's booming arms industry looks east

(254)

SEOUL: Thabo Mbeki is confident that China's plan to reduce its army will create the need to modernise its equipment and provide SA's arms industry with a giant market

DEPUTY PRESIDENT Thabo Mbeki's mission to East Asia could produce a windfall for South Africa's resurgent arms industry in China and South Korea

Military co-operation, with medium-term implications for the arms trade, was firmly on the agenda for his talks with government leaders in Beijing and Seoul

Mbeki is on a 12-day mission to raise the profile of his country and continent as a player in global politics, as a trade partner and an investment venue.

His talks have focused on manufacturing, agriculture and mineral beneficiation, but officials saw the state-owned weapons industry created under white rule to counter anti-apartheid sanctions has come up again and again.

The industry faltered after white-ruled South Africa began to withdraw in the late 1980s from conflicts in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique and appeared set to die during the first months of democratic rule.

The new government set up a strict arms control regime and outlawed sales to unstable countries, leading to embargoes on sales to Iraq, Libya, Somalia and the rebel forces in Angola.

But sales picked up after the government formally decided not to dismantle the arms industry. Arms sales in the first nine months of 1997 were 34% up on the same period in 1996.

Mbeki said in Beijing, where he met President Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji, that the two countries had agreed to exchange ideas on force reductions.

He said China's plan to reduce its army by half-a-million inevitably would create the need to modernise its equipment.

"The Chinese have for the first time got money to spend on arms," said a South African official travelling with Mbeki.

"They've basically been working with 1970s equipment. Now they've got money and they're looking to modernise and re-equip their army."

South Africa's renowned long-range field guns, the towed G-5 and self-propelled G-6, and its sophisticated cockpit electronic systems for tanks, planes and helicopters could be of interest to China in the medium-term, he said.

In Korea, Mbeki said he had preliminary discussion with President Kim Dae-jung and acting Prime Minister Kim Jong-pil about a military accord that could open the way for arms trade.

Mbeki said the agreement, which would cover military co-operation and logistics, was a precondition for trade, adding: "The Koreans insist upon it."

He cautioned, however, that the process was just beginning and that it was too early to discuss specific potential for co-operation.

"I wouldn't want to move too fast on this one, to run too quickly," he said.

Mr Isaac Kekane, South Africa's deputy head of mission in Seoul, said he was anxious to get the accord signed as soon as possible.

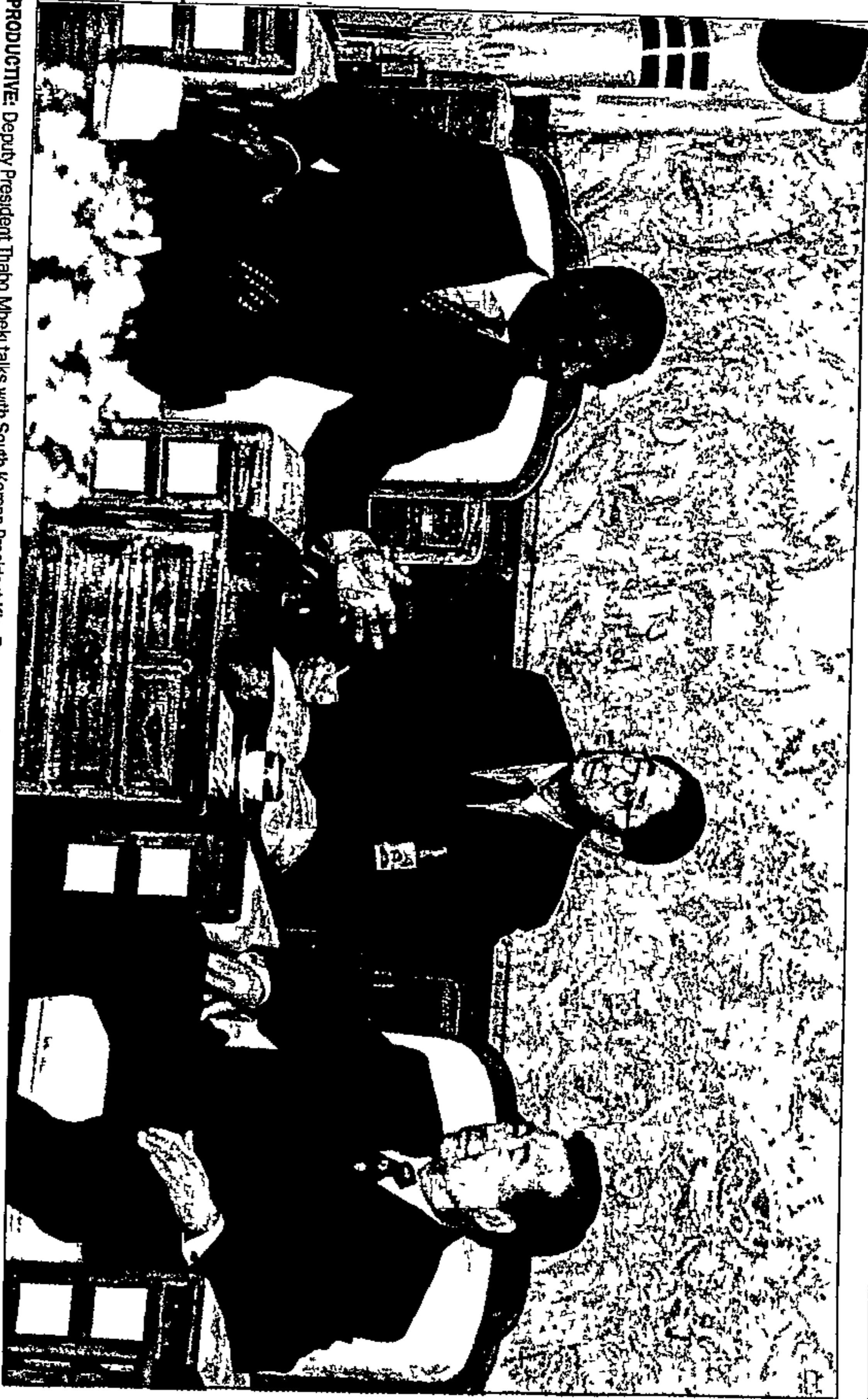
"We want a government-to-government military co-operation and procurement agreement. For our military industry to survive, we need to make significant inroads on that."

"The agreement we are calling for is an agreement to create a broader framework for military co-operation with a specific clause for procurement," he said.

Kekane said South Korea had expressed specific interest in South Africa's demining robot known as the Chubby system, which the United States also is assessing.

He said South African avionics also could prove attractive for a possible joint venture with South Korea to produce military aircraft.

Kekane said South Korea also might be interested in South Africa's most ambitious arms project the Rooivalk (Red Falcon) attack helicopter — Reuter



PRODUCTIVE: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki talks with South Korean President Kim Dae-jung at the presidential palace in Seoul yesterday

PICTURE: AP

Dramatic increase in export of armaments

(254) et 16/14/98

PRETORIA South Africa exported military equipment worth more than R1,3 billion last year, the country's annual armament export statistics revealed yesterday.

This represented a 34% rise (R500 million) in arms sales compared with the previous year, National Conventional Arms Control Committee chairperson Mr Kader Asmal said.

The bulk of the weapons sold (R1 billion) was of a lethal nature and fell into the A category, described as sensitive major significant equipment.

Material in this category is defined as "conventional imple-
ments of war that could cause heavy personnel casualties and/or major damage and destruction to material, structures, objects and facilities".

India was the biggest buyer of weapons in this class, and acquired equipment to the value of R572 million. Next on the list was Switzerland (R97 million), Singapore (R81 million), and Colombia (R59 million).

In the Middle East, Kuwait imported A category arms totalling R5 million, while African clients included the Republic of Congo (R24 million), Uganda (R9 million) and Rwanda (R8 million).

South Africa suspended arms sales to Rwanda in November 1996 after evidence emerged that Rwandan forces had made cross-border excursions into former Zaire.

In July last year, the government announced that the sale of non-lethal arms to Rwanda would resume, adding it would also consider supplying that country with sensitive weapons.

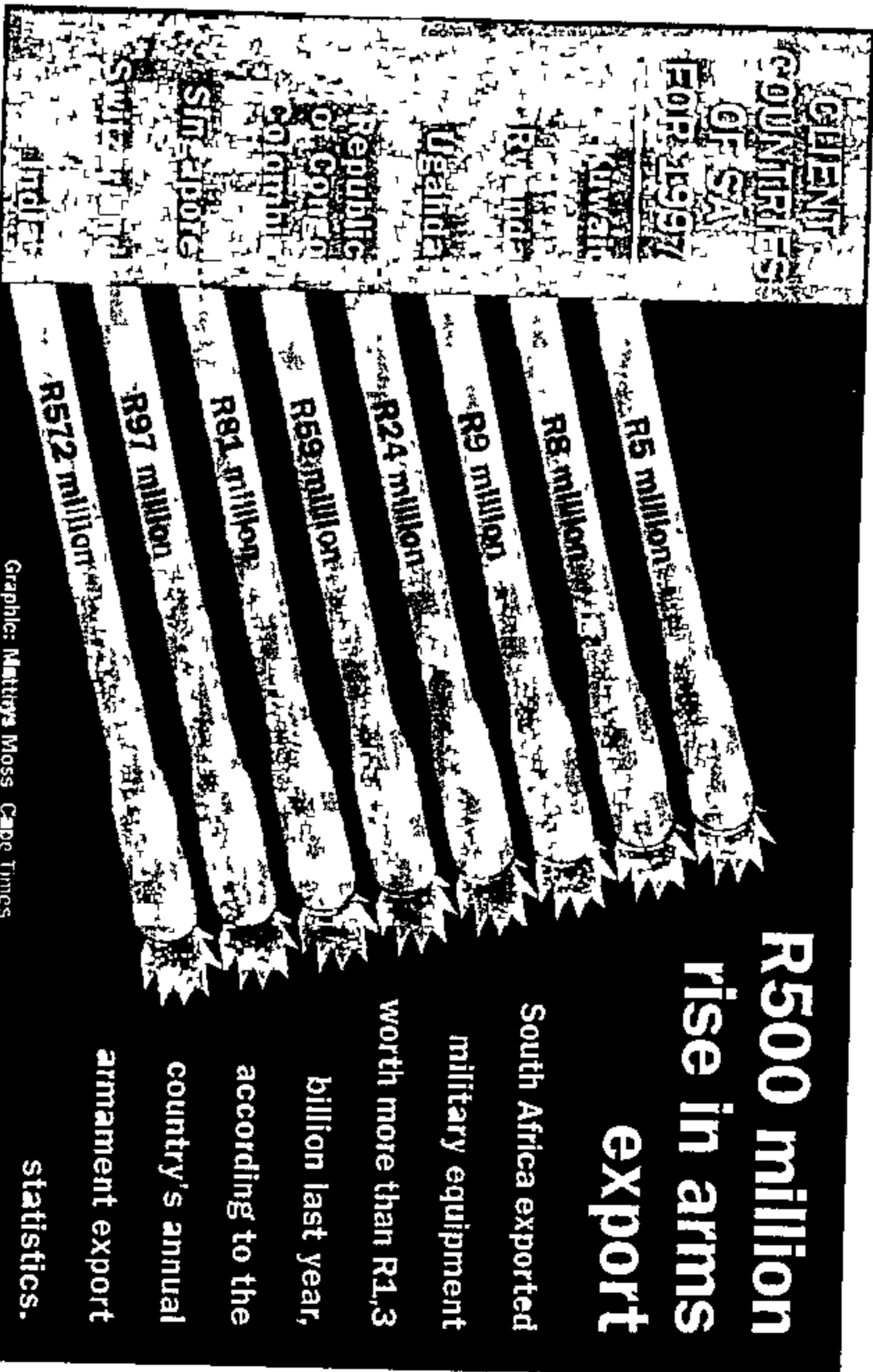
Asmal at the time said the decision was prompted by assurances from the Rwandan government that the material would not be used outside its borders.

Yesterday he said the government remained committed to transparency and the disclosure of its arms sales.

Asmal said all arms exports to Congo took place before that country's elected government was toppled. No requests for exports had been received since.

Turning to arms exports to India and Pakistan, he said regional balance was used as the criteria.

South Africa rigorously implemented United Nations arms embargoes, and was at the bottom of the list of exporters compared to



Graphic: Matlony Moss Cape Times

countries such as the United States, Russia and Sweden, he said.

Countries to which South Africa refused to export arms last year included Nigeria, Afghanistan, Congo, Burundi, Burma, Sudan, Sri

Lanka and Turkey.

Asmal said no serious claims of arms export breaches had been levelled against South Africa since the committee started its work 2 1/2 years ago, and all committee deci-

R500 million rise in arms export

South Africa exported military equipment worth more than R1,3 billion last year, according to the country's annual armament export statistics.



PRETORIA

India biggest buyer of SA arms

PD 16/4/98

(254)

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — SA had exported armaments and military equipment worth more than R1,3bn last year, an increase of 34% over the previous year, conventional arms control committee chairman Kader Asmal said yesterday.

SA arms export statistics for last year were released to the media and foreign diplomats. They showed that India had been the largest purchaser of lethal weaponry from SA last year, spending R572m.

India also purchased R28m in nonsensitive equipment — hardware used in support of combat operations which has no inherent capability to kill or destroy.

SA sold arms to 63 countries last year, the bulk of which — more than R1bn — were weapons of a lethal nature which fell into the A category, described as “conventional implements of war that could cause heavy personnel casualties and/or major damage and destruction to material, struc-

tures, objects and facilities”.

After India, the largest purchasers of these weapons were Switzerland at R97m, Singapore at R81m, and Colombia at R59m.

Category B arms include all types of handheld and portable assault weapons, category C includes combat support equipment and category D is limited to demining, mine clearing and nonlethal pyrotechnical and riot-control products.

Although SA sold A category weapons worth R24m to the Republic of Congo last year, Asmal said all sales had been suspended after the legitimate government was overthrown.

SA adhered strictly to United Nations (UN) embargoes which prevented arms sales to Nigeria, Afghanistan, Burundi, Burma, Sudan and Sri Lanka. Although the ban on arm sales to Turkey had been lifted by the UN recently, no requests to sell arms to that country had been received by SA.

Asked about the “arms race” between India and its neighbour

Pakistan, Asmal said a regional balance was taken into consideration when his committee approved the sale of arms.

Pakistan bought A category arms worth R26m from SA last year, but Asmal said “a fairly extensive” contract was being completed with that country this year.

Asmal said notwithstanding the criticism it often received, his committee had applied unwaveringly and fairly the rationale and principles approved by the cabinet for international arms sales.

He said the release of the annual arms sales brought SA into line with internationally accepted procedures.

In a separate announcement, Asmal said the national conventional arms control committee had ordered a study which could lead to the demilitarisation of SA.

An inventory was already being compiled of all the weapons held by government departments. A list of the weapons would be handed to Parliament. The move had been approved by the cabinet.

MPs seek full briefing on the 'coup' reports

(254)
Wyndham Hartley

BD 16/4/98

CAPE TOWN — Parliament's intelligence oversight committee has asked President Nelson Mandela's office for a full briefing on the military intelligence "coup" report and that of the Mohamed commission.

The two reports, which last week led to the resignation of Georg Meiring as defence force chief, are likely to remain secret after yesterday's extraordinary meeting of the committee which discussed how to deal with the reports rather than their contents.

The intelligence committee will further discuss the reports at a meeting in Pretoria tomorrow with the joint standing committee on defence and the committee for safety and security. It is understood that the three committees will be briefed by a delegation from the defence ministry.

Besides government officials, only leaders of political parties or their nominated representatives have so far been granted access to the reports after swearing themselves to confidentiality.

National Party executive director Renier Schoeman said yesterday the NP was satisfied with the progress made in yesterday's meeting. He said it was imperative that there should be multiparty scrutiny of the reports, and called for the management of the intelligence committee to press for the appointment of new members to the committee.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon and Pan Africanist Congress leader Stanley Mogoba have been nominated to the committee by their parties, but they have yet to be appointed.

Membership of the intelligence committee involves passing a security check and taking an oath of secrecy. Leon said that his application was made two months ago after the resignation from parliament of Kobus Jordaan, former DP member of the committee.

Freedom Front MP Pieter Groenewald said after the meeting that members felt that they should be able to examine the reports.

PW 'was given NIS security force report'

JOHN YELD
ON THE TRUTH COMMISSION

(254) (254)
ARG 16/4/98
George - Former state president PW Botha was given a 1982 National Intelligence Service (NIS) report which stated that his security forces used methods which did not comply with the laws, values, norms and morality of the South African state.

This was evidence in the magistrate's court here today during Mr Botha's trial for refusing to obey a subpoena to appear at a Truth Commission hearing in December last year. Mr Botha has pleaded not guilty.

Truth Commission executive secretary Paul Van Zyl, the first witness to be called for the prosecution, continued his testimony today.

Referring to the NIS report, compiled by apartheid-era spy and security policeman Craig Williamson, he told the court Williamson had referred to this section during his testimony to the commission's

To page 3

Botha 'was given security forces report'

From page 1

armed forces hearing last year. Major Williamson had told the hearing he had found "no difference of opinion" about the views he had expressed among his colleagues in the security forces.

Although the report had been circulated to an elite list of politicians and securocrats in Mr Botha's government - including Mr Botha him-

self - he had not been challenged by anyone.

Mr Van Zyl said this document was one of many about which the commission had wanted to question Mr Botha personally, because they could have contributed to situations in which gross human rights violations had occurred. "We wanted to ask whether Mr Botha received this, if he had, what his views were; and if a group of people of this nature and

this rank are circulating this (report), what action was taken to endorse this view or to indicate what action was taken to repudiate these views," said Mr Van Zyl.

The case is continuing, but is expected to be postponed later today after Mr Van Zyl's evidence-in-chief has been completed.

It may only resume after a delay of several months because of lawyers' commitments.

State seeks to put the screws on spy masters

RAY HARTLEY and
CAROL PATON

ST 19/4/98

THE government is preparing a major purge of rogue military intelligence agents whom it believes are actively undermining the state and involved in crime

As a first step, top government officials including the Deputy Minister of Defence, Ronnie Kasrils, and the Deputy Minister of Intelligence, Joe Nhlanhla, have moved to boost the powers of a commission of inquiry into military intelligence

They are concerned that intelligence operatives whose sympathies lie with the old order are taking early severance packages and will be beyond the reach of the commission, which has no powers to summon civilians to testify

They want the commission, set up to look into the "transformation of defence intelligence" earlier this month, to have the power to call retired spy masters to testify about their links with "private intelligence networks"

This week, Kasrils and Nhlanhla met Parliament's intelligence, security and defence committees to discuss how best the commission

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could do its work.

Kasrils told the Sunday Times yesterday. "In the case of those who have left intelligence structures, the commission must have the power to subpoena. It must have access to past and present members of military intelligence"

The final decision on whether to upgrade the commission's powers lies with President Nelson Mandela, who was by late yesterday yet to meet Kasrils and the chairman of Parliament's intelligence committee, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, on the matter.

But his spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, said: "They are the ones who want that. We are not going to do or say anything to contradict them"

Although Kasrils would not elaborate on what he called "a cynical connection" between former security force officials and private intelligence companies, several top government sources suggested that renegade officials might be undermining the government

They said the government had not been able to get to the bottom of taxi violence, hijackings and gun-smuggling because some intelligence operatives were unwilling to expose those involved

BENNY GOOL

'Coup plot' not taken seriously, says Mandela

Star 22/4/98 (254)

POLITICAL STAFF

Cape Town - President Mandela said in his budget debate yesterday that an alleged coup plot which mentioned plans to assassinate him, murder judges and occupy Parliament had not been taken seriously even by those compiling a report on it.

Speaking about the discredited report which led to the resignation of defence force chief General Georg Meiring, Mandela said the Mahomed Commission of Inquiry into the report had found "no serious attempt was made to keep the alleged plotters under surveillance and no attempts were made to properly authenticate the report".

The report alleges that an organisation called Fapla (Force African People's Liberation Army) had existed since 1995 and aimed to subvert the 1999 general elections. Details of the report were leaked to the press by right-wing elements in the intelligence services.

Compilers of the report had over three years failed to share it with the appropriate authorities, Mandela said. The report named among the plotters deputy chief of the defence force Sphiwe Nyanda and other senior military officers.

Addressing for the first time the procedure which led to Meiring's resignation, Mandela said the Mahomed Commission had found: "An allegation concerning a particular officer was communicated by the chief of the SANDF to the minister of defence (Joe Modise) but not the extent of the allegations. The minister of defence said he was not prepared to communicate an uncorroborated allegation to the president."

