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Corvette decision postponed — again

(254) CT 11/6/95

ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE tide is turning against the proposed purchase of four Navy corvettes. The cabinet yesterday again failed to discuss proposals on the R1,7-billion investment following a commitment by the ANC's national working committee to put the issue on ice.

Two weeks ago Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise asked the cabinet for a fortnight's extension.

But frantic behind-the-scenes attempts to rally a deeply divided ANC behind the corvette deal apparently failed and the matter has once again been postponed.

ANC sources said last night, however, the cabinet could not mark time indefinitely and President Nelson Mandela might make an announcement soon.

Government sources said the preferred route should be for Parliament to develop a consensus on what type of service was needed.

Probe into arms sales to Rwanda

(254) Star 1/6/95

■ BY HELEN GRANGE and JANINE SIMON

The Cabinet yesterday ordered a probe into claims that South Africa had illegally sold arms to Rwanda's exiled Hutu militia.

Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel said the Cabinet had asked Defence Minister Joe Modise to investigate the matter, and to report back to the Cabinet next week.

Earlier yesterday, Rwandan Ambassador Ben Karenzi urged the Government to investigate the claims, saying it was possible Armscor individuals were involved

Karenzi said he was waiting for the SA Government to obtain information from the US-based Human Rights Watch (HRW), which released a report on Monday detailing alleged arms sales to the Hutus

He said arms were again flooding into Rwanda, Zaire and Burundi, fuelling 50-year-old tensions between Hutus and Tutsis There were 50 000 or more militias in Zaire who were training, rearming and reorganising for another insurrection, he added

Armscor said on Tuesday SA weapons could have been smuggled to Rwanda and Burundi, in breach of a decision to halt weapons sales to both countries.

Armscor spokesman Krish Naidoo asked HRW and Rwandan authorities to assist by identifying any South Africans involved "so that criminal proceedings could be commenced against them immediately"

In reaction to a report by an international commission of inquiry into the deaths of Rwandans at Kibeho camp in April, Karenzi said his government accepted responsibility for its troops "overreacting" to provocation by armed militias in the camp

Commanders had been jailed as indiscipline would not be tolerated, he said.

The commission's findings on the massacre were inconclusive and the key question of how many people died — figures given vary from 338 to up to 2 000 — has still not been settled

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DENEL (254)

Going great guns

FM 2/6/95

Three years after splitting from Armscor, arms and industrial giant Denel is turning in sound profits despite difficult market conditions. Dividends increased by [illegible] to R70m for the 1994-1995 year while income rose by R157m to R3bn, Denel chairman John Maree announced this week

He says the improvement is the result of changing the company from one primarily geared towards SA clients into a world player "serving local and international clients with a wide range of defence and commercial products"

Boosting sales during the past year were a number of contracts with Oman and other Gulf States that included 20 G6 mobile gun systems valued at an estimated US$120m Denel exports account for about 27% of total income.

On the domestic front, Denel's aggressive strategy to develop commercial products is also beginning to pay off, says Maree. "Commercial business has grown from zero to 16% of total income"

Denel spokesman Paul Holtzhausen says considerable success has been achieved by developing and marketing mining and agricultural equipment

Denel has also made headway into the information technology industry with a number of software services and programs. On the medical front, theatre equipment and life-support machines are selling well

MD Johan Albert says the company's inability to obtain certain export permits resulted in the loss of a significant number of potential orders

Denel also suffered when it abandoned its space project Heavy development and operational costs became overwhelming as the group failed to secure partners or ready buyers "Partners and joint ventures are essential for successful space projects, particularly for low-orbit satellites There's also little available capital as international players consolidate efforts

"Successful space programmes are usually heavily backed by their governments — an option that's not possible for SA with other more pressing social and economic priorities," says Holtzhausen

Despite its success thus far, Denel is loath to talk of privatisation.

Senior executives pass the buck to Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau who, they say, is studying the experience of other countries ■

New evidence on SA's arms trade threatens to eclipse the Cameron Commission's findings. **Stefaans Brümmer** reports

SA's arms-dealing underworld

(254) WM 2-8/6/95

FRESH evidence of South African arms fuelling civil wars in the killing fields of Rwanda, former Yugoslavia and Angola is threatening to eclipse the long-awaited findings the Cameron Commission is about to present to President Nelson Mandela.

The report Judge Edwin Cameron, appointed last year to investigate irregular arms deals since 1990, is expected to deliver to Mandela next week is described by insiders as "hard-hitting".

But it is becoming increasingly clear that evidence evaluated to date by the commission will expose only a fraction of the underworld inhabited by South African arms manufacturers and dealers.

The Cameron Commission was set up by Defence Minister Joe Modise after revelations last September that a large consignment of rifles and ammunition, brokered by Armscor,and ostensibly destined for Lebanon, was heading for Yemen, a country then in the final throes of civil war.