The leakage of the report and the critical comments of the Mahomed Commission over its compilation and transmission "clearly put the general in a difficult position. Such a bold

though regrettable step was therefore clearly warranted," Mandela said. He said it was clear that the country had a loyal defence force which had laid the groundwork for its own transformation.

Meanwhile, during debate on the president's vote yesterday, opposition parties rejected the ANC's assertion that they were not loyal to the country.

The ANC has accused opposition parties, except the IFP, of not serving the interests of nation-building.

National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the ANC was attacking the opposition to deflect attention from its "lack of delivery or other political failures". He said the NP would continue to expose "ineffectiveness and corruption".

Alleged plotters not kept under surveillance

In his speech, Mandela said opposition parties needed to ask themselves basic questions as the election period approached. "It is only too easy to stir up the baser feelings that exist in any society. We need to ask such questions because it is much easier to destroy than to build," he said.

Van Schalkwyk charged that the ANC was also trying to hide the "widening gaps" in its alliance with Cosatu and the South African Communist Party.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said there was a "democratic deficit" in the country.

"The second element of this democratic deficit lies in the continuing depiction of legitimate opponents of Government as being unpatriotic," Leon said.

Authors 'made no serious effort to check coup report'

ANDRE KOOPMAN

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela in his budget debate yesterday said that an alleged coup plot which mentioned plans to assassinate the president, murder judges and occupy Parliament had not even been taken seriously by those compiling it

Speaking about the discredited report which led to the resignation of chief of the defence force General Georg Meiring, Mandela said that the Mahomed Commission of Inquiry into the report had found that "no serious attempt was made to keep the alleged plotters under surveillance and no attempts were made to properly authenticate the report"

The leakage of the report and the critical comments of the commission over its compilation and transmission, "clearly put the general in a difficult position in his relationship with the senior officers mentioned in it and with his commander-in-chief and the minister of defence

(254) CT 22/4/98
"Such a bold though regrettable step (Meiring's resignation) was therefore clearly warranted," Mandela said.

He said it was clear that the country had a loyal defence force which had laid the groundwork for its own transformation

Mandela also said that the current budget had shifted resources to the poor "through real increases in social service expenditure, an increase in social grants, including pensions, and more funding for poverty relief programmes"

The president, who has strongly criticised efficiency in the public service in the past, said the government needed to ask whether services were being provided in good time and of the right quality

To this end the Presidential Review Commission had been

implemented and its report had been referred to cabinet

Mandela congratulated Deputy President Thabo Mbeki on his recent "highly successful" visit to Asia

"I intend during this, the last year of my office, to pursue a multi-lateral emphasis in my contribution to our country's foreign affairs," he said

Rugby which three years ago became a "world-wide" symbol of our small miracle" had once again become an icon of "conflict, division and resistance to change"

to change"

Mandela said recent developments in rugby had been "a deep disappointment to all those who have worked so hard and often risked so much to promote national unity and reconciliation through their support for our national rugby team"

The report clearly put the general in a difficult position with senior officers mentioned in it

Kasrils challenged on 'retired' Meiring

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The Freedom Front (FF) challenged Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils on whether the "coup" report had been used as a pretext to get rid of SA defence force chief Georg Meiring during a debate in the National Assembly yesterday.

FF MP Pieter Groenewald asked Kasrils how, if the report was such a fantasy, it had led to the demise of Meiring. He asked him whether it was not simply an opportunity to get rid of the old guard and allow former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members to take charge of the defence force.

Groenewald also asked about the significance of the fact that Robert McBride's name had been mentioned in the report, while McBride was in jail.

He said the report should be investigated in depth and, with names removed, re-

leased to the public so that they could judge whether it was a fantasy or not. He suggested that the spark for subsequent developments had been McBride's arrest for alleged gun running in Mozambique.

The coup report, which was taken directly to President Nelson Mandela by Meiring, suggested that 130 people were involved in a plot to overthrow the state and assassinate the president in the four months before next year's election.

Kasrils stated categorically that the military intelligence report would not be made public. He said that even if it was so fantastic that a child could see it, the report would not be made public because the government had responsibilities to the intelligence services and the people mentioned in the report.

The government would not be "doing the full Monty with the report", he said. Meir-

(294) 190 23/4/98
ing, he said, had done the honourable thing because of the failure of military intelligence which fell under his control. If Meiring had come clean with Defence Minister, Joe Modise, and had told him about the entire contents of the report instead of only two paragraphs, it would never have reached the president's desk.

Meanwhile, the appointment of a new defence chief is scheduled to be discussed by the cabinet next Wednesday.

Mandela announced during his budget vote in Parliament that cabinet would decide on a successor to the "retired" defence force chief at its next meeting.

His spokesman Parks Mankahlana confirmed yesterday that the matter was scheduled for discussion on April 29. Mandela will be in Angola on that day and this could mean that an announcement would be delayed until a later date.

Likely new SANDF chief will have a battle on his hands

BY XOLISA VAPI

Managing the transformation of the South African National Defence Force forms part of the huge task that awaits Lieutenant-General Sphiwe Nyanda, the man widely expected to succeed SANDF Chief General Georg Meiring when he steps down next month

The transformation entails getting rid of superfluous full-time personnel and promoting members of the former non-statutory forces on merit

According to 1995 *United States Defence Almanac* figures, South Africa's defence force was grossly overstuffed, with three times too many general officers compared with the international norm. It will be incumbent upon Nyanda to trim the force in line with cuts in the defence budget.

Retired SA Defence Force Brigadier-General Bill Sass argues that the task of downsizing the army by 20 000 officers amid the continuing decrease in the defence budget is compounded by the need to buy new military equipment.

"To reform the defence force almost means a total remake of the entire SANDF," he says

African Forces Journal editor Peter McIntosh says Nyanda will inherit the legacy of highly paid army officers who, in the past, were promoted without having to go through the Public Service Commission. "There was the belief that the defence force should not be coupled to the Public Service Commission. This must be broken by whoever gets the job," says McIntosh

(2M4) STAR 25/4/98
If and when Nyanda takes over the reins of the SANDF, it will be at a time when calls for the transformation of the defence force are gathering momentum. And with a general election next year, the question is whether stability will prevail during the election with Nyanda as the new head

A key figure in the Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) hierarchy before 1994, Nyanda is said to have a good military brain, having masterminded underground work for the ANC.

Born in Soweto in 1950, Nyanda matriculated from Orlando High School and enrolled with the



TOTAL REMAKE AHEAD:
Sphiwe Nyanda

University of Zululand in 1972. It was there that he joined the ANC. Even after becoming a sports-writer for *The World* newspaper, Nyanda remained an active ANC operator. He left for East Germany in 1976 where he underwent extensive military training.

He conducted military operations from the Frontline states of Mozambique, Swaziland and Botswana for eight years. He was part of a group of MK cadres sent to the former USSR in 1985 for a

course on the mobilisation of the underground movement in preparation for a massive insurrection against the apartheid government.

On completing his off-shore military training in 1988, he returned to SA to command Operation Vula, aimed at establishing underground structures to prepare people for insurrection towards the seizure of power.

Nyanda was arrested in July 1990 in KwaZulu Natal along with his co-commanders when the clandestine activities of Operation Vula were uncovered.

It is widely believed that Nyanda's considerable experience of managing people as a guerrilla and a commander, and his having been the late Chris Ham's successor as MK chief of staff and lately Meiring's deputy, make him equal to the task of taking the SANDF into the new millennium.

"The fact that he was not in the SADF does not mean he is completely lacking in experience. He has experience in military matters such as organisation, training and deployment of MK cadres," says Sass.

"Since then, he has done a large number of training courses with the SANDF and had a variety of postings to boost his experience of conventional military matters."

Former MK regional commander in Angola, January Masilela, now MEC for Agriculture in Mpumalanga, says: "He strikes me as a brilliant and extremely capable commander in all respects."

Institute for Security Studies director Dr Jakkie Cilliers says "He is held in high regard by officers across the racial spectrum."

Is Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda equal to the task of heading the cumbersome and over-staffed South African National Defence Force? Xolisa Vapi reports

MK guerrilla ready

for the old guard

Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, the man tipped to become chief of the South African National Defence Force when General George Mearing steps down next month, has got his work cut out for him.

Tasked with managing the transition of the top-heavy SANDF, he will have to get rid of the superfluous full-time personnel, and promote members of the former non-statutory forces on merit.

According to the 1986 United States Defence Almanac, South Africa's defence is grossly over-staffed, with three times the number of general officers as the international norm. Although this is not General Nyanda's fault, it will be incumbent on him to trim the defence force in line with cuts to the defence budget.

Retired South African Defence Force Brigadier-General Bill Sass says that the task of reducing the size of the army by 20 000 officers against the background of a shrinking defence budget will be compounded by the ever-present need to buy new military equipment.

"To practically reform the defence force means a total re-make of the entire SANDF, which is difficult for anyone. No one has ever gone through that experience before, even General Mearing himself," says General Siphwe Nyanda. Peter McIntosh, the editor of the *African Forces Journal*, says General Nyanda will have to do away with the legacy of apartheid's defence force. He says that in the past highly paid army

secretary Charles Ngakula, who was a commander of the operation in the Western Cape.

General Nyanda, once the most wanted man in the country, remained undetected for two years. He was eventually arrested in KwaZulu Natal in July 1990, together with his co-commander Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils, now the Deputy Minister of Defence, evaded arrest and surfaced after his co-conspirators were granted political amnesty during negotiations.

General Nyanda was one of the MK soldiers who survived for a long time under extremely difficult conditions in the front-line areas where the erstwhile SADF used to conduct its cross-border raids.

He narrowly escaped when his wife, Sheila, was abducted in Swaziland in the early 1980s. His brother, Zweli, who had been as committed to the liberation cause as General Nyanda, was killed in Swaziland in 1985.

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(214)

General Mearing's deputy - make him equal to the task of taking the SANDF into the new millennium.

"The fact that he was not in the SADF does not mean that he was completely out of experience," says General Sass.

"He may not have had the conventional military experience, but he has experience in military matters such as organisation and training.

"Since then, he has done a large number of training courses with the SANDF and had a variety of postings as well as overseas visits to boost his experience of conventional military matters," said General Sass.

General Nyanda is said to be a self-effacing person and a good motivator. According to January Masilela, a former MK regional commander in

He strikes me as a brilliant and extremely capable commander

Angola and now MEC for Agriculture in Mpumalanga. "He strikes me as a brilliant and extremely capable commander in all respects. Despite the immense authority that he had as commander and chief of staff of MK, he was characterised by a good style of relating with his personnel.

"He was not the kind of commander who relied on dry authority, ruling by decrees, but rather he is persuasive and leads by example."

Dr Jackie Cilliers, the director of the Institute for Security Studies, says General Nyanda is a soft-spoken soldier and fitness fanatic with a sense of dignity.

"He is held in high regard by his officers across the racial spectrum."



Another nail in the coffin

Snuff abuse is widespread in South Africa, creating many health problems

South Africans have one of the highest numbers of snuff users in the world, yet systematic information about its effects on the economy, and on the health of the people who use it, has not been scientifically compiled.

Research done in the early 1970s established that South Africa had the highest incidence of cancer of the sinus in the world, with 40% of the problem having a direct link with snuff abuse. There is no accurate information available on the effects of snuff abuse in South Africa.

A prominent ear, nose and throat specialist says 60% of all ENT patients at Hillbrow Hospital and 40% at Chris Hani Baragwanath have problems that are attributable to snuff abuse.

Snuff is responsible for allergies, polyps, mouth cancer and adenoid problems in most of these patients. Low-income black women aged 30 years and upwards make up to 50% of the victims.

The specialist added: "The National Centre for Occupational Health should be the most concerned because the majority of the abusers work in the manufacturing and service sectors."

Most retailers and spaza shop owners agreed that black middle-aged women and sangomas of both genders were the main buyers and users of snuff.

National Council Against Smoking director Dr Yusuf Saloojee said research into snuff abuse was carried out five years ago. It was extremely segmented, concentrating only on snuff abuse among pregnant women.

"Our institution is very concerned about the high level of tobacco abuse in South Africa and we are lobbying the national and provincial governments to ban cigarettes and raise the costs of this unhealthy habit."

According to Dr Saloojee, 30 000 000kg of tobacco was consumed between 1995 and 1996.

One of the major snuff whole-

salers said they sold 130 000 containers of snuff each month. A source, who prefers to remain anonymous, said major wholesalers sold about six million 15g snuff containers a month. He said 20 types of snuff were available, some of which were imported.

None of the tobacco manufacturers was prepared to say how much snuff tobacco they sold each month, nor which countries they were exporting to. They conceded only that they exported to several southern African countries.

Department of Health public relations officer Gordia Perez said: "The new, trendy, cigar-toting yuppies are giving the wrong message to highly impressionable youngsters by pretending that the ill effects of cigars are not as severe as those of cigarettes."

"The bottom line is that all tobacco abuse is harmful to health." She also regretted that there was no new research into the effects of snuff. Ms Perez said her department

He contacted Shell headquarters in Johannesburg and was told that the matter would be investigated. After waiting for weeks without a response from Shell, Mr Ndou alerted Saturday Argus.

During our investigation we discovered that the practice of charging customers also spend money on confectionery. It isn't fair that we offer something free in

SA acknowledged that the practice was occurring in the Free State as well. He said: "I think it's disgusting. It's definitely not company policy."

He says nothing disqualifies General Nyanda from heading the SANDF as he contributed tremendously to the negotiations leading up to the 1993 interim constitution.

It is widely believed that General Nyanda's considerable experience managing people - as a guerrilla, a commander, the late Chris Han's successor as MK chief of staff and lately

pending appointment is a natural progression as the ANC had earmarked him to succeed General Mearns when he was made deputy chief of the SANDF last year.

"Gebhuza understands the political programme of transformation, which includes the SANDF and every aspect of human endeavour," says Mr Ngakula.

A source close to General Nyanda describes him as "somewhat reserved, calculated and quiet with a lot of command experience - his imminent appointment will be a steep learning curve, but not insurmountable."

General Nyanda's appointment is a natural progression as the ANC had earmarked him to succeed General Mearns when he was made deputy chief of the SANDF last year.

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PAIVING THROUGH THE NOSE Snuff users risk all sorts of health complaints. South Africans are among the most frequent users of the substance in the world. Photograph: CHRIS ADLAM

If you need to go at these country garages then you're going to have pay for the privilege

Out in the dorps of the plateland, a new "pay" trend is developing in some service stations that are charging customers who want to use the toilets.

Kingsley Ndou, a marketing manager with a large multinational company, spends many hours on the road. He says he has noticed that many service stations are charging customers who want to use the toilets.

He was outraged when he stopped at the Shell Ultra City in Coligny, North West Province, and was told he would have to pay to use the toilet.

"I thought I was suffering from a heat stroke when the garage attendant demanded money before he would let me use the toilet," he said.

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return, the representative said. The company regards this as a very serious offence, and action will be taken against those managers. Shell would like to offer an apology to all our customers who have been inconvenienced."

People living in Mafikeng tell a similar story. A garage in Mogwase, North West Province, on the way to

Operation Vula entailed the infiltration of MK cadres into South Africa to bring the armed struggle to "its logical conclusion", according to South African Communist Party general

ing in preparation for a massive instruction against the apartheid regime.

On completing his off-shore military training in 1988, he returned to South Africa to command Operation Vula, which was sanctioned at the highest level, to establish underground structures to prepare people for insurrection against the apartheid government.

Operation Vula entailed the infiltration of MK cadres into South Africa to bring the armed struggle to "its logical conclusion", according to South African Communist Party general

word for "destroy"), as a "highly respected MK commander" who focused on military operations.

He did not get the name Gebhuza out of nothing, but through his bravery," says Mr Phosa.

He says nothing disqualifies General Nyanda from heading the SANDF as he contributed tremendously to the negotiations leading up to the 1993 interim constitution.

the Pilanesberg, also charges for the use of its loos. And the Total filling station in Bulwer on the Eastern Cape-KwaZulu Natal border has apparently been charging for the privilege for years.

The Petroleum Marketing Organisation and the consumer affairs offices in the affected provinces could not be reached for comment.

There was the belief that the defence force is gathering momentum but also a few months before next year's general elections.

Before announcing his retirement following the spurious Military Intelli-

ing in preparation for a massive instruction against the apartheid regime.

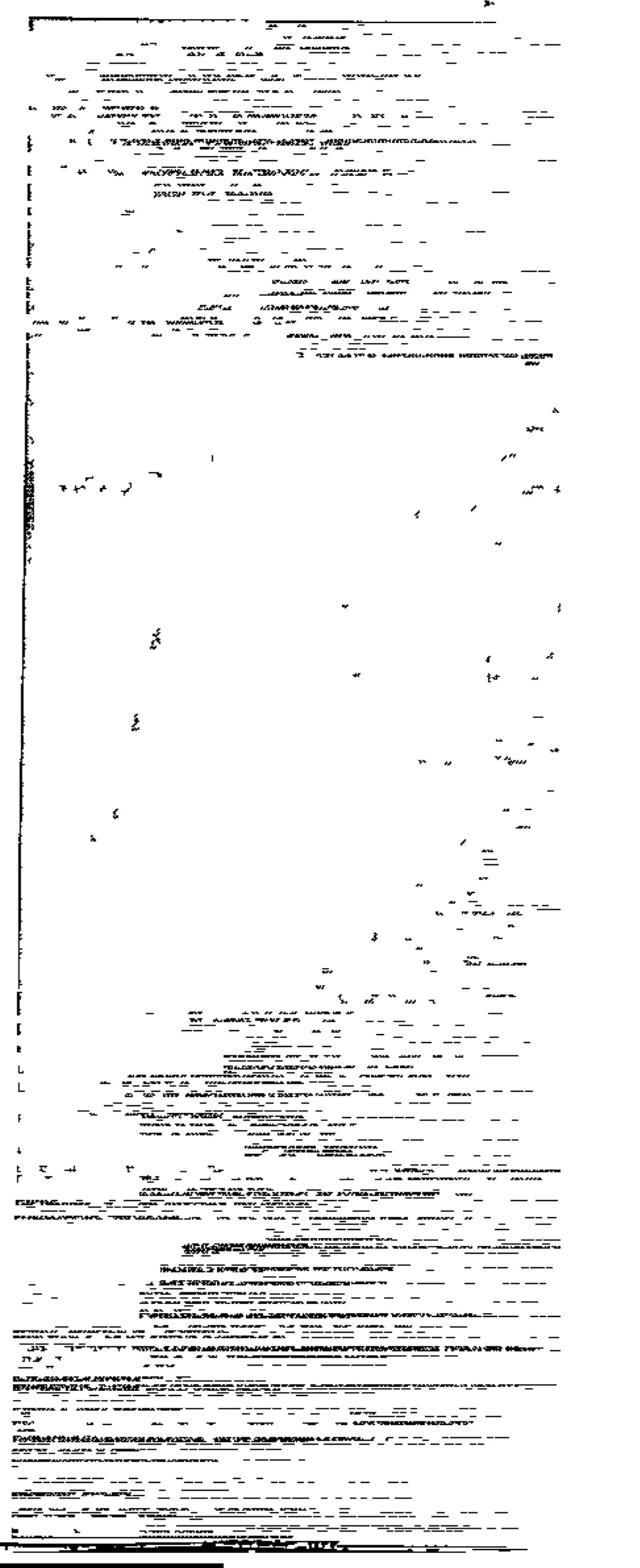
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ARMY LEADER: Sipho Nyanda masterminded operations for the ANC inside and outside the country



General faces battle for loyalty

(254)
ST 26/4/98
CAROL PATON

LIEUTENANT General Sphiwe Nyanda, who is widely tipped to succeed General Georg Meiring, will need to act swiftly to counter demoralisation among troops if he is appointed chief of the defence force by the cabinet on Wednesday, a leading defence analyst said this week.

Jakkie Cilliers, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies, said that Meiring's resignation had created "uncertainty and a morale problem" among troops who had been members of the old SA Defence Force.

"Until such time that a new commander is appointed and asserts himself, there will be a problem," he said.

Cilliers said Nyanda, a former MK commander and Meiring's deputy, would almost certainly be appointed.

Nyanda will have to deal with a wide range of problems plaguing the SANDF. These include addressing the complaints of former liberation movement troops, cuts in the military budget, and troublesome elements in military intelligence.

Cilliers said Nyanda had been groomed for the top post "for the last two years but, most importantly, he has the confidence of the ANC the political leadership."

Nyanda said this week that he was aware of the problems his appointment could create.

"It is to be expected that certain factions of the SANDF would not be happy. There was obvious tension, even at the top, and you would expect that it would get transmitted downwards," he said. "It is our job to try to reassure people that things are on course."

Events surrounding the discredited military intelligence report handed to President Nelson Mandela last month, which alleged the existence of a coup plot, has highlighted the need for the government to win and retain the loyalty of SANDF members.

Cilliers said that, with the exception of elements in military intelligence, most people who had remained in the defence force after its integration with MK, Apla and the previous homeland forces "were committed to the new South Africa".

"There is great potential to win their loyalty, which has taken a knock with Meiring's departure," he said.

More than half of the SANDF's 93 500 personnel were members of the former SADF.

There is a delicate balance between winning their loyalty and an imminent purge of military intelligence, signalled by the ministerial commission set up earlier this month to investigate the transformation of defence intelligence.

The ministries of defence and intelligence are expected to make formal representation to the President this week to boost the power of the commission, giving it the right to subpoena members who have left the force.

A total of 342 senior officers from the rank of colonel upwards have left, or are in the process of leaving, as part of a broader rationalisation plan of the force through voluntary retrenchment.

Those who are due to leave soon include three lieutenant generals — Reg Otto, chief of the army; Ben Raubenheimer, chief of finance, and Dirk Verbeek, chief of intelligence.

Nyanda said he was concerned about the flight of skills brought about through voluntary severance. "(It) has not achieved the desired results. Instead of getting rid of the people we don't want, it has got rid of people we need."

A large-scale retrenchment programme aimed at cutting back numbers within the lower ranks has already begun. Of a total of about 25 000 troops earmarked for retrenchment, about 7 000 will be laid off this year — most of them members of the old SADF.

Angry Modise confronts Meiring

es 26/4/98

City Press reveals internal documents showing the rift

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils, when approached by City Press this week about the strained relations between the minister and Meiring, agreed that there were a number of issues about which the minister had crossed swords with the SANDF chief.

Kasrils said the Lategan matter was one of a number of issues that were currently being looked at. The pace of transformation, court martial and disparities in the payment of bonuses to soldiers are other issues under investigation.

Kasrils said the department was conducting its own internal investigations into how the teargassing of the former MK soldiers matter was handled. "We are investigating every part of the warrant officer. We are following through on how the individual was treated after the incident."

Kasrils said it is still not clear whether the medal to Lategan was announced after the incident or before it.

But Kasrils said Meiring's resignation should not be related to internal differences between him and the minister. He said it was prompted more by the coup report he had submitted to Mandela.

The Meiring communique to the defence minister showed clearly that little interest was being paid to serious issues of affirmative action within the SANDF.

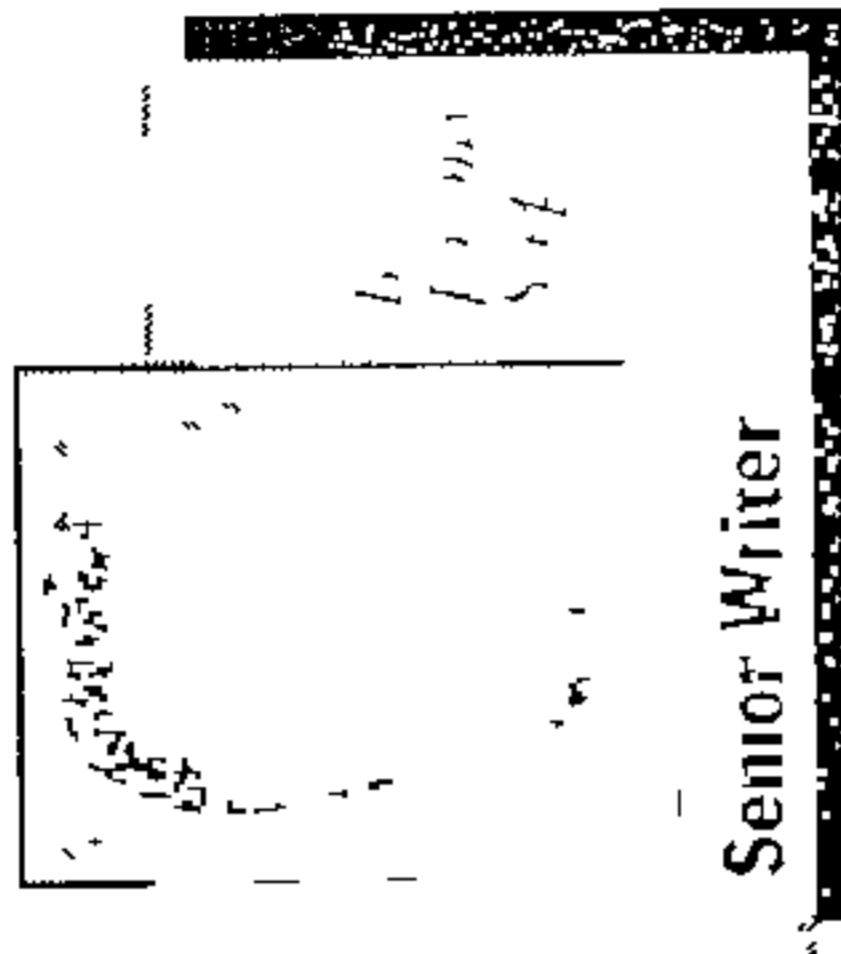
In certain instances, core training for the integration of officers into the SA Army was stopped without proper explanations being given to the minister.

The minister perceived this as a serious failure on the part of the SANDF to carry out its mandate.

He went on to say "It is incredible that a conviction for deliberately assaulting three officers can be deemed not serious."

"It is the nature of the crime that is of significance - no matter how light the sentence, the nature of this assault was very serious indeed."

This incident is said to be one of a number of issues that created a rift between Modise and Meiring months before the former SANDF



Senior Writer

chief compiled a discredited coup report which he submitted to President Nelson Mandela.

There is now suspicion that the discredited Meiring Report could have been used by the SANDF chief as a decoy to hide serious internal differences between himself and the minister.

The tensions were further increased by the SANDF response to a report by the British military group which has been assisting the defence force in providing technical training and assistance.

The British report claimed that some top-level management in the army and its medical services displayed hardened attitudes to ex-non-statutory forces soldiers.

A SENIOR South African National Defence Force officer who allegedly teargassed and beat three former Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers at an army base was last year given a "good conduct" award by the disgraced Chief of the SANDF, Georg Meiring.

The award to the officer and the failure to deal with the teargassing of the three MK officers, one of whom developed health complications, angered Minister of Defence, Joe Modise, who demanded an explanation from Meiring and the head of the SA army, Lt Gen R Otto.

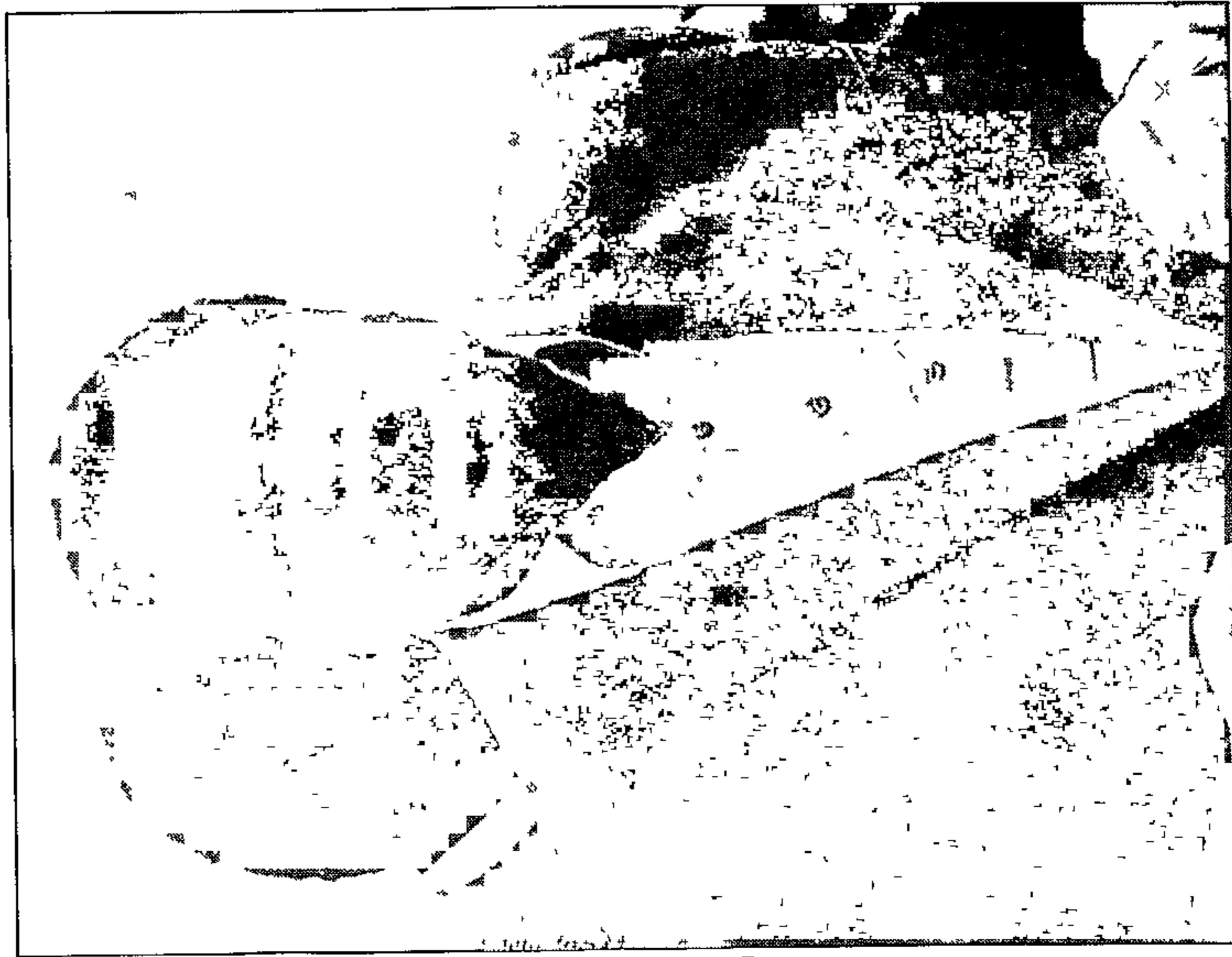
City Press is in possession of several internal documents which show the strained relations between Modise and the SANDF chief since the beginning of 1996, precipitated in part by assault on the three former MK cadres.

In one of the confidential communications, Meiring scoffed at Modise's inquiries about the teargas incident and subsequent treatment of the soldiers.

He told Modise that the matter was "not serious" enough to warrant tough action against the officer concerned.

Modise, in a strongly worded statement to Meiring wrote "It is revolting to consider that the whole episode is considered of such small (matter) that it did not even lead to a loss of seniority or affect WO Lategan's eligibility for the long service and good conduct medal."

Modise asked Meiring whether the term "good conduct" had lost its meaning within the SANDF, especially when the army was supposed to uphold good standards.



HARSH WORDS... Defence Minister Joe Modise is angered by outgoing army chief George Meiring's soft treatment of an officer's assault on former MK cadres

Choice of new defence chief poses prickly problem for Mandela

Star 28/4/98 (294)

Nyanda is the main contender but may lack the experience and necessary influence for the task of transformation

BY NORMAN CHANDLER
Defence Correspondent

President Nelson Mandela, as commander-in-chief of the country's armed forces, faces a ticklish problem when he sits down with Cabinet colleagues this week to decide on a successor to General Georg Meiring as chief of the South African National Defence Force.

Meiring resigned this month in the wake of a seriously flawed report to Mandela that a coup was in the offing.

Mandela now has to choose between appointing Meiring's deputy, Lieutenant-General Sphiwe Nyanda, or choosing a successor with experience from the old SADF guard

The president will have to contend with clamours in military and political circles to speed up transformation in the defence force yet heed the need to retain the loyalty of former SADF personnel

Apart from Nyanda, two other candidates have been tipped. They are Lieutenant-General Willem Hechter, the chief of the SA Air Force, and Vice-Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson, chief of the Navy

Other names have been mentioned but they are not seen to be serious contenders due to their lack of experience and seniority

Nyanda, being the natural

successor for Meiring and with political backing as well, is a powerful contender but he is widely seen as lacking the necessary experience to run a large, partly-transformed conventional army made up of former SADF, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and Apla members

Nyanda was appointed deputy defence force chief a year ago after having originally been named as Officer Commanding the former Witwatersrand Command.

Four years after the formation of the SANDF, members

Heads of Navy, Air Force also in line

are said to still be finding it difficult to come to terms with integration. There are objections from MK and Apla to the use of Afrikaans by instructors and to training under white former SADF officers. Former SADF personnel in turn complain about the discipline and training of their colleagues.

Meiring recently told a gathering of SANDF generals and other senior ranks at a farewell reception at Voortrekkerhoogte that "discipline is the key to success. You must maintain discipline."

What is feared by the military hierarchy is that Nyanda may find it difficult to hold the line at this juncture of the country's history, particularly with the 1999 general election around the corner

It is recalled that it was Meiring who persuaded disaffected members of the then all-white commandos to support the 1994 election, the new government and the integrated defence force that followed

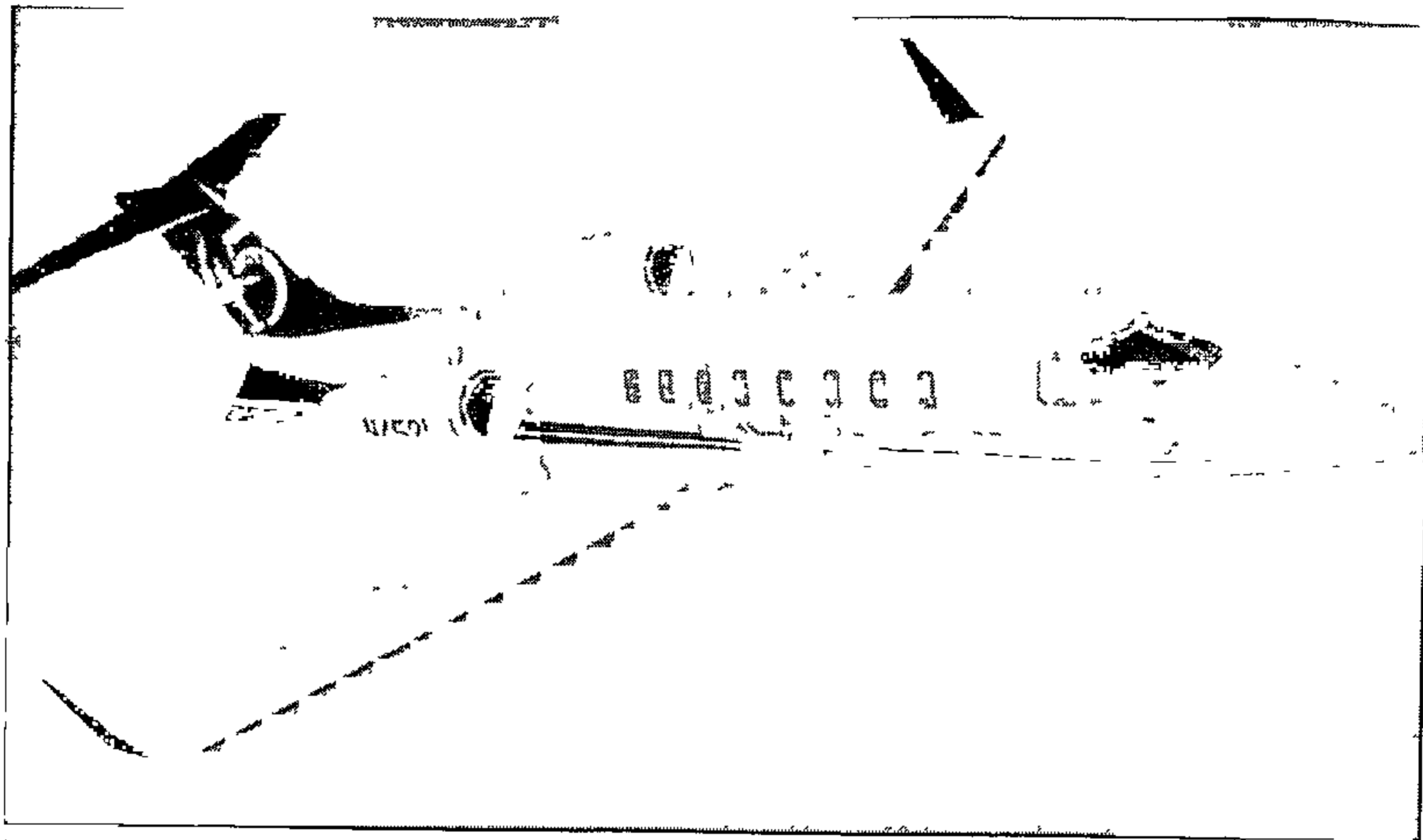
The question now is whether the still largely white commando units will be as committed to transformation during the next election as they were four years ago.

Simpson-Anderson is senior to the other two candidates but it is known that he wishes to retire at the end of his term next year

His allegiances at present are said to be with the navy at a delicate time in its history.

Hechter is believed to have the support of the Defence Command Council, and through it, the support of key officers, black and white, in the national defence force

Most notable among his later achievements has been the running of the air force despite tough monetary constrictions, taking unpopular decisions about base and unit closures and selling off aircraft. His wisdom for these moves has been noted



Bombardier's new superlight business Learjet 45 makes its international debut in South Africa at the 1998 Aerospace Africa exhibition.

Move towards military goods

By Claire Keeton

MANY black-owned companies are investing in military products, Ron Haywood, Armscor's managing director announced yesterday

He was accompanying Defence Minister Joe Modise at the opening of the 1998 Aerospace Africa Exhibition at Waterkloof Air Force Base, outside Pretoria

"You would be amazed at how many black businesses are putting money into defence products (and) also commercial products, Haywood said

He said about half of the foreign organisations attending the show would be looking for black South African partners during the exhibition

There are 150 organisations from 20 countries displaying their products

and services at the show

Zoli Kunene of Aerospace, Maritime and Defence said "South Africa is a small country but in the defence area we have cutting edge technology"

Modise said the armed forces must have the most effective, modern equipment to fulfil its responsibilities to South Africa and on the African continent

He emphasised the potential for job creation in the defence industry, through investment and trade packages agreed between governments, saying they could exceed R10 billion over the next 10 years

They are on track we may not stick to R10 billion, we may go beyond that The Departments of Trade and Industry, Defence and Finance will be

involved," Modise said

"In certain areas South Africa has acquired technical expertise that other governments are very keen on They have a lot to gain as partners and we are hoping to inject new vitality into our economy"

French defence minister Alain Richard sent a message to the exhibition that "the massive presence of French manufacturers together with French defence officials" was a sign that the industry and the French government were looking forward to strengthening ties with South Africa

Many international companies have aircrafts on static display including Boeing, Airbus Industries, Eurocopter and Bombardier Bombardier have chosen Pretoria to debut its new superlight business Learjet 45

Samuelan 29/14/98 (254)

Meiring stands by the way he handled 'coup' report

RAPHAEL BANDA

JOHANNESBURG: Defence force chief General Georg Meiring said yesterday he had the blessing of Defence Minister Joe Modise when he presented President Mandela with the discredited military intelligence report that claimed elements in the force and government were plotting a coup against the ANC government.

Speaking to the Johannesburg Press Club, the general said Modise "enforced my resolution and advised me to go to the President" with the report, which claimed that Meiring's deputy and heir-apparent, Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, was part of the coup plot.

Meiring said he had told Mandela the report came from a single source and had not been corroborated.

Approached for comment, Modise's spokesman, Colonel Puso Tladi, said Meiring had approached the minister about the report but "he did not show the minister any report nor did he give the minister any indication of some report in his possession".

He added. "What he (Meiring) said verbally could amount to about two paragraphs of what came to be more than 267 paragraphs of the report. The minister was led to believe that the general had some concern of some sort, but not that it came to 267 para-



'HONOUR': Georg Meiring

graphs. That was news to the minister as it was news to the President. He only revealed the report to the President and not the minister."

Meiring told the Press Club that the report was prepared over three years, but he "couldn't find enough evidence to prove or disprove it". He said he stood by the approach he took in taking the document to the President.

Over his retirement in the wake of the report, he said that "it was a matter of honour to protect the good name of the organisation that I have been privileged to serve for so long". He has served in the defence force for 35 years, and been its chief since the democratic elections in 1994.

Meiring said he was confident that the defence force would continue to serve the nation after he

was gone (254)

"I am sure the defence force is bigger than the people," he said, adding he had contemplated retiring early. His contract expires in May 1999.

He indicated during the luncheon that his successor was likely to be appointed today at a cabinet meeting. Nyanda has been strongly tipped for the position of chief of defence force.

Meiring told the press that transformation in the defence force would be radical and "this involves a thorough review of all structures, processes and practices from top to bottom and includes the creation of a new military ethos and culture". He added that affirmative action in the force was on track.

"To date, a considerable improvement has been made in non-white representation at the higher management level," Meiring said.

He referred to the integration of the various armed formations that existed before the elections in 1994 as one of the highlights of his 35-year-career.

"I would submit that had this preparatory phase gone wrong, the whole move to a new dispensation in the Republic of South Africa would have been in jeopardy," said Meiring, who has a daughter and two sons in the military.

"There is a lot of hope for the defence force and for our country," he said.

RD 29/4/98

Meirings speaks out on 'coup' report

(254)

Retiring defence force chief says he had blessing of defence minister to approach Mandela

By RAPHAEL BANDA

Defence force chief General Georg Meiring said yesterday he had the blessing of Defence Minister Joe Modise when he presented President Mandela with the discredited military intelligence report that claimed elements in the SANDF and Government were plotting a coup against the ANC Government.

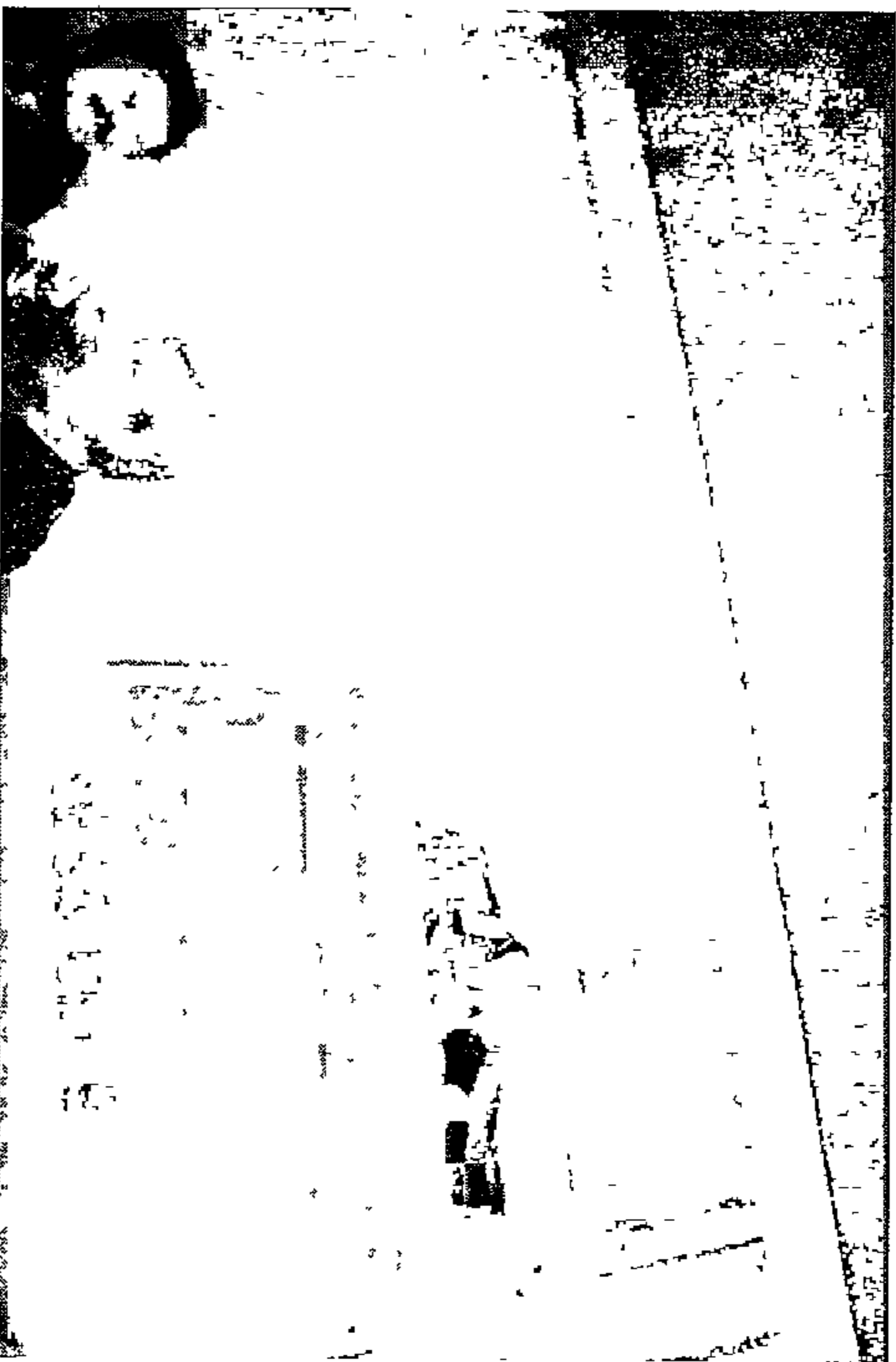
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ANDREAS VLACHAKIS



Defensive ... SANDF chief Georg Meiring addresses the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday.

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Commenting on his retirement in the wake of the report, Meiring said "It was a matter of honour to protect the good name of the organisation that I

have been privileged to serve for so long."

He served in the defence force for 35 years and was its chief since the 1994 elections.

"I am sure the defence force is bigger than the people," he said, adding that he had contemplated retiring early. His contract expires in May 1999. He indicated during the lun-

See 29/4/98

cheon that his successor was likely to be appointed at a cabinet meeting today Nyanda has been strongly tipped for the position.

In his speech, Meiring touched on the strain that the army's involvement in crime prevention was putting on the defence force.

"We would like to withdraw from this activity as soon as the SAPS is able to handle the situation on its own or when some other paramilitary force can assume these duties," he said.

Referring to the cuts in the defence budget, Meiring said it was essential to retain a "core defence capability, since such a capability cannot be created from scratch if the need suddenly arises".

He told the press that transformation in the defence force would be radical and that "this involves a thorough review of all structures, processes and practices from top to bottom, and includes the creation of a new military ethos and culture".

He added that affirmative action in the defence force was on track.

"To date, a considerable improvement has been made in non-white representation at the higher management level," Meiring said.

Nyanda tipped to become first black head of defence force

By JOYAL RAMTIAO
Political Correspondent

The Cabinet meeting in Pretoria today is expected to see the appointment of South Africa's first black chief of the South African National Defence Force.

Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, the former commander of Umkhonto weSizwe who 12 months ago was appointed deputy chief of the army, is expected to rewrite the history

books when he becomes the first former liberation fighter to head the defence force.

Nyanda has been tipped to replace General Georg Meiring, who resigned this month after he had handed President Nelson Mandela a flawed report about a purported coup plan by left-wing elements in the ANC.

Army sources have told The Star that the army old guard have urged Lieutenant-General Willem Hechter of the SA Air Force and Vice-Admiral Robert

Simpson-Anderson to challenge Nyanda for the position. However, the decision rests with Mandela, who is commander-in-chief of the army and the Cabinet.

Senior government sources said last night it was certain that Nyanda, who is widely respected among the ANC leadership, would be appointed to replace Meiring.

The Star was told that top government officials, who supported Nyanda's appointment

included Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils, both of whom served with him in Umkhonto weSizwe, and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Before he was made Meiring's deputy - an appointment which made him a natural successor - Nyanda was commanding officer of Gauteng Command of the SANDF.

Born in Soweto in 1951, Nyanda, better known as "Gebuza", is a former sports

reporter and student at the University of Zululand.

He left South Africa four months before the June '76 uprisings and joined Umkhonto weSizwe.

He underwent military training in the then Soviet Union and East Germany.

His appointment in 1977 as commander of the urban region, which completed several missions in South Africa, sparked his meteoric rise within the liberation army.

(254)

Kaw 29/14/98

Nuclear energy bill will extend minister's powers

Shareen Singh

THE mineral and energy department will table in Parliament next week amendments to the Nuclear Energy Act which will give the minister more control over the Atomic Energy Corporation (AEC).

Minerals and energy deputy director-general Gordon Sibya said yesterday the nuclear energy bill as well as the long-awaited energy white paper would be tabled on May 6. He said the nuclear energy bill would extend the minister's powers to exercise "sensible control, particularly governance" over the corporation.

In my view and the view of the government, the current Nuclear Energy Act of 1993 gives sweeping powers to the AEC, which makes the government almost powerless to act on critical issues," said Sibya.

With the exception of the right to issue import and export licences, the minister had no say in the affairs of the AEC, even on sensitive issues such as the buying and selling of uranium. "The AEC decides on its own who to buy uranium from and who they can sell to. This has raised concerns from various people."

Changes to the Nuclear Energy Act would also pave the way for restructuring. A government-appointed research team recently recommended the AEC be split into two organisations, with govern-

ment retaining one part and privatising the other. Sibya said the recommendations were still under consideration.

The AEC also has plans of its own on how to restructure. The amended Nuclear Energy Act would give the minister the power to drive the restructuring process, rather than the corporation.

The energy white paper, also to be tabled in Parliament next week, was handed to Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Pennell Maduna about 10 days ago and he had sent it back for further amendments, said Sibya.

The paper would address three main energy sectors, liquid fuels, nuclear energy and electricity.

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not a state-owned oil company was feasible, deregulation of the petroleum industry, jet fuel and whether or not SA Airways should be protected with respect to jet fuel prices, the idea of a fifth oil refinery, the future of Mossagas and black economic empowerment.

Significantly, the energy white paper also addresses energy delivery to rural communities via solar power systems.

The paper outlined a broad vision rather than giving details of policies, said Sibya. Interested parties would be given time to comment on the paper before a final version was drafted and thereafter a bill. Sibya expected a new energy act to be passed in Parliament this year.

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Meiring defends decision to submit report to Mandela

Tarvn Lamberti

30 29/4/98

SA NATIONAL Defence Force former chief Georg Meiring stood by his decision yesterday to give President Nelson Mandela a discredited report over an alleged coup plot involving senior African National Congress members and military officers.

The report was later discredited by a judicial commission of inquiry, headed by Chief Justice Ismael Mohamed and Constitutional Court Judges Richard Goldstone and Pius Langa.

Meiring, who addressed the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday, said he did not regret his subsequent resignation as "it was near the end of my career".

"I have played my part in the transformation process. The planning is over and the implementation must begin. It would be stupid for me to start implementation and then let someone else take over."

Meiring stood by his decision to give Mandela the report. "The president is my commanding officer and the minister advised me to go to the president," Meiring said.

He said he had been obliged to pass the information on to Mandela after a three-year investigation into the alleged coup attempt had not been able to prove or disprove its existence.

Taking a jab at the media, Meiring said it was "not the actual report but the leakage of the report to the media which caused the fracas".

Meiring said negotiations over his settlement package for offering to go on early retirement were continuing. He has denied reports that he allegedly rejected an offer of R4m, but said yesterday the government had "offered me something which was not within the rules and we are still negotiating".

Meiring's successor could be chosen at a cabinet meeting today, he said.



Outgoing SA National Defence Force Chief Georg Meiring told the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday he stood by his decision to pass information on an alleged coup plot to President Nelson Mandela

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Nyanda now first black chief of SA national

JOVIAL RANTAO AND SAPA
POLITICAL STAFF

President Nelson Mandela
General Nyanda is the first
black chief of the SANDF

General Nyanda, former

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of whom served with him in
Umkhonto we Sizwe - and
Deputy President Thabo Mbeki,
the Government sources said

Before he was appointed Gen-

eral Meiring's deputy, an

appointment which made him a

natural successor, General

Nyanda was commanding offi-

cer of the Gauteng Command of

the SANDF.

Born in Soweto in 1951, Gen-

eral Nyanda - better known as

"Gebuza" - is a former sports

reporter and student at the Uni-

versity of Zululand. He left
South Africa four months before
the June 76 uprisings and joined
Umkhonto we Sizwe

While a member of the MK,

he underwent military training

in the then Soviet Union and

East Germany.

His appointment in 1977 as

commander of the urban region,

which executed several mis-

sions in South Africa, marked

his meteoric rise within the lib-

eration army.

Married with two children,

defence force

General Nyanda attracted huge
media interest as "Comrade
Joe", a leader of the alleged May
1990 SA Communist Party plot
to overthrow the state if consti-
tutional negotiations with the
apartheid government failed

the foundation for the integra-
tion of the SADF, MK, the Azan-
ian People's Liberation Army
and armies of the former home-
lands

During the multi-party nego-

After the formation of the
SANDF in 1994, General Nyanda
was appointed acting chief of
staff

tiations for a new settlement, he
played a significant role in the
multi-party talks as co-chair-
man with General Meiring of
the Transitional Executive Co-
uncil's Joint Military Co-
ordinating Council which laid

A few days ago, General
Nyanda, writing in a Sunday
newspaper, paid tribute to Gen-
eral Meiring and said the coup
scandal should not detract from
the achievements of the SANDF



The mother of all arms dealers: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is named in the charge sheet against Robert McBride and accomplices

'Mama wanted bombs'

This is the full transcript of the charge sheet against Robert McBride

7th court — criminal

This is a copy of the charge sheet, pages 145 to 148, in the case of court ref no 66/98/7th, deducted by the public prosecutor against the accused Robert John McBride, Vuzi Mbata and Alexandre Francisco Uamba

Recorded number

Request and attach from the accused

The public prosecutor accuses in provisional charge sheet

Robert John McBride, married, 34 years of age, diplomat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa and a member of the intelligence of the Ministry of Defence of South Africa, son of McBride and Dorys Math Bratt, born in the Republic of South Africa, residing in Pretoria

Vuzi Mbata, also known as **Vuzi Madida**, and also known as **Manuel Alfeu Mbata**, 23 years of age, an employee of the ANC, son of Rungo and Rosalina Tivane, born in Morumbane — Inhambane, residing in RSA, for the last 10 years in Hillbrow, Jhb

Alexandre Francisco Uamba, married, aged 43, born in Moamba — Maputo son of Francisco Uamba and Celina Guambe, residing at the time of arrest at Bairro, Chamanulo, Maputo

The charge sheet sufficiently indicates that:

1 In the year of 1987, co accused Vuzi Madida entered the RSA from Maputo, where he joined the ANC in the year of 1990

2 In 1991 he travelled to Zambia to receive training on behalf of that organisation. He returned to the RSA that same year

3 During that same year he met two neighbours called Alberto Uamba and Henriques Uamba who, knowing that he was a member of the ANC, proposed to do business in acquiring firearms. According to the same people, their brother Alexandre Uamba was dealing in the business of selling to the Inkatha

movement, and he wanted to expand the business

4 Co-accused Vuzi brought the matter to the knowledge of Winnie Mandela, whom he calls "mama", who in the meantime showed interest.

5 In August 1996, co accused Alexandre Uamba, upon being contacted by Vuzi, saw Winnie, with whom he settled the terms of supplying these required weapons of war which included bombs

6 In fact, since 1992 co-accused Alexandre used to bring weapons to Mozambique to sell them to Inkatha in the RSA, in the person of Mr Zulu, in the area of Durban

7 Prices varied between 400 rands (pistol), 1 000 rands (AKM-47) and 3 000 rands (bomb)

8 In 1996, Winnie Mandela met in the Republic of Swaziland with a general of the FADM with the name of Massango, with whom they agreed to train 80 men from her movement on Mozambican territory

9 It was from here that, in August of the same year, Vuzi was sent to Mozambique with co accused Robert McBride (known in the meantime by him as a member of the police), to deal with logistic matters, namely money and uniforms

10 McBride then contacted, in the presence of Mbata, two officials from the American and Cuban embassies, namely Louis and Cobra, who promised, respectively, money and uniforms (including boots)

11 In October '96 co-accused Alexandre began supplying weapons to Winnie, namely bombs, AKM-47s and Makarov pistols, which were offloaded at her house

12 Due to the fact that Alexandre did not speak English, Vuzi was always present at the meetings between him and Winnie, acting as an interpreter

13 On the 30th September 1997, Alexandre made the last transaction with Winnie with a consignment of 30 bombs, having received for that 100 000 rands

14 In January '98, Vuzi travelled to Mozambique (the second day) and contacted Alexandre, telling him that there were some

"boers" who needed weapons

15 On the 28th of the same month, Robert McBride travelled to Mozambique with Vuzi and met co-accused Alexandre. At the time Robert stated, "It was us who sent Vuzi," talking to Alexandre

16 They agreed on the 20th of February ('98) that Robert and Vuzi would come to Mozambique to pay 2 500 US dollars for the purchase of 50 AKM-47s and 100 Makarovs. They in fact arrived there, but they did not find Alexandre, who in the meantime had travelled to Sofala

17 They left the money with his wife and wrote a small note (page 50)

18 On the 7th of March they returned again to Maputo with the intention of taking the weapons. Once in Maputo, they proceeded to Inhambane on the 8th with the intention of renting a house and a boat to carry the weapons. To this effect they asked for the assistance of Vuzi's uncle, César Dias, whom they told that the weapons were destined for Portugal

19 On the 9th they returned to Maputo and at about 15h00 they contacted Alexandre. Vuzi Mbata entered Alexandre's house to take the weapons and was arrested. Robert McBride fled and was arrested at the Ressano Garcia border

20 With their conduct the co-accused committed jointly the crime of acquisition, ceding, alienation, possession and use of prohibited weapons in terms of article 253 CP with regards to law/10/87

Against the accused I therefore present this procedure, which upon its reception I request an inquiry for which I am promoting the effecting of the following procedures

To hear Mr Massango, general of the FADM

To hear the officials of the American and Cuban embassies, namely Louis and Cobra

Any other proceedings which may be deemed necessary

Proof of the papers

Maputo, 16 April 1998

Signature illegible

m+G 30/4- 7/5/98 (254)

connection:
Robert McBride
 (right) is being
 held in a
 Maputo prison
 with Vusi
 Mbatha, a gun
 runner with
 military and
 police
 intelligence
 links.
PHOTOGRAPH:
 HENNER
 FRANKENFELD



Monty Python charges

M&G 30/4-7/5/98 (254) (M&G)

An overlap between Robert McBride's outlandish charge sheet and the discredited Meiring report suggests an intelligence set-up, write Mungo Soggot and Stefaans Brümmer

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and Robert McBride conspired with Cuban and American diplomats to overthrow the ANC government that is among the bizarre claims which have kept McBride in a Mozambique prison cell for more than 50 days

The *Mail & Guardian* this week gained access to the charge sheet in the McBride case and discovered it was little more than a summary of the Meiring report — a document which has been dismissed as a hoax by President Nelson Mandela and a tribunal of the country's top judges. The discredited intelligence report, warning of a coup, was presented to Mandela in February by defence force chief Georg Meiring.

The Mozambican charges appear to hinge on a statement by a former military intelligence informer, Vusi Mbatha, who was arrested with McBride and who is named as the second accused in the case.

Mbatha has also been named as the sole source for the Meiring report.

The overlap between the charge sheet and the discredited Meiring report reinforces suspicions that McBride was framed by rogue elements of South Africa's intelligence community to lend credence to the report after Mandela initially failed to take it seriously. Meiring was forced to tender his resignation after a tribunal of judges, chaired by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed, rubbished the report.

The charge sheet, which could easily have been culled from a Monty Python script, puts McBride at the centre of an arms-smuggling ring run by Madikizela-Mandela who — along with Meiring's likely successor Siphwe Nyanda, General Lambert Molo, Bantu Holomisa and McBride — stars in the Meiring report.

The charge sheet lists as third co-accused Mozambican arms dealer Alex Mamba (also referred to as 'Uamba'), alleged to have previously supplied arms to Inkatha.

In 1996, Madikizela-Mandela is alleged to have negotiated in Swaziland with a Mozambican general to train soldiers for "her movement" — christened "Fapla" in the

Meiring report. McBride and Mbatha both allegedly became involved. McBride is supposed to have secured guarantees of money and uniforms from officials at the American and Cuban embassies.

In October 1996, claims the charge sheet, Mamba began supplying Madikizela-Mandela with AKM-47s, bombs and Makarov pistols. The charge sheet says that in September last year the final transaction involving the former first lady took place: she allegedly paid R100 000 for 30 bombs.

The charge sheet provides scant detail of the actual transaction which led to McBride's arrest on March 9, and relies almost exclusively on Mbatha's testimony.

It says that in January this year McBride and Mbatha met Mamba to discuss an arms transaction, paying \$2 500 for a consignment of weapons in February. Mamba was not there and they left the money, returning the following month when they were arrested. There is no mention of the \$11 000 McBride is supposed to have been carrying at the time of his arrest.

The *M&G* has also obtained some details of Mbatha's statement to the police. Like the charge sheet, it skirts details of the "arms transaction" and instead regurgitates already discredited features of the Meiring report.

Legal sources in Maputo say Mbatha claims in his statement that McBride was working with a number of co-conspirators — including Madikizela-Mandela, Molo and Nyanda — to topple the Mandela government.

It is understood Mbatha also claims that Madikizela-Mandela met members of the Mozambican army to discuss the coup, and that McBride was ferrying arms for Fapla cohorts. Mbatha also refers to Cuban, American and Russian accomplices, all of whom have so far not been traced by the Mozambican police.

Although the South African government has refused to release the Meiring report, it has revealed its salient points: that an organisation called Fapla, steered by senior members of Umkhonto weSizwe, was plotting a coup.

Mbatha and McBride were arrested a week before *The Citizen* newspaper first published details of the Meiring report.

At a confidential briefing to opposition politicians after Meiring's resignation, Mandela himself floated the possibility that McBride was framed to lend credence to the report.

Meanwhile, it has also emerged that the South African police have been sending their Mozambican colleagues clippings on the McBride story, omitting articles which have raised the likelihood of a set-up.

The South Africans have insisted they have only been assisting the Mozambicans and not in any way steering the investigation. A

representative for Police Commissioner George Fivaz this week refused to discuss questions about South African police activities in the McBride case.

The *M&G* also understands that Superintendent Lappies Labuschagne — who was withdrawn from the investigation last week following allegations he was an apartheid assassin — was still working on the McBride case on Friday last week.

Sources close to the investigation in Maputo claim Labuschagne was asking his Mozambican colleagues for details of the \$11 000 in cash which McBride was allegedly carrying when he was arrested.

Fivaz's office said Labuschagne was no longer working on the case. "By last Friday he had already resumed his duties in Mpumalanga," a representative said.

McBride's possession of the cash remains one of the most curious aspects of the case — a fact clung to by those who insist he is guilty of trading arms.

Nevertheless, a senior intelligence official involved in the McBride probe said this week he and his colleagues were becoming convinced of McBride's innocence.

He said there remained "perplexing" factors in the case, but it appeared more likely that McBride had been caught in something in which he was not involved. "We are beginning to get some sort of a feeling that McBride may be more innocent than we thought."

Some of the South African policemen involved in the case have already linked the Meiring report and McBride's arrest — but stopped making the connection when the report was scotched by Mandela and Judge Mahomed.

Shortly after news of the Meiring report surfaced in the South African press, the policeman in charge of the McBride investigation in South Africa, Assistant Commissioner Suiker Britz, was reported saying he had met a general and two senior military intelligence officials who had given him "a whole pile of information."

In an apparent reference to the Meiring report and its relevance to the McBride investigation, he said "I can't say whether it is about overthrowing the government. But it is definitely about arms smuggling."

Both McBride and Mbatha are being held in a prison on the outskirts of Maputo. It is understood McBride sustained minor injuries after fighting with the policemen who arrested him. Mozambican prisons are crammed with people who have been awaiting trial for at least a year.

New military chief has gone full circle

ET 30/4/98

(254)

JOVIAL RANTAO

"GENERALS don't smile," quipped government spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe as Lieutenant-General Sphiwe Nyanda placed his decorated military cap under arm and prepared to leave the Union Buildings

Netshitenzhe's remark came as Nyanda, 47, who had just completed his first interview as head of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), showed expressions of happiness and satisfaction

Indeed, the wheel has gone full circle for the Soweto-born man whose main aim, barely six years ago, was to annihilate the then-South African Defence Force, the arch-enemy of uMkhonto weSizwe and other liberation armies, and to bring the apartheid government to its knees

But, as he prepares to take charge of the SANDF, Nyanda is prepared to ignore the past and look into the future. He does not reflect the bitterness of a man who lost a brother at the hands of the apartheid security forces during a cross-border raid. "I feel nothing personal about the past," he said

Nyanda — nicknamed "Gebuza" after one of King Shaka's generals — is known among his military colleagues and respected as a no-nonsense general who accepts nothing less than a 100% effort from his troops

He has no illusions, however, about the huge challenge that he faces in shaping a new and transformed defence force in which the traditions of military efficiency would be preserved. He knows only too well that his actions would be under the continuous watchful eye of opposition parties and those



HEAVY DUTY: Sphiwe Nyanda has pledged his 'unflinching loyalty'.

in the lower ranks of the army

Although he is not expected to introduce drastic changes to the SANDF, Nyanda does have his own vision — but South Africans will have to wait another four weeks before he unveils it

"I will hold a press conference at the end of May where I will share my vision and other matters"

As the scandal surrounding Meiring's departure abated, Nyanda took the extraordinary step of paying tribute to Meiring and acknowledging his role in transforming the defence force

He said the coup scandal should not detract South Africans from the achievements made by the SANDF

"The debacle surrounding the 'coup' report detracts from the immense contribution General Meiring has made in the peaceful transition from the old order to the new," he said

New SANDF chief is yet to outline vision for the future

(254)

Nyanda heaps praise on retiring predecessor as he speaks of Meiring's role in transforming the defence force

Star 20/4/98

By Jovial Rantao
Political Correspondent

Government spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe quipped "Generals don't smile" as Lieutenant-General Sipiwe Nyanda placed his decorated military cap under his arm and prepared to leave the Union Buildings yesterday

Netshitenzhe made the remark as Nyanda (47), who had just completed his first interview as head of the South African National Defence Force, showed expressions of happiness and satisfaction.

Indeed, the wheel has gone full circle for the Soweto-born man, whose main aim barely six years ago was to annihilate the then SA Defence Force - the arch-enemy of Umkhonto weSizwe and other liberation armies - and to bring the apartheid government to its knees

But now, as he prepares to take charge of the SANDF, Nyanda is ready to ignore the past and look into the future, although he lost a brother at the hands of the apartheid security forces during a cross-border raid. "I feel nothing personal about the past," he said.

Nyanda - nicknamed "Gebuza" after King Shaka's generals - is known among his military colleagues as a no-nonsense officer who accepts



Sipiwe Nyanda ... from MK commander to head of the SANDF.

nothing less than 100% effort from his troops

He has no illusion about the huge challenge he faces in shaping a new and transformed defence force in which the traditions of military efficiency must be preserved. He knows only too well that his actions will be under the watchful eye of opposition parties and those in the lower ranks of the army.

Although he is not expected to introduce drastic changes to the SANDF, Nyanda does have his own vision - but South Africans will have to wait another four weeks before he unveils it.

"I will hold a press conference at the end of May where I will share my vision and other matters ..."

As the scandal surrounding

the departure of his predecessor, Georg Meiring, abated, Nyanda took an extraordinary step to pay tribute to Meiring and to acknowledge his role in transforming the defence force.

"The debacle surrounding the 'coup' report detracts from the immense contribution General Meiring has made in the peaceful transition from the old order to the new, and in building a new defence force out of its disparate, adversarial constituent parts.

"In spite of the problems, there can be no undermining the successes which have been achieved in integrating and welding the defence force into a viable, strong and respected entity capable of discharging its constitutional responsibilities. General Meiring, as the

head of the defence force, has been at the centre of those achievements," Nyanda said.

Nyanda was born in Soweto and matriculated at Orlando High School in 1969. He enrolled for a BSc degree at the University of Zululand but was expelled in his second year because of political activities.

He worked as a sports writer for the World newspaper from 1973 to 1976. Four months before the June 1976 Soweto uprisings, he fled the country and joined Umkhonto weSizwe

He underwent military training in former East Germany

After serving in various capacities in the underground of the ANC, he became commander of border operations in Swaziland in 1986. Two years later he was appointed deputy head of the ANC's politico-military underground leadership in South Africa. He was arrested in July 1990 and detained until November of that year.

Nyanda was elected to the national executive committee of the ANC in July 1991, and served as chief of staff of MK from 1992 to 1994.

He was appointed chief of staff of the SANDF in June 1994. After a brief stint as commanding officer of Gauteng Command he was appointed deputy chief of the SANDF in May last year.

Nyanda highly regarded

Stephen Laufer

(254)
LT-GEN Siphile Nyanda, who has been chosen to succeed Gen Georg Meiring as chief of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF), is among the most highly regarded Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers to have made the transition into the statutory forces

As MK chief of staff, he was closely involved in negotiations over integration of statutory and nonstatutory forces before the 1994 elections and will continue in this position until the conclusion of the integration process.

Since joining the SANDF in 1994, he has been chairman of the integration committee, chief of staff, general officer commanding Gauteng command and deputy SANDF chief

As a senior commander of the African National Congress' (ANC) Operation Vula, he was infiltrated into SA in mid-1988, evading detection until 1990, when he was detained for five months. Having

operated clandestinely both inside and outside SA for many years, Nyanda is regarded as having been one of MK's most effective guerrillas

MK colleagues speak of him as a very brave man who showed his leadership qualities early on while working underground. He deliberately kept a low profile while preparing for top command

Born on May 27 1950, in Moroka, Soweto, he is one of six children born to Betsy and Henry Nyanda, a traffic officer. After being expelled from the University of Zululand in 1971 for his political activities, he broke off his BSc course to become a sportswriter on The World newspaper

Recruited into the underground structures of the ANC, he left SA in 1975 with other members of his unit Guerrilla and conventional infantry and artillery training in the former German Democratic Republic followed, and Nyanda became commander of underground structures operat-

ing in the Transvaal urban areas

Nyanda completed a brigade commander's course in the Soviet Union and underwent further intelligence training in East Germany in the 1980's. Since joining the SANDF he has completed the SA Army senior command and staff course and the joint staff course, regarded as prerequisites for most senior commands

Nyanda was a member of several military and politico-military leadership structures within the underground ANC. He became a member of the party's national executive in 1991, but is no longer active in party politics

Among the key challenges facing him as SANDF chief are the completion of the parallel integration and "downsizing" processes — and making the image and traditions of the force more reflective of the backgrounds of its members. He will also oversee the procurement of major new weapons systems while enhancing the SANDF's peacekeeping capacity

AD 30/9/98

Nyanda to take over as first black defence force chief

Stephen Lauffer

LT-GEN Siphwe Nyanda is to take over as chief of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) in June, the first former guerrilla and the first black officer to hold the post.

Chief government spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said that cabinet had welcomed President Nelson Mandela's decision as commander in chief to appoint Nyanda as Gen Georg Meiring's successor.

Meiring resigned earlier this month after handing a flawed military intelligence report to Mandela which claimed senior officers and politicians were plotting a coup.

Nyanda said he was "humbled by the trust and confidence demonstrated in me by the government". Accepting the appointment "with utmost humility", he was conscious of the burden being placed on his shoulders

He pledged "to return the trust by serving with unflinching dedication and loyalty".

This could be achieved only by gaining the trust and loyalty of all who served in the defence force.

Nyanda said he preferred not to speak about his vision for the SANDF until Meiring's departure.

Although everything that had happened in the past had meaning for him, he harboured no personal sentiments against anyone who had served in the old SA Defence Force, although his brother had been killed in a cross-border raid. The new job was "a national responsibility".

Nyanda's appointment comes four years after Mandela chose Meiring to head the integrated defence force made up of the old SA Defence Force, members of homeland armies and the guerrilla forces of the anti-apartheid movement in a move widely interpreted as

an attempt to ensure the loyalties of old white officers

Meiring, an SA Defence Force officer whose career was spent fighting the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies across southern Africa, was forced to announce his resignation a year before the end of his contract after botching the handling of the military intelligence report.

Nyanda is understood to have been among those named in the report, later said by a judicial commission to have been entirely without substance.

Government sources said at the time that they suspected Meiring and others of attempting to hold on to control of the defence force by besmirching the name of Nyanda and other black officers and ANC politicians.

Defence Minister Joe Motise said Nyanda would be promoted to full general in line with regulations. No decision had been taken on a successor as

deputy SANDF chief. It was not yet clear whether the position would be filled, as the chiefs of the arms of service were Nyanda's de facto deputies.

The Democratic Party congratulated Nyanda on his appointment, saying they would watch his performance critically. The National Party said it did not dispute his capabilities for the job, but felt his appointment was premature while the discredited military intelligence report and the report of the judicial commission into its handling were still subject to debate by the parliamentary intelligence committee.

The Freedom Front said that Nyanda would have to adopt a moderate approach and rely heavily on his advisers. He would have to refrain from "obedience to his political masters", and should depoliticise the defence force



NYANDA



HAIL THE CHIEF! ... Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, who becomes the first black South African to head the SANDF next month, shares a light moment with his inspiration and great supporters. In the family picture are his wife, Sheila (second from right) and their children Nomalanga, Nonkululeko, Andile, Ziyanda and Bhekisisa ■ Pic: MIKE MZILENI

'Partisan' general wrong man for the job! – IFP

By CHRIS HLONGWA

THE INKATHA Freedom Party has expressed concern at the appointment this week of Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda as Chief of the National Defence Force

The party alleges that his role in the deployment of Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers against the IFP has never been adequately addressed

"General Nyanda's appointment places an enormous strain on the process of national reconciliation," said IFP defence spokesman Philip Powell

"The widows and orphans of hundreds of IFP members who were killed by MK and the Self Defence Units set up under Nyanda's command can only be shocked at the appointment of such a partisan figure

He said "The IFP views his assurances that he will not dwell on the past with great misgivings"

General Nyanda, who is a former chief of staff of Mkhonto weSizwe, will succeed General Georg Meiring, who announced his resignation last month

The IFP noted "Nyanda played a

leading role in Operation Vula, a covert military and intelligence operation of MK, which was directed at the Inkatha Freedom Party as well as other structures"

It added that "evidence before the TRC in the amnesty application of Riaz Saloojee and Muff Anderson, both MK operatives, has also linked him to the smuggling of thirty tons of weapons into KwaZulu-Natal which were issued to ANC Self Defence Units responsible for the death of hundreds of IFP members"

The IFP claims that Nyanda was also linked to the arrest of MK members at the Golela Border Post on the Swaziland border on February 1, 1993, in which rocket launchers, grenades, pistols and machine pistols were recovered and a major ANC weapons smuggling operation uncovered"

The IFP believes that General Nyanda's "role in the killing of its members has not been addressed by the TRC or the judicial process and cannot unreservedly endorse the appointment of such controversial figure to this sensitive appointment"

The IFP Defence and Intelligence Na-

tional Portfolio Committee said in a statement "The selection of Nyanda to fill such a positive position is insensitive and ignores the enormous pain and suffering inflicted by the structures which Nyanda commanded on the people of KwaZulu-Natal"

The committee also expressed concern about the "increasing number of complaints it is receiving concerning political activity by former MK members who are now serving as members of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF)"

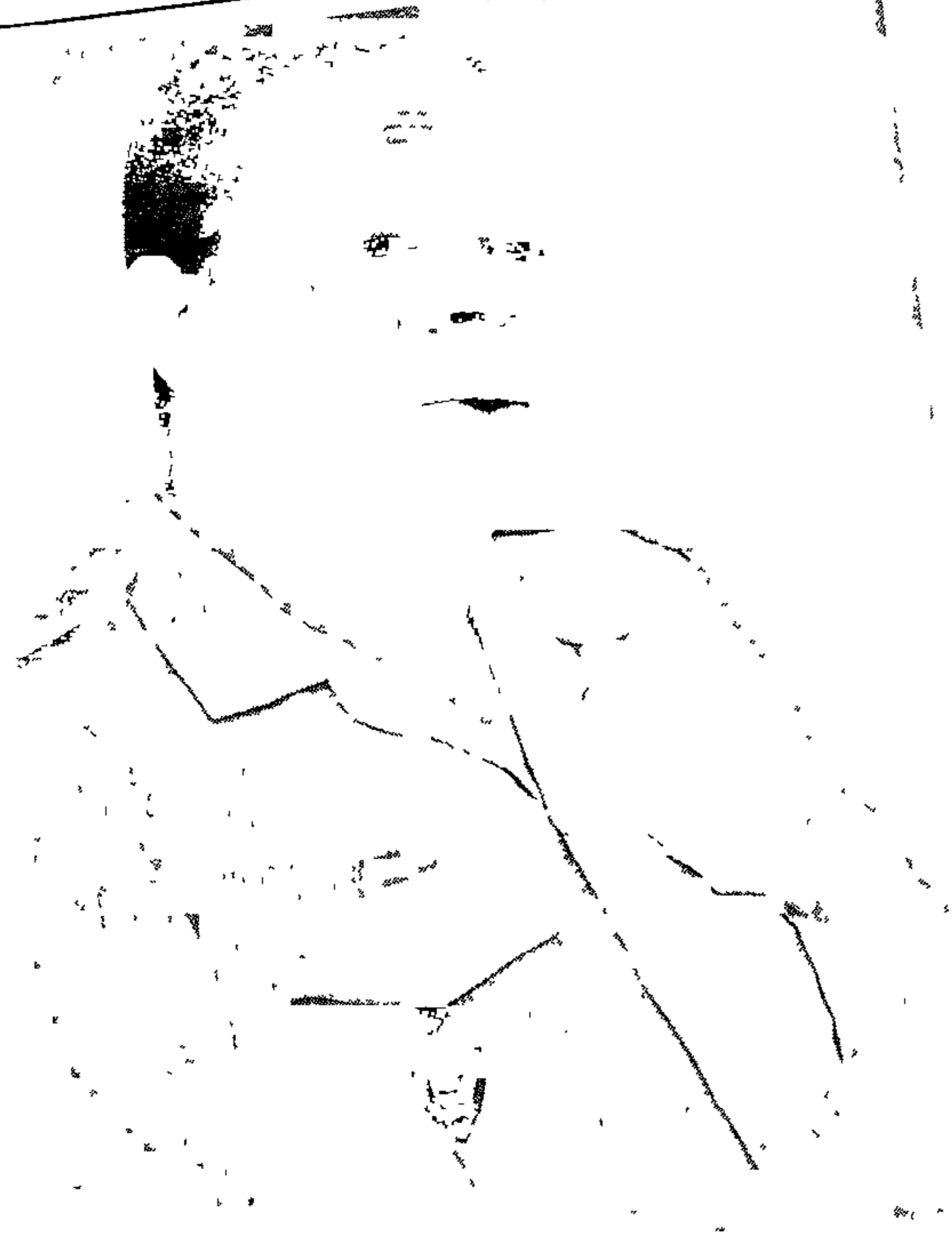
"The trial of Sifiso Nkabinde has uncovered alarming evidence of the involvement of former MK officers in partisan political activities – including participation in ANC leadership structures

"The IFP is also receiving an increasing number of reports from members of the National Defence Force who are being victimised by MK elements in the SANDF"

"We are not convinced that General Nyanda is sufficiently impartial to resolve these tensions and eradicate illegal political activity in the SANDF," said the IFP committee

(254) CP 3/5/98

ANALYSIS



NYANDA

The SANDF's top citizen in uniform

(274) MD 4/5/98

LT-Gen Siphwe Nyanda's appointment to head the defence force is a positive sign of change, writes **Stephen Laufer**

THE time has come to praise military men

Not for gallantry, not for bravery under fire, but at last as heralds of change

The appointment of Lt-Gen Siphwe Nyanda to head the SA National Defence Force from next month is a more momentous event than immediately meets the eye. It is not only a milestone on SA's road to a more equitable so-

He was, he says, convinced that he would be back at a newspaper quickly, the task of liberation completed

"We did not imagine ourselves outside for 10 years, we thought it would be short and sweet, a quick victory, and we would be back to our jobs."

That was not to be, and Nyanda had to fashion an understanding of himself as a soldier. It is perhaps a measure of the seriousness with which he ap-

a new type of military

Surely, it is of significance that SA at last has a black defence chief. Surely, it is important that a former African National Congress (ANC) guerrilla, who fought for the liberation of SA from apartheid and who enjoys the genuine trust of the elected political leadership of the country, at last heads the services.

But these are transitional issues, and they are likely to recede into the background in years to come as the makeup of the defence force increasingly naturally reflects the demographics of the country.

More critically, and of greater long-term import to the place of the armed forces in a democratic SA, Nyanda is — unlike his predecessors — a citizen in uniform.

Nyanda is by all accounts an able and brave soldier, highly regarded by those he led in years of underground struggle and respected by international military observers and former opponents who now serve under him. What makes him different is that he bears within him none of the elitist and militarist pretensions of his predecessors.

Still, he faces a monumental task.

The roots of his motivation for donning a uniform lie in his wish to see a just and democratic society in SA. Like most of his compatriots in the underground liberation movements of the past three decades, he could have taken on civilian responsibilities in the struggle against apartheid because, as he puts it, "an AK-47 was not an end in itself, but a means towards a greater purpose."

This says something about attitude and context, about the place of soldiers in society. Neither then nor now was it to be confused with an abdication of the role of defence in ensuring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of SA and her people. But it was, and is, about soldiers accepting that in a democracy, politics directs them.

It was different on the other side. Particularly during the 1980s, senior defence force officers became a caste unto themselves, elected by no one, yet increasingly central to the running of the entire state.

Whatever the evidence by the generals before the truth commission and the courts, the state security council system carried their influence well beyond purely military matters into the heart of the country's politics. Through units like the Civil Co-operation Bureau, the recces, special forces, and military intelligence, they abrogated to themselves the right over life and death in SA, the neighbouring countries, and even further afield.

As the handling of a report on an alleged coup plot by departing SANDF chief Georg Meiring showed, the ethos of the old defence force divorced its top leaders from the realities of the society they were ostensibly serving.

For all his protestations of loyalty to the new democratic dispensation, Meiring was ultimately unable to jump over his shadow and accept a less central role for himself and the military in the new SA.

Nyanda, on the other hand, was a sports reporter who took up arms on behalf of the people because he himself felt the burden of an unjust system. This is the background which allows him to say today that the most important part of his training was learning the ascendancy of politics over the military — in other words, the primacy of the democratic will.

of a *nom de guerre* was that of one of Shaka's mightiest generals, Gebuza.

Training in the former German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union prepared him for a life underground, and former guerrillas remember his insistence on being with them in what were called the forward areas, directly on the borders to SA and inside the country. "He was brave, he went where others feared to go," said one former guerrilla.

Nyanda was involved in many of the actions which dealt important psychological blows to the apartheid state's notion of its own invincibility, including attacks on police stations on the Reef during the late 1970s which signalled the revival of the armed struggle in earnest.

His leadership strengths, says one ANC leader familiar with his activities at the time, were his abilities to choose the best cadres, and to build close-knit units able to trust each other. The fact that several survived years underground — one only emerged after 15 years of antigovernment activity — is a testimony to his leadership, the source said.

Yet running small guerrilla groups is a different kettle of fish to commanding an army of almost 100 000, plus many more reserves.

Leading a small and dedicated band of like-minded people is perhaps easier than moulding a disparate group from several different military traditions and differing political backgrounds into an effective force capable of acting in unity in defence of the national interest at the same time as it faces the challenge of cutting numbers and changing focus.

It is a job made even more complex by the fact that the top of the ship has been shaken by Meiring's departure, as one outside observer put it.

Four years into his conventional career, Nyanda has completed the obligatory senior staff courses, he has all too briefly held command of a large unit — Gauteng command — and now he has been thrown in at the deep end.

It would have been better, the outsider said, if Nyanda had been in command of large units for longer, gathering experience. There had been some speculation that if Meiring had served out his term, Nyanda would have taken charge of the army in June when its current chief, Lt-Gen Reg Otto, retires.

"That said, he will clearly develop. He is no pushover, he has his own views, and he can be expected to start cracking the whip on issues like representivity and transparency. There are not enough black faces in the top corridors," said the source.

The biggest problem with the SANDF's staff courses Nyanda attended, says the source, is their stress on outmoded "teach and test" methods, rather than the more modern approach of work in syndicates on problem solving. Most defence colleges worldwide have borrowed from business schools.

Nyanda could well balance that lack with the approach he learned in the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"Our key management style was not autocratic, but to encourage participation, flexibility, and initiative, all methods being advanced today."

It is worth remembering Chinese military strategist SunTsu, he says. "He taught that the art of generalship is victory by strategy, then diplomacy, and worst of all by simply besieging walled cities."

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BP

4/598

'Above board' sale of SA's uranium causes stir

Shareen Singh

THE sale by the Atomic Energy Corporation of 2 000 tons of partially depleted uranium to a US company for re-enrichment in Russia has raised questions of transparency in decisions on the use and disposal of radioactive waste

Environmentalists said that SA was still secretive about nuclear products, despite a decision by government last year to encourage public participation in policy making. They said the corporation should have opened up a debate on the disposal of the depleted uranium, rather than decide unilaterally.

Any mention of uranium, after the Chernobyl disaster, stirred unease among ordinary people. A Witwatersrand University academic said this was reason enough for the corporation to be "duty bound to inform and consult citizens of the flow of uranium in and out SA and the disposal of depleted products"

Chris Albertyn of the Environment Justice Networking Forum said the government's environment white paper to be released soon had a strong commitment to public participation in public policy, and there was a specific reference to radioactive waste. "While there is a commitment by government to move away from secrecy, there are contradictions in practice," Albertyn said

Since the closure in March 1995 of its semi-commercial enrichment plant, the Z plant, SA no longer needed the depleted uranium. The stockpile of uranium in the form of UF₆ had been stored at the Pelindaba site

The indefinite storage of depleted uranium was "undesirable" because of its corrosive nature, corporation spokesman Lola Patrick said. The product, sold to Edlow Resources in the form of uranium hexafluoride, left SA on Thursday and all international regulations had been adhered to. The ship which transported the depleted uranium was "checked by a US expert for seaworthiness before it arrived in SA".

Patrick said she did not understand environmentalists' concerns because in its current form UF₆ was "harmless if stored properly and international rules and regulations were strictly followed to ensure not only the safety of the product during transportation but also the sale of the re-enriched product".

Patrick said UF₆ was more chemically toxic than radioactive, and dangerous if inhaled. The International Atomic Energy Agency would monitor the disposal of the re-enriched product to electricity utilities to ensure the uranium was used for the purpose for which it was sold.

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Mercenary activities outlawed

(254)

ET 7/5/98

PARLIAMENT yesterday approved legislation outlawing mercenary activity by its citizens and by foreigners operating from South Africa

The National Assembly initially approved the Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Bill in February, but the National Council of Provinces amended the bill to broaden its scope and the National Assembly approved the amended bill yesterday without debate

The bill prohibits individuals and companies from participating in armed conflict for private gain, nationally or internationally, and empowers South African courts to impose fines,

imprisonment and forfeiture of property for transgressions.

The legislation also seeks to regulate legitimate military assistance, such as technical and training support to democratically elected governments, through a permit system

Humanitarian and civilian activities aimed at relieving the plight of civilians in an area of armed conflict will be exempt from the new permit process

Executive Outcomes, which offers training and security services to legitimate governments and companies, was not available to comment on the legislation yesterday — Reuter

Inquiry can subpoena old-guard defence spies

By ESTELLE RANDALL

Intelligence agents of the former defence force could be subpoenaed, if they do not willingly give evidence to the ministerial commission of inquiry into the activities of defence intelligence

Deputy Minister of Defence Ronnie Kasrils said this week the power to subpoena former members would be made possible by appointing commission chairman Advocate Marume Moerane as an acting judge

The eight-member commission was established last month to conduct an independent investigation into the past and present activities of defence intelligence, including scrutiny of its personnel, assets, covert and overt structures, operational procedures and structure. There will be special emphasis on covert operations

Kasrils said he expected the commission to complete its work within about six months but, if necessary, it could continue the review for a year

The commission will report directly to Minister of Defence Joe Modise and his deputy, Kasrils. But it will also meet regularly with Deputy Minister

of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla to brief him on developments. Modise and President Nelson Mandela will receive a final report from the commission containing its recommendations for the revamp of military intelligence.

The Cabinet approved the establishment of the commission earlier this year, before SANDF chief General Georg Meiring handed the bogus defence intelligence report to Mandela

The idea of conducting a thorough review of defence intelligence took firm root about two years ago when the Cabinet instructed the ministers of defence and intelligence to make recommendations to it on the issue. The discredited "coup plot" report only speeded up and gave urgency to planned processes, the Government has said.

The defence intelligence review comes in the context of several other measures to rein in South Africa's intelligence and security forces

The Law Commission is reviewing all current security legislation and will make recommendations, among others, about laws to regulate the conduct of private security operations

Star 9/15/98 (254)

Defence force equipment on ice pending transformation

(254) Star 19/5/98
By CLIVE SAWYER

Billions of rands worth of fighter aircraft, ships, submarines and armoured vehicles are out of commission pending the completion of defence force transformation, according to Defence Minister Joe Modise

He was replying to questions in the National Assembly by Douglas Gibson of the Democratic Party

Modise said that placing equipment in mothballs was inevitable while the defence force was in a process of transformation, and decisions had yet to be made on certain equipment according to requirements.

The transformation process had had its greatest impact on the army, where it was impossible to say what types and numbers of vehicles would be needed, making it inadvisable to spend money on maintaining and repairing vehicles.

He gave the example of 2 300 Buffel mine-protected personnel carriers, which were old and in need of major and costly repairs.

Operational indications were that there would be no further need for them, and it made no sense to repair the Buffels.

Air force aircraft in mothballs included nine Transall passenger/freight aircraft, out of commission since 1993, and valued at R300-million.

Others were.

■ A R10-million Dauphine helicopter, out of commission since November last year,

■ A R300 000 Islander passenger aircraft, out of commission since January,

■ Four modified Dakotas, valued at a total R300-million, out of commission since January,

■ Eight modified Dakota airframes for assembly, worth R2,5-million, out of commission since January,

■ Seven Alouette 3 helicopters, out of commission since 1995, at an estimated value of R700 000,

■ Four Impala Mark One trainer/fighter aircraft, out of commission since 1993, at a value of R400 000; eight Impala Mark Twos; valued at R1,5-million, 14 Cheetah E fighter aircraft, valued at R30-million, 29 Mirage fighters, valued at R530-million, and seven Mirage airframes, scrapped due to erosion and out of commission since 1994

The navy had mothballed the submarine Maria van Riebeeck, with an estimated replacement value of R1,4-billion, since 1996

Other ships in mothballs were two strike craft, two minehunters, and two minesweepers being cannibalised for repairs to two other minesweepers

These four vessels had a total replacement value of more than R2-billion

The hydrographic research vessel SAS Protea, with a replacement value of R350-million, was having "reduced maintenance", while all maintenance of the torpedo recovery and diving support vessel SAS Fleur, replacement valued R50-million, had been halted

SA War machine

Subs, ships, jets sidelined in defence

ARL 19/5/98

CLIVE SAWYER

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Aircraft, ships, submarines and armoured vehicles costing billions of rands are out of commission because the SA National Defence Force has no money to run them.

This was disclosed yesterday by Defence Minister Joe Modise in reply to questions in the National Assembly by Douglas Gibson of the Democratic Party.

Mr Modise said mothballing was inevitable as the defence force faced budget cuts and the "process of transformation".

Decisions had to yet to be made on certain equipment, according to requirements.

The process had its greatest impact on the Army, where it was impossible to say what types and numbers of vehicles would be needed, making it inadvisable to spend on maintaining and repairing them.

An example was the 2 300 Buffel mine-protected personnel carriers, valued at a total R2,3-million, but which were old and in need of big and costly repairs. Operational indications were that there would be no further need for them.

Air Force aircraft in mothballs included nine Transall passenger/freight aircraft, out

of commission since 1993, and valued at R300-million.

Others were:

■ A R10-million Dauphine helicopter, out of commission since November last year

■ A R300 000 Islander passenger aircraft, out of commission since January

■ Four modified Dakotas, valued at a R300-million, mothballed since January

■ Eight modified Dakota airframes for assembly, costing R2,5-million, out of commission since January

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aircraft, out of commission since 1993 and valued at R400 000, eight Impala Mark Twos valued at R1,5 million, 14 Cheeta E fighters (R30-million), 29 Mirage fighters (R530-million), and seven Mirage airframes, scrapped due to erosion

The SA Navy had mothballed the submarine Maria van Riebeeck, which had an estimated replacement value of R1,4-billion, since 1996. Other ships in mothballs were two strike craft, two minehunters and two minesweepers being cannibalised for repairs to two other minesweepers.

These four vessels had a total replacement value of more than R2-billion

The hydrographic research vehicle SAS Protea, replacement value R350-million, was having "reduced maintenance", while all maintenance of the torpedo recovery and diving support vessel SAS Fleur, replacement value R50-million, had been stopped.

Mr Modise told the National Assembly theft or other loss cost the SANDF 82 weapons and 92 vehicles last year.

This included 32 weapons stolen in burglaries, 15 taken by thieves, and 11 in robberies, with 13 lost by negligence, 65 vehicles stolen, and five taken in robberies.

Arms seized in hi-tech heist, page 3

revamp (254)

STAMP

Strikes hit submarines

(254) / Star 20/5/98

BY JOVIAL RANTAO
Political Correspondent

Cape Town — Repairs to two of South Africa's submarines have been delayed for four years because of dockyard labour disputes, it was revealed in Parliament yesterday.

In a reply to a question from the Democratic Party's James Selfe, Defence Minister Joe Modise disclosed that repairs to the submarine SAS Johanna van der Merwe had been delayed since May 9 1994 due to dockyard labour disputes.

Repairs to the submarine SAS Maria van Riebeeck had been delayed since December 1995 because the refit of

SAS Johanna van der Merwe had to be completed first, Modise said.

The minister's reply has angered the DP, which has called for the SA Navy to be declared an essential service. Employees in essential services are prohibited by law from going on strike.

"In other words, the unions have delayed necessary repairs to South Africa's entire submarine fleet for four years. Are we so complacent about our national security that we are happy to have submarines either out of commission or limping in the water for four years?"

Selfe added that labour disputes could not be allowed to jeopardise the navy's capability

Three nabbed for arms theft

By Mpikeleni Duma and
Khangale Makhado

POLICE have arrested three men in connection with the theft at the weekend of a large arsenal of assault weapons from 44 Baracuda Brigade military base in Bloemfontein.

Sources in the South African Police Service told *Sowetan* yesterday that the men, arrested in QwaQwa on Tuesday night, after police received a tip-off, were still being interrogated.

However, South African National Defence Force spokeswoman Major Merle Meyer denied any knowledge of the arrest yesterday, saying that only the police would know if there had been such arrests because "that would form part of the SAPS investigation".

Free State police spokeswoman

Superintendent Johlene Merve also denied that anyone had been arrested in connection with the theft. She confirmed, however, that two of the vehicles used in the theft had been found abandoned — one in QwaQwa on Tuesday and the other in Dewetsdorp on Sunday.

The sources told *Sowetan* that one of the men believed to be in police custody was a former member of the SANDF and was once based at the Tempe military base in Bloemfontein.

The sources also furnished *Sowetan* with the names of the suspects and said some of the missing items were recovered during the arrest.

Among the items stolen were 93 R4 and R5 automatic rifles, seven machine guns, three 60mm mortars, binoculars, torches, compasses and military radios.

Meanwhile, the Johannesburg-based Institute for Security Studies (ISS) said yesterday the weekend theft must be broadly interpreted as threatening not only South Africa's security, but that of the entire region.

Mr Mark Malan of the Institute said at first glance he would have linked the theft to cash-in-transit robberies because of the large number of automatic rifles stolen. These rifles feature commonly in such heists.

"When one looks at the items stolen one might agree with Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise when he says the theft threatens the security of the state.

"The items stolen are a special package and only former members of the then South African Defence Force and of former Liberation armies would be familiar with the

usage of such equipment. The fact that medium machine guns were part of the package gives credence to the security concerns of the minister," Malan said.

On Tuesday Modise said, he believed the theft bordered on undermining the security of the country and its people. He dismissed speculation that it was just another criminal act.

Malan said it was possible the theft may have something to do with next year's general elections. He said people should remember similar incidents in 1993 in which large quantities of arms were stolen in the run-up to the 1994 elections.

"It is ironical that the weapons disappeared from the SANDF, which over the years had assisted the SAPS in tracking down illegal arms. The incident should serve as a wake-up call," Malan said.

Sowetan 21/5/98

(254)

Defence needs loan to 'save projects'

Wyndham Hartley

(274)
20 21/5/98
CAPE TOWN — Cuts in defence spending which made SA's borders more vulnerable than ever would not affect the planned rearmament of the SA National Defence Force, the national assembly's defence committee heard yesterday.

In a briefing on the budget, a defence team told the committee it had applied to Finance Minister Trevor Manuel for a loan of R771m, to be offset against future defence allocations, so that the Rooivalk and other projects could be rescued and the damage of defence cuts to the armaments industry kept to a minimum.

Gen Chris Venter told the committee that the cuts in defence spending would inevitably lead to greater problems of illegal aliens, and gun- and drug-runners pouring through the country's borders.

Venter said that the manning levels on SA's borders had already been reduced. This was not because there was insufficient manpower, but because there was not enough money in the budget to pay the operational costs of

patrolling the borders

Acting finance head for the department of defence, Jack Grundling, told the committee that a plan was in place to reduce the head count in the force and so increase the amount which could be spent on operating costs and capital expenditure.

His colleague, Keg Verster, said that the defence force had applied for R771m advance on its projected capital expenditure in the future so that it could maintain its current commitments, among them the Rooivalk helicopter project.

Huge losses would be incurred if the Rooivalk and other projects were to be cancelled.

He said Manuel was considering the application, which would require the defence force to repay the loan until current commitments were met.

African National Congress MP Tony Yengeni asked whether the capital programme and loan would affect new defence acquisitions. Grundling told him the payment for rearmament packages would begin only in the 2001/02 financial year, and would not be affected by the current budget.



Seshi Chonco has found himself in a Catch-22 situation

ARIEL TECHNOLOGIES

DENEL CHIEF DENIES CONFLICT OVER BID

Chonco's Elexir in play for Sybase minorities *fm 22/5/98*

Controversy has hit State-owned defence giant Denel over an attempt by a JSE-listed IT group to acquire the minority shares of Denel subsidiary Sybase SA

It was sparked by the fact that Denel group MD Seshi Chonco is also non-executive chairman of Elexir Technology Holdings, the company bidding for the Sybase stake. According to Elexir's prelisting prospectus, Chonco owns 18,7m shares, or 18,7% of the company.

Denel holds 51% of Sybase SA, which is managed by the defence giant's IT arm, Ariel Technologies. US-based database software developer Sybase owns 5%, with five individuals, including former Ariel MD Tony Kaleb, holding the remaining 44%. Elexir's R38m play for the Sybase minorities has caused disquiet among some staffers at Ariel, who have expressed concern that Chonco's involvement in both Ariel and Elexir is a serious conflict of interest. But Chonco defends himself: "I have no (malicious intention) to plunder Denel's assets."

He denies there is a conflict of interest in

Elexir's bid for the Sybase minorities. In fact, it seems his colleagues at Elexir hatched the proposed deal without his knowledge. He was apparently informed of the Sybase proposal only three or four weeks ago and since then has excused himself from all Ariel management meetings at which Sybase has been discussed.

According to legal advice Chonco has sought, he has conducted himself "very well", he claims. He says he is in a Catch-22 situation, and cannot ask either Ariel or Elexir to withdraw from negotiations.

Chonco has also apparently told Ariel's management that Elexir does not compete with Ariel and that the moment the two companies start competing he will resign from his responsibilities at Ariel. In addition, Chonco has declared his interest in Elexir to government.

The case for privatising Sybase is

compelling. The company has been performing poorly against Oracle, its major competitor in this market. One of the main reasons is poor performance of demotivated staff. A buyout by Elexir would mean Sybase staff could be offered share incentives to lock them in and stimulate performance.

However, should the on-again, off-again privatisation of Ariel proceed, the company could itself want to bid for the remaining Sybase stake.

Neill Hobbs, Elexir's financial director, has been acting as the financial adviser to two of Sybase's minority shareholders, Bryn Davies and Rob Simpson. It was during discussions with these shareholders that Hobbs suggested selling their stakes to Elexir. "I'm the one who has a conflict of interest," Hobbs confesses.

A further headache for Ariel has been the confusion in the market about its involvement with the State IT Agency (Sita), the new State-owned company being formed to service government's technology needs (*Information Technology*, April 24). The company has no relationship with Sita.

Meanwhile, Denel and Ariel executives expressed some hope last week that Ariel's privatisation would finally be announced on Wednesday May 20 when Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau was scheduled to deliver her budget speech in parliament. Management hopes to list Ariel in either the first or third quarter of next year.

However, Sigcau's poor performance in privatising State assets has again placed a questionmark over the commercialisation and listing of Ariel. Disenchantment among staff at Ariel is rising, say company insiders.

A Restructuring & Transformation Central Committee has been formed at Denel to get stakeholder approval for the commercialisation of Ariel. This committee must approve any final privatisation plan.

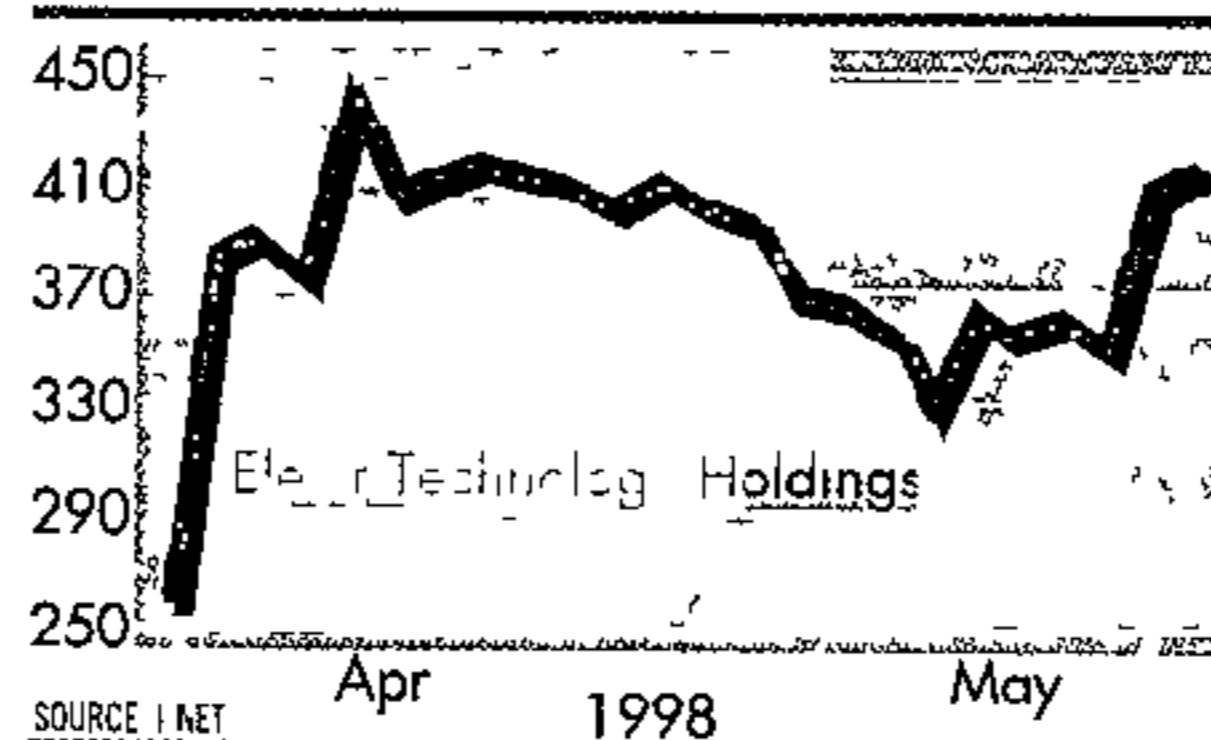
Under Chonco's guidance, Ariel's management has already gone some way in commercialising the company. Old-style

managers were fired and the company moved from Pretoria to Sandton to focus attention on the corporate sector and shed its poor image as a State-owned company.

Privatisation is urgently needed.

Duncan McLeod

BOUNCING AROUND



More civilian control for SANDF

CHARLES PHILLANE
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

The Defence Force is restructuring itself to allow civilians more control and say in the running of the military

According to the Defence Review Document, Minister of Defence Joe Modise will oversee three divisions – the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) under its chief, the secretariat, and Armscor (Arms Corporation) – the acquisition agency

An integrated head office will be established to achieve synergy between the work of the secretariat and the SANDF

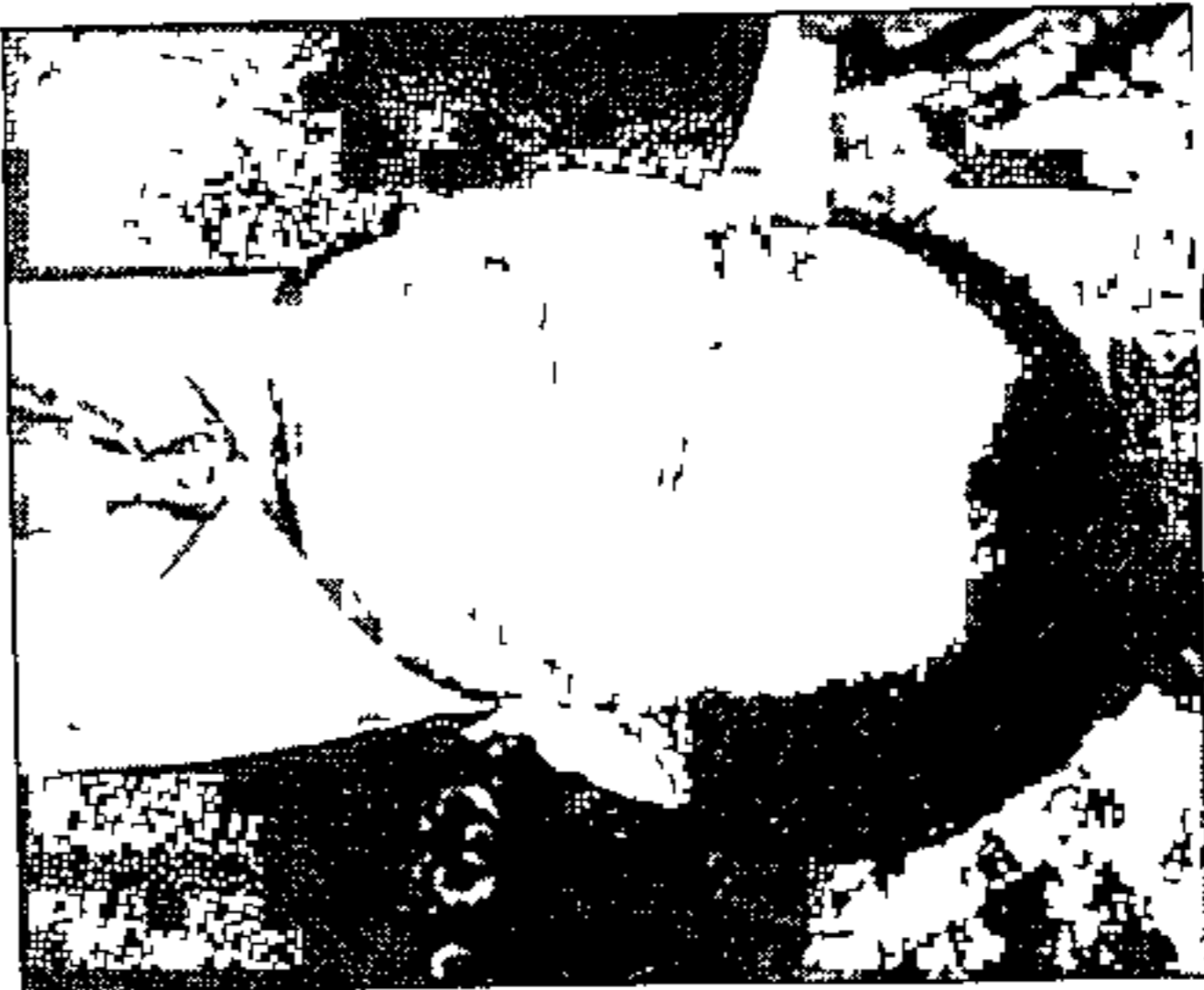
This office will be the highest military headquarters

The secretariat will be headed by a civilian who will not be a member of the military

The secretariat's primary responsibility will include policy and planning, finance, personnel, logistics and legal services

Civilian personnel will not intervene in the military operational chain when military personnel are implementing military operations

The chief of the SANDF will be responsible for the forces and its line functions



In charge: Defence Minister Joe Modise will oversee three defence force divisions

Areas where there will be joint responsibility between the secretariat and the chief of the SANDF include defence intelligence, chief joint operations and military police

The chief army, chief air force and chief navy also will be under joint control

A transformation project will determine which posts are filled by civilians or the military Positions that are the responsibility of the

chief of the SANDF should be military posts

In areas of joint responsibility, the project will decide if the posts should be filled by civilians or the military But the review pointed out that if the posts could be filled by civilians, then they should occupy them as it would save costs

The number of military bases would be cut to 26, as studies showed that this would be cost-effective

But final decisions on closure of other bases would be taken only after consultation and detailed evaluation because

this not only affected military personnel, but communities living around the bases

Bases that will be retained include Thaba Tshwane, TEK Base, Durban, Mtubatuba Ladysmith, Simon's Town, Youngsfield and Langebaanweg

Organisational restructuring of the SANDF will take a systems approach based on four main processes

The aim is to produce combat-ready forces that can be employed in operational missions

The strategic direction is based in the ministry and directs the three executive processes, namely the support forces, the provide forces and employ forces

Direction is provided through ministerial direction, policy framework and the defence department's strategy and plan

The support forces provide forces, material and personnel to the combat personnel

The provide forces integrate and convert force components into combat-ready forces, such as battalions, squadrons and ships

These in turn are converted to single-service forces, such as brigades

The employ forces process involves the deployment of forces in an operational capacity, where combat-ready forces are used to accomplish specific missions – Parliamentary Bureau

'Civilian personnel will not intervene in the military' operational 'chain'

Defence ministry lashes army head

CAPE TOWN — SA's defence ministry attacked the outgoing head of the army yesterday for his handling of a report criticising the defence force for moving too slowly to integrate former guerrillas

The ministry said it valued a report by the British military advisory and training team, which said integration was no longer a priority for the SA National Defence Force (SANDF).

The head of the army, Lt-Gen Reginald Otto, told Parliament on Monday he felt the report constituted a "personal vendetta" by former team leader Brig Paul Davis

"The minister (Joe Modise) wishes to place on record his highest regard for the integrity, objectivity and professionalism of both Brig Davis and the British team and profoundly regrets Gen Otto's unacceptable remarks," said the ministry

"It is expected of Gen Otto to rectify this matter prior to his leaving the SANDF in June this year. This has been an inadmissible incident, the like of which the ministry will not countenance"

22/5/98 (254)
The British team has been working with the SANDF since elections in 1994 to help integrate former anti-apartheid guerrillas and the armies of SA's nominally independent homelands

Otto is due to retire next month and his deputy, Maj-Gen Gilbert Ramano, formerly a member of the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC), is set to take over command of the army

The SANDF will also have a black man at the helm for the first time in its history from next month, when Lt-Gen Siphwe Nyanda, a hero of the armed struggle against apartheid, replaces Gen Georg Meiring

Meiring announced his resignation last month after he was reprimanded for presenting a subsequently discredited report alleging a left-wing coup plot to President Nelson Mandela

The defence ministry denied Otto's claim that Modise had not met him to discuss the British military team's report and said that after an initial meeting the minister had declined further talks

until Otto provided more written information

It said the British report, which noted a hardening of attitudes towards Non-Statutory Force (NSF) members, was independently corroborated and confirmed the ministry's own observations over a period of time

The NSF forces were guerrilla armies of the black liberation movements. About 30 000 NSF members were brought into the 90 000-strong SANDF, which includes the army, navy, air force and medical corps

"Very few room names, street names, flags, symbols, pictures or traditions come from the NSF. Thus many of the ex-NSF firmly feel they are being absorbed rather than integrated," the British team's report said

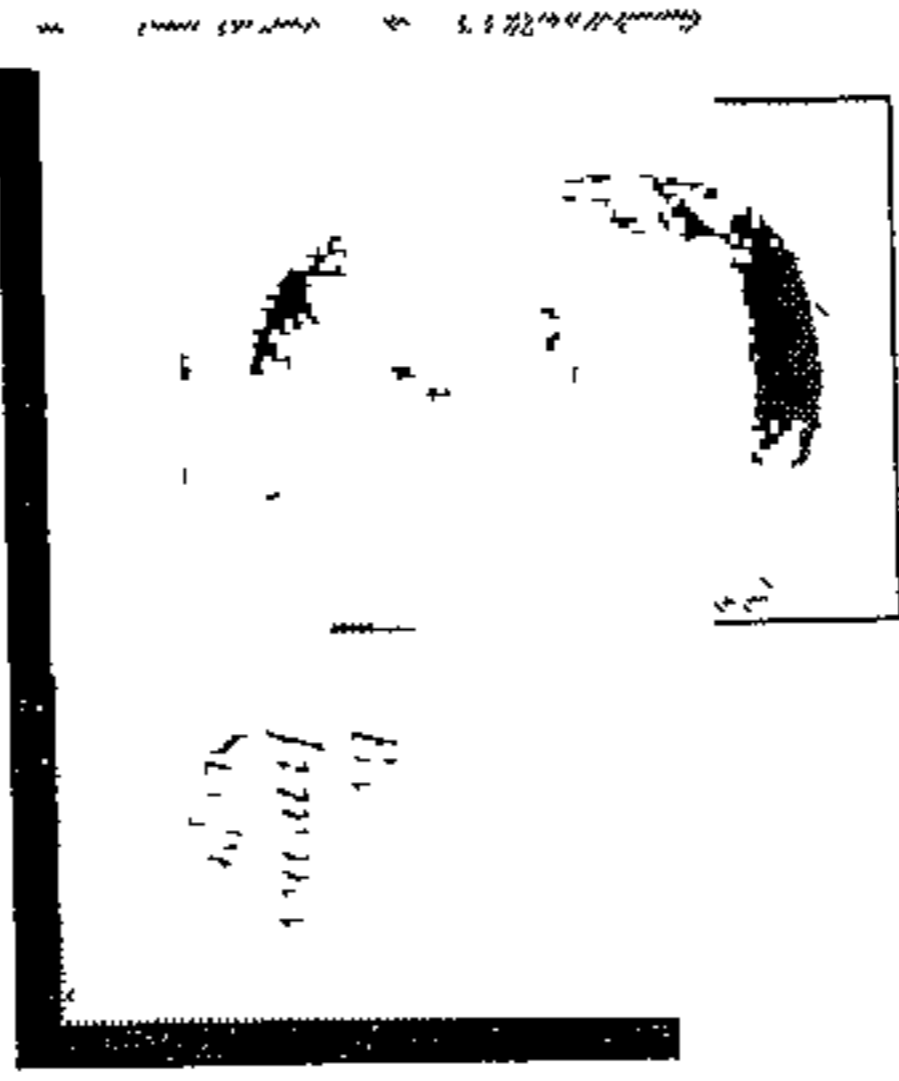
Otto told Parliament's defence committee on Monday that the army had dealt with the problems highlighted by the report.

He denied allegations that court martials were being used in order to discriminate against ex-guerrillas

Defence report 'is incorrect',

fumes Modise

21/5/98
Navy chief told to retract his
statement made to Parliament



CHIEF of the South African Navy, General Reginald Otto, who is the number two in the South African National Defence Force, has fallen foul of the Minister of Defence who has ordered him to correct statements he made this week before the Joint Standing Committee of Defence.

Otto, who criticised a team of British military advisors in the country has been ordered by Joe Modise to correct his criticism. He has been given until next month to do so.

Modise, incensed about the Chief

of the Army responses to the parliamentary standing committee said he wants "to place on record his highest regard for the integrity, objectivity and professionalism" of the British advisors.

Modise also lashed out at Otto for suggesting to the committee that he was not aware of a teargassing incident involving a senior sergeant-major against three ex-Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres.

Modise said "General Otto made other incorrect statements to the parliamentary committee on aspects of the BMATT report, among them the case of a sergeant-major who was convicted of a teargas attack on three ex-MK officers."

The sergeant-major was found guilty and sentenced to a reprimand but later given a merit bonus of more than R5 000 and awarded a silver medal for 20 years's good service.

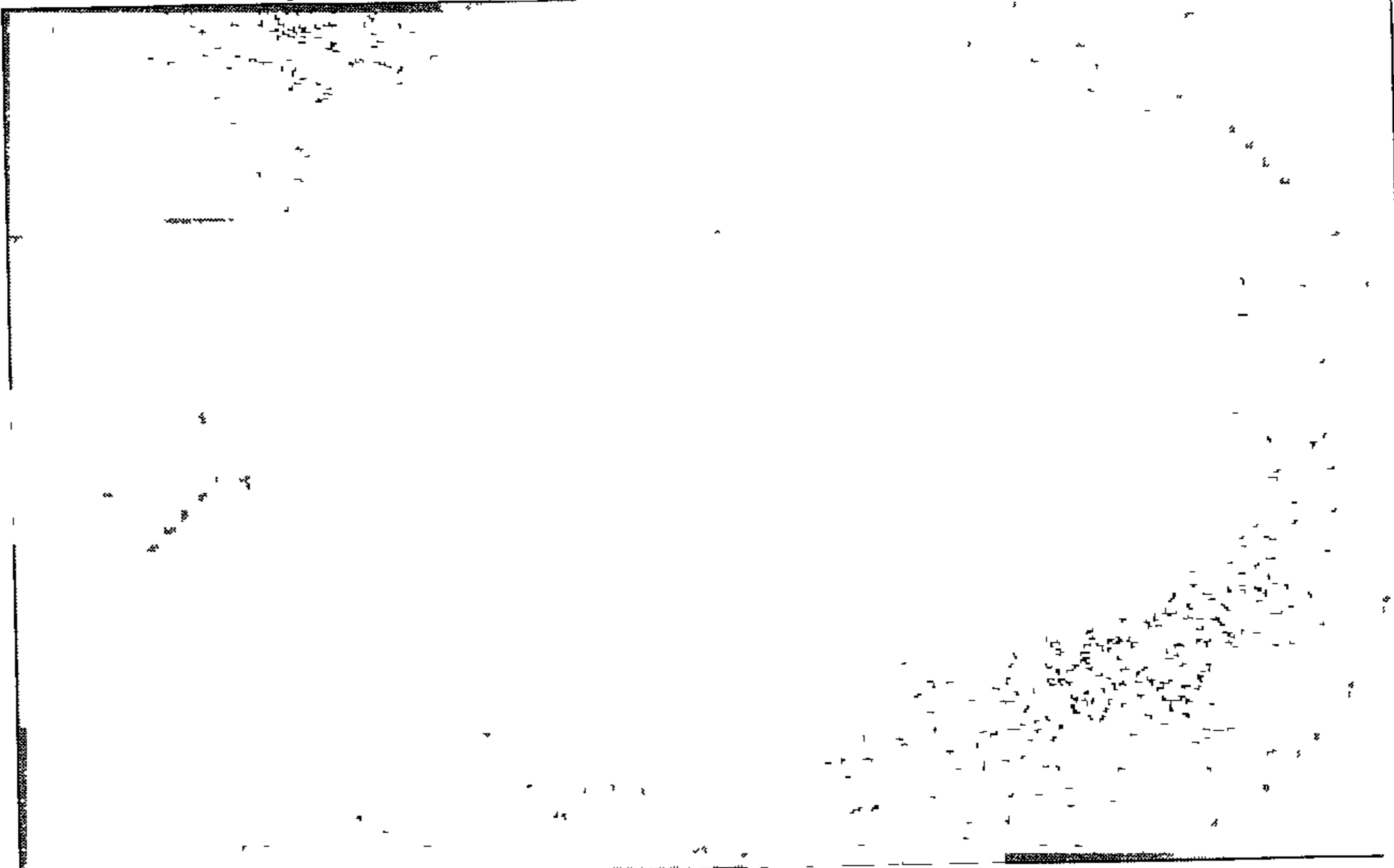
Modise said Otto, in his testimony to the committee, ignored a question about the award of the medal and flatly denied that the sergeant-major had received a bonus.

In his address to the portfolio committee, Otto is said to have slapped a report the British advisors had compiled that criticised the defence force for moving too slowly to integrate the former guerrilla armies.

He said he had a feeling "that it (report) was a personal vendetta against me."

Regarding this matter, Modise said "General Otto is totally unjustified in launching an unsubstantiated personal attack on the integrity of the BMATT officer, Brigadier Davis, by accusing him of waging a 'personal vendetta'."

LVID . . . Modise is in a fit of rage after the head of the SA Navy, General Reginald Otto, attacked British military advisers in a report to Parliament



Funding problems run deep in the navy (2/14)

R25bn budget draws flak as money for repairs dries up

HENRY LUDSKI

THE SAS Maria van Riebeeck, once the pride of the navy, has sat rusting, stripped of its propellers and rudder, in the Simon's Town naval dockyard for more than two years.

One of three Daphne submarines bought from the French 30 years ago, the Van Riebeeck has been mothballed, awaiting a refit, since January 1996.

Only the SAS Emily Hobhouse, out at sea on a training exercise this week, is still operational, while the SAS Johanna van der Merwe has been under repair for four years because of budget cutbacks and problems procuring spares.

The crisis facing the navy — and the rest of the South African National Defence Force — runs a lot deeper than the problems besetting the submarine corps.

On Thursday, the Sunday Times was granted access to restricted areas in Simon's Town naval base and spotted about 10 vessels, with a replacement value of about R4-billion, scattered around the harbour either in a state of disrepair or beyond repair.

Besides the Van Riebeeck, most of the wooden-hulled minesweepers and strike craft withdrawn from operation have mechanical or engine problems. They have all

been in the service for close to 20 years.

This week, Defence Minister Joe Modise drew attention to similar problems in other units of the defence force when he disclosed that billions of rands worth of military aircraft and armoured vehicles were out of commission due to sustained budget cuts.

The heavy concentration by the apartheid government on the army had led to the navy having suffered the biggest setbacks.

Struggling to stay afloat with a significantly reduced fleet, it has lost its ability to operate surface combat ships beyond the limited capabilities of its ageing strike craft. It has also lost the ability to operate maritime helicopters off combat ships.

Besides about 35 inshore and harbour patrol boats, the navy has only about six strike craft, two combat support ships, the SAS Outeniqua and SAS Drakensberg; one Daphne submarine, the SAS Emily Hobhouse, and one hydrographic survey vessel still in operation.

The air force has at least 85 aircraft out of commission. Modise and the defence force have in recent weeks again stepped up their offensive to win public acceptance for a new round of major acquisitions.

However, he is up against a powerful lobby of non-governmental organisations and religious bodies



HIGH AND DRY: The mothballed submarine the SAS Maria van Riebeeck stands rusting in Simon's Town

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

opposed to further unnecessary defence expenditure at a time when there is increasing poverty and unemployment, and further drastic cuts in social spending.

In terms of the requirements in the Defence Review, which was accepted by the National Assembly on Friday, Modise wants to equip the defence force to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

His shopping list already totals about R25-billion and includes four Corvettes and five helicopters for the strike craft, four new

submarines, 60 helicopters, 48 advanced light fighter aircraft and 154 main battle tanks.

The departments of defence, finance, public enterprise and trade and industry are evaluating the detailed offers of military equipment from seven countries: Spain, Britain, Sweden, Germany, Italy, France and Canada.

What they will be scrutinising particularly closely will be the best combination of financing and counter-trade offers in respect of new investments, job creation and

training, technology transfer and black empowerment.

This week, defence force spokesman Colonel Puso Tladi said that many of the "industrial participation" offers had far exceeded South African requirements of at least an equal return on investment, and could be a "new lease of life" for the economy.

If that is the case, Modise may have found the sweetener to appease pressure groups who remain sceptical about the "offset" value of the acquisitions deals, on which

cabinet is expected to make a decision before the end of the current parliamentary session in September.

Jacqui Boule, of the South African NGO Coalition, said this week: "Given the country's limited resources, any expenditure which is not directly targeted at poverty alleviation and employment cannot be justified. If these deals go ahead, it will be at an enormous human cost to the country."

● See page 20

Defiant white officers make Modise see red

RAY HARTLEY

THE Minister of Defence, Joe Modise, has been engaged in a bitter behind-the-scenes feud with senior white defence force officers who have defied government orders in recent weeks.

The Sunday Times has learned that Modise was infuriated when he heard that the commander of 44 Parachute Brigade, Colonel Tokkie van der Walt, and the head of the SA National Defence

Force's Free State Command, Major General Mos Grobler, planned to hold a three-day commemorative service earlier this month for parabats who died in service during the apartheid era. The service was cancelled after Modise phoned the men to express his anger.

This week's theft of military hardware from under the noses of Grobler and Van der Walt is said to have further enraged Modise. His spokesman, Puso Tladi, declined to comment, but parliamentary defence committee chairman Tony Yengeni said those in charge of the base

should be prosecuted for negligence. Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said "The minister's taken urgent steps to investigate the question of the lax security at the base — why it was so easy for this burglary to take place."

Modise is also said to have been angered by the fact that outgoing SANDF chief General Georg Meiring and army chief General Reg Otto boycotted a ceremony to change the name of Voortrekkerhoogte, near Pretoria, this week. Both men, who were top of the list of dignitaries invited to the ceremony,

stayed away without explanation when the base was named Thaba Tshwane on Tuesday.

Modise also issued a strongly worded statement this week attacking Otto for his testimony to Parliament's defence committee on Monday. Otto told the committee that a report by British military advisers on the state of transformation in the SANDF was biased and incorrect. Modise said Otto had made "incorrect statements", and his testimony had been "the like of which the ministry will not countenance".

ST 24/5/98

(274)

R4 billion SANDF arms not used

By MAPULA SIBANDA

THE South African National Defence Force is sitting with machinery and equipment to the value of over four billion rands placed in storage, some of which are currently out of commission

This equipment, some inherited from non-statutory forces, has been placed in storage while the process of integration and transformation is being finalised

Details of this are stated in a parliamentary document which was circulated this week. The circular was responding to questions by the Democratic Party's, Douglas Gibson

Gibson had asked the defence ministry for an audit on the number of vehicles, aircrafts and ships which are not used because of recent changes within the

SANDEF.

(25/4) CP 2/15/1998
The document states that the SA army has up to 2300 Buffel mine protected carriers to the value of R2,3 million which are too old to repair.

Stating that it was currently impossible to get an audit on army vehicles, the circular further states that "transformation and budget cuts are expected to have the greatest impact on the army, the extent of which is yet to be determined," and that, "it is not advisable to spend money on maintaining and repairing vehicles which may not be required in future"

The audit of the Air Force, lists 12 items of various unused aircraft to the value of over R1 billion, which include:
□ Nine Transall C 1607 passenger and freight aircraft to the value of R300 mil-

ion, Four TP C47 modified Dakota aircraft worth R300 million, 22 Mirage F1AZ fighter aircraft valued at R500 million and others

The SA Navy list is the most expensive, with vessels of a replacement value of more than R3 billion not in use because of budget cuts

The reduction of the budget has also resulted in a drop of about 56 percent on the average service ability of vehicles in the SA Medical Service, as preference is reserved for ambulances.

Some of the equipment has been out of commission since 1993, but the selling and disposal of the machinery, is made through a Disposal Board which investigates the best method

The Buffel and Alluette helicopters are being phased out

Integration in SANDF on track

Cape Town - Integration within the South African National Defence Force was virtually complete and stood as a key achievement, Defence Minister Joe Modise said yesterday.

Introducing debate on his budget vote, Modise said the SANDF's full-time force currently numbered 93 000 members, of whom 70% were black and 30% white. This would be reduced to 70 000 through demobilisation, severance, retirement and resignations.

However, an overwhelming number of ordinary troops were black, while a large majority of officers and non-commissioned officers were white.

Currently, 29% of all officers were black, compared to 22% last year.

"In dealing with integration, I make no apologies for using colour labels as a measure of progress," Modise added.

Of the almost 28 000 former Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) members who had reported for integration, only 7 000 had chosen to be demobilised. A total of 16 640 had elected to remain in the new SANDF, of whom 1 552 were officers, he said.

"To date, we have appointed 15 black generals - although three have retired and another is deceased - 29 brigadiers, 57 colonels and lieutenant-colonels, 302 majors and 456 captains



Joe Modise ... more needs to be done at middle and junior levels.

"But to be frank, much more needs to be done at the middle and junior rank levels," said Modise.

Of all senior ranks, former MK and Apla members constituted nearly 19%, of middle ranks, 12%, and junior ranks, 17%.

"Our challenge is to ensure the functioning of a team of top leaders, who work together in partnership, irrespective of background, as the new command core of a modern, professional army, ready to take our military into the 21st century" - Sapa

1998
SAPS
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MARS

'RESPECT OUR DEMOCRACY'

Army won't tolerate defiance — Modise

ET 27/5/98
DEFENCE MINISTER Joe Modise sends out a stern warning to defiant troops **ANDRE KOOPMAN** reports.

DEFIANCE of government authority by military units would not be tolerated and commanding officers failing to carry out government directives would be brought to book, Defence Minister Joe Modise said yesterday during his budget speech.

Speaking about the elite 44 Parachute Brigade which defied a ban on celebration of the Cassinga massacre, in which Namibian refugees were murdered in an operation involving the brigade, he said the event was commemorated without permission two years ago.

"Recently I had to intervene to cancel an attempt — by the same brigade — to hold a 'Paratroopers Remembrance Weekend' on the anniversary of the massacre."

Modise said the evaluation of senior officers' performance would be informed by their attitude to transformation and their "respect for our democracy". He emphasised his intention to accelerate the pace of change in the SANDF.

Speaking about the "most disturbing" major weapons theft — including hundreds of automatic weapons — from the same brigade, based near Bloemfontein, Modise said a full investigation was under way. He had ordered tighter security at all bases and arms stores.

Civil and financial control of the defence force would be strengthened by boosting the Defence Secretariat — "a major area where we have been developing civil control over Defence".

Modise said a major problem facing the defence force was replac-

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ing ageing equipment, especially in the navy. Purchase of weapons, such as tanks and corvettes, would be finalised soon, since the cabinet had accepted that equipment requirements could be linked to strategic defence and trade co-operation programmes with international partners. These deals would boost the economy, stimulate industry and trade and create jobs.

Modise said the challenge of the budget — reduced by R378 million from last year to R9,2 billion — was to improve cost efficiency by rationalising structures and transforming the SANDF in accordance with the defence review.

"This will reduce our personnel and operational costs, and increase the amount available for capital costs from under 10% at present to 30% over the next three years."

"Achieving this will enable us to substantially handle our major capital acquisition within the defence budget," Modise said.

Integration of the SANDF was virtually complete, Modise said. But the overwhelming number of ordinary troops are black and the majority of officers and non-commissioned officers are white.

The SANDF's full-time force was 93 000 members, of whom 70% were black and 30% white. The force would be reduced to 70 000 through demobilisation, severance, retirement and resignations.

He said 29% of all officers were black, compared to 22% last year and 1% in the old SADF. "To be frank, much more needs to be done at middle and junior rank levels."

Govt criticised over army 'rightsizing'

Vuyo Mvoko

(254)

CAPE TOWN — Parliament's joint standing committee on defence questioned yesterday the government's timing in "throwing out" about 24 000 trained soldiers during the planned "rightsizing" of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF)

Committee chairman Tony Yengeni told the National Assembly during debate on the defence budget vote that it was accepted that personnel costs should be cut in the next three years to 40%

Yengeni said it should be borne in mind that some soldiers had no other skills and few chances of getting alternative employment

Yengeni said as SA was approaching next year's general election, security and stability was "becoming vital and should be tightened and intensified"

Democratic Party MP Douglas Gibson said SANDF personnel would have to be dispensed with "in a humane and morally defensible way"

Gibson criticised Defence Minister Joe Modise and Yengeni for "their attitude that it is impossible for the government to get on with downsizing before the election" The implication was that SA must waste another few billion rand, without getting value for money, merely so this government could further its electoral ambitions and avoid upsetting some supporters.

Modise said the army would be reduced by about 23 000, but that it was "imperative that those who leave must be assisted to qualify for a new career" He was concerned about those in the "lower ranks and on short-term service who have meagre pension rights and benefits"

60 27/5/98

Arms sales policies caught in clutches of power

Combining arms exports with an ethical foreign policy is a pretty tough feat, writes Tim Cohen in London

PM 28/5/98 (254)

AT THE weekend, British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook proudly led European Union (EU) foreign ministers in signing a code of conduct on arms sales. Rather than cheering what was self-evidently a positive step, the response of the British press was, by and large, to gasp in astonishment.

During the past few weeks, Scandinavian forests have been flattened to provide the acres of newsprint devoted by the UK press to the Sandline scandal, in which it was disclosed that the British government had implicitly ratified arms exports to Ecomog, the West African peace monitoring force in Sierra Leone.

These exports were, according to the foreign office's own assessment, in contravention of the United Nations (UN) arms embargo. However, just to add a perverse twist, the UN subsequently decided that the exports had not contravened the embargo because they were destined to be used by a liberating force aimed at restoring

the rule of the ousted and democratically elected government of Ahmad Tejan Kabbah.

Cook, whose standing as a foreign minister is beginning to challenge the giddy heights achieved by his SA counterpart, was the motivating force behind the signing of the code of conduct on arms sales, which forms part of the ethics of his foreign policy.

Unfortunately, the way Cook has chosen to implement the philosophy appears to be undermining the concept of an ethical foreign policy, already a contentious and slippery notion.

The British government's response to revelations that British company Sandline was exporting arms to Ecomog forces, dominated by the Nigerian military, was, in the words of UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, overblown hoo-ha. However, as outlined by the perennial African gossip cum in-

telligence news sheet Africa Confidential, the details of the interaction between representatives of the UK government and Sandline cannot be brushed aside with such airy dismissiveness.

According to Africa Confidential, the contact between Sandline — which reportedly has links with the former head of Executive Outcomes Ehen Barlow through mining house Diamond Works — and the British government were more than just passing.

Britain's ambassador to Sierra Leone Peter Penfold, now a hero in that country for his assistance in restoring a democratic government, was in fact the person who introduced Kabbah and Col Tim Spicer of Sandline. Penfold was subsequently briefed in detail about the pro-government forces' military plans at Sandline's offices in the London suburb of Chelsea. Also, it was Penfold who en-

couraged the British government to accept Kabbah as the official representative of Sierra Leone to the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Edinburgh late last year.

Sandline apparently played only a minor role in the re-establishment of the Kabbah government, but one of its helicopters did get repaired on a British navy ship during the military confrontation. The whole interaction does not sit comfortably with the code of conduct signed by the EU member states, which calls for strict adherence to international treaties.

Nor does it accord with point three of the code, which states that member states should not permit exports that would aggravate existing tension or conflicts in the country of destination.

The problem for Cook is that the choices which have to be made by an arms exporting country rest

on a complex interaction of potentially contradictory forces; the process that being an arms producer brings, the foreign policy ambitions of the countries concerned, and the concerns of the arms industry and its employees being just a few examples.

In Sierra Leone, for example, some analysts suggest UK involvement was partly motivated by a desire to restrict regional influence of the Nigerian government, which dominated Ecomog.

As SA has also found, being an arms exporter and conducting an ethical foreign policy are just about mutually incompatible, or at least it is a very tough tightrope to walk.

The problem is made more difficult by the growing prominence of private armies, of which Sandline and Executive Outcomes are only the most prominent of many other examples.

As academics are quick to point out, the emergence of private armies has coincided with the collapse of communism, which has led western governments to believe they have little strategic interest in intervening in other countries' civil wars. According to David Shearer, research associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the emergence of private military companies has outstripped both domestic and international policy to deal with them. SA recently banned mercenary organisations but journalists who visited Sierra Leone recently report that many former Executive Outcomes employees are still in evidence in the country. It is possible that rather than trying to stamp out mercenaries, which is probably futile, the time has come to seek ways to validate private military companies in exchange for regulating where, when and in what circumstances they operate.

Politics

Cabinet approves appointment of Ramamo as

Pule Molebeleledi

CABINET approved yesterday the appointment of Maj-Gen Gilbert Ramamo as new chief of the SA army.

The appointment of Ramamo, who is taking the place of Gen Reginald Otto, comes as the preparations for the change of command in the SA National Defence Force start to take place. The decision, effective from July 1,

comes a few weeks after reports that Otto had not met Modise for nine months to discuss a damning report compiled by the British Military Advisory and Training team assisting the defence force with its integration programme.

The report, dismissed by Otto as "exaggerated", was critical of the hardened attitudes of old-order officers towards members of the former liberation armies integrated into the defence force.

Meanwhile, Gen Siphiwe Nyanda is to take over command of the defence force from its outgoing chief Gen Georg Meiring at a full military parade at Thaba Tshwane in Pretoria tomorrow. He is the defence force's first black chief.

Seven hundred troops, including a parachute team, a 17-gun salute and a fly-past of Impala jets and Allouette helicopters will mark the occasion. An Elephant Tank, Rookkat, Ratel,

Casspir, Mamba and Buffel armoured fighting vehicles and a G-6 self-propelled gun will be stationed on the parade ground. President Nelson Mandela will attend the ceremony in his capacity as commander in chief of the defence force. Foreign governments are to be represented by their military attaches based in SA.

Nyanda, a former Umkhonto weSizwe guerrilla who has been Meiring's deputy, will move into his new office on Monday.

(2574) PD 28/5/98

Meiring is leaving the force early following his handling of a discredited report alleging a coup plot against Mandela's government. Nyanda was one of the people implicated in the report, later found by a panel of judges to have no basis in fact.

This week Defence Minister Joe Modise said momentous changes were taking place in the defence force. Speaking in parliament during his budget vote, Modise congratulated Nyanda on his "historic" ap-

pointment and expressed appreciation to Meiring for his years of service and dedicated role in shaping the new defence force.

He announced that Maj-Gen Moreth Motau would become chief of defence intelligence at the end of next month. Motau will replace Gen Dirk Verbeek, who is returning. Cabinet approved also the positions of Maj-Gen PPF Coetser as chief of logistics and Maj-Gen D Ferreira as chief of joint operations with effect from April 1 this year.

new chief of army

Nyanda takes over as chief of SANDF

By MONGADI MAFATA

Star 30/5/98

The roar of a 17-gun salute rolled across the grounds of the Defence Sports Grounds in Thabane Tshwane yesterday and ushered in a change of the guard as Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda formally took command of the SA National Defence Force.

In his address as the first black chief of the defence force, Nyanda pledged to allay the fears of whites in the force while at the same time addressing the frustrations of black members.

Witnessed by President Mandela, cabinet members and outgoing defence force chief George Meiring, Nyanda reserved his strongest words for those who were disloyal to the army and still practised racism.

"They are not welcome in the SANDF, those who abuse authority, practise discrimination or favouritism. Many South Africans fought against and sacrificed their lives to eradicate the scourge of racism.

"My dream is that the defence force of the future will reflect the demographics of the country. All South Africans should be welcomed in it. All should be able to rise to the highest positions of responsibility, irrespective of race, religion, gender or creed."



HISTORIC DAY: President Nelson Mandela congratulates the new defence force chief, Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, after Nyanda's inauguration yesterday.

Photo: CHRIS ADLAM

Nyanda was appointed following Meiring's resignation earlier this year after the leaking of an intelligence report on an alleged plot against the Government. Some of the people mentioned in the discredited report included Nyanda himself.

The Soweto-born former Umkhonto weSizwe commander

matriculated at Orlando High School in 1969 before enrolling for a BSc degree at the University of Zululand.

He was expelled in his second year because of political activities and worked at *The World* newspaper from 1973 to 1976 as a sports writer.

Four months before the June

16 Soweto students' uprising, he left the country and joined MK. He underwent military training in the former East Germany and served in various capacities in the underground of the ANC. He was detained for five months in 1990.

Nyanda was elected MK chief of staff in 1992.

New SANDF era dawns a bit stiffly

CP 31/5/198 (294)

THE newly appointed chief of the South African National Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, takes office tomorrow to face heightened expectations among the black officers corps.

Many officers, who spoke on condition of anonymity, welcomed Nyanda's take-over, and expressed the hope that he would live up to his promise to accelerate black advancement.

The officers said the force's middle management was still exclusively white and there was a great need for the promotion of black officers in this section if transformation was to be meaningful.

While most of them expressed confidence in Nyanda, they argued that he was likely to come up against "many structural" problems in the way of implementing his goals.

Black officers expect a lot from General Siphwe Nyanda. But they are also realistic about the problems he will face, writes SEKOLA SELLO.

One officer said he did not "buy" claims that there are white progressive officers who have embraced the new order. "Yes, on the surface they seem to have accepted the new order. But deep down I have reservations - and Nyanda is likely to see these problems sooner than later."

Nyanda is aware of black expectations. In his

address he said one of his objectives was to accelerate the affirmative action programme.

The changing of the command parade at Thaba Tshwane near Pretoria in which Nyanda took over from General Georg Meiring was a sombre and truly military affair. But even in its subdued way it was also very moving.

The main pavillion where the parade took place was a sea of white, middle-aged and bemedalled members of the navy, the air force and army. These were officers who until a short while ago had formed the elite of the SANDF.

They sat cheek by jowl with a sprinkling of black civilians such as the ANC's chairman of the portfolio committee on defence, Tony Yengeni.

One could not speak of black and white mingling freely on this occasion.

During his take-over speech, Nyanda said his dream was to make the SANDF a home for all the people of this country - irrespective of race, religion, gender or creed.

He appealed to Afrikaners in particular to regard the SANDF as an institution that would continue to accept them.

He said it "would be tragic if white South Africans, particularly Afrikaners, were to feel that they were no longer important in the SANDF, and that it had become an institution in which only black people served."

Nyanda made it clear that those who practised racism or favouritism, those who abused authority, the corrupt, the wasteful, the incompetent and the indisciplined would not be welcome in the SANDF.

Meiring warned that the SANDF should not be used as a "political play-ball."

He said those who did that, would be doing so at their own peril.

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