The commission focused almost exclusively on the Yemen deal — which was aborted about the time it became public — during the first leg of its inquiry. A "second leg" later this year is to look at other post-1990 deals.

A report released this week by the United States-based Human Rights Watch, and new evidence gleaned from independent investigations, shows that Cameron's upcoming task will be no small feat.

Evidence points to South Africa's involvement in rearming the defeated Hutu forces held responsible for a million deaths in Rwanda last year; to two shipments of South African arms in 1992 ending up in the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia in contravention of a United Nations (UN) embargo; and to a South African role in arms consignments to Angola's Unita rebel movement, also in contravention of a UN embargo and South African government policy.

Mandela's Cabinet this week asked Modise to investigate the Rwanda charges, which may threaten South Africa's relations with the new Rwandan government.

Weapons trade fuels civil wars

Rwanda

TERS Ehlers, PW Botha's former private secretary and the man implicated this week by the Human Rights Watch in the rearming of Rwanda's defeated Hutu-led forces, is no stranger to arms deals and international intrigue.

More intrigueing, though, is the US-based human rights group's charge that South African arms consignments to the Hutu forces continued in February and March this year

Human Rights Watch said in a report that France, Zaire, South Africa and China had all helped rearm Rwanda's Hutu forces, who took refu'e in Zaire after their defeat last company to fly the weapons, before the contract went to Air Zaire

More disturbing, perhaps, is the cryptic assertion by Human Rights Watch that "several planeloads of arms" were flown directly from South Africa to Zaire in February and March this year

The report says no more, but it is understood detailed information exists on how a Zaire-based air charter company with close South African links filed false flight plans from Zaire to Swaziland, only to divert to Pretoria.

Although Armscor this week denied involvement, it said· "It may





The Hutu army and militias are being held responsible for as many as a million deaths during the genocide in Rwanda Ehlers is named in the report as having played a role in two flights of arms last June from the Seychelles to Goma, a Zairean town on the Rwanda border and the site of some large Hutu refugee camps

The report says that Colonel Theoneste Bagasora, a senior Hutu military leader now sought internationally for his alleged role in the downing of the presidential plane that sparked the genocide, met South African officials in May and June last year to arrange armaments

The officials said they could not help directly — South Africa officially stopped supplying Rwanda a year previously — but "offered to help arrange shipments by other parties"

Bagasora and a Zairean government representative then met Ehlers, after which Air Zaire transported the weapons

Ehlers, a navy commodore tipped to be Chief of the Navy before then-Defence Minister Magnus Malan seconded him to Botha, is known to have remained in the international armaments market, and to have close ties with several African presidents

Also closely connected to controversial Italian businessman Mario Chiavelli, Ehlers in 1990 became managing director of the South African branch of the Seychelles-based conglomerate GMR, widely held to have played a sanctions-busting role

The South African branch was established in the 1980s by South African "superspy" Craig Williamson

Ehlers refused to comment this week, but it is understood he does not deny involvement in last June's flights to Zaire The contention is that he was not aware the weapons would have gone to the Hutu forces he had facilitated a contract strictly between the governments of the Seychelles and Zaire

The *Mail & Guardian* has information that Ehlers had originally negotiated with a South African air charter

tured arms found their way clandestinely to Rwanda." Armscor said the last officially-sanctioned South African arms shipments to the Hutu forces, then still in power in Rwanda, had been in February 1993

Meanwhile it has emerged that Francois Bararwerekana, consul of the former Rwandan regime in South Africa and procurer of arms for the Hutu forces, was granted political asylum by the Department of Home Affairs in November last year "as he will be persecuted" in Rwanda

A representative of the new Rwandan government, which has good relations with South Africa, this week charged that Bararwerekana was "connected with the genocide"



Fanning the fire: Rwandan soldiers allegedly received illegal weapons from SA PHOTO HENNER FRANKENFELD

Croatia

COMPELLING evidence suggests two 1992 shiploads of Armscor weaponry ended up in Croatia in contravention of a United Nations arms embargo against the former Yugoslav states embroiled in civil war.

Like the aborted Yemen arms shipment last September that led to the Cameron inquiry, elusive Middle-East arms dealer Eli Wazan had a hand in the 1992 transactions And like the Yemen consignment, the stated destination was Lebanon

The armaments, including mines, thousands of mortar rounds and tens of thousands of rounds of shotgun and rifle ammunition, left South African ports aboard the *Anke* in February 1992 and the *Sky Bird* in June that year

Investigations by Danish newspaper *Morgenavisen Jyllands-Posten* last week — confirmed by Lloyd's Maritime Information Services — discovered that neither ship had gone to Lebanon

The *Anke* sailed from Durban to the Croatian port of Rijeka, where it docked on March 13 *Sky Bird* left Cape Town on June 13 and docked in Marseilles on July 3 before arriving at the tiny Italian port of Marina di Carrara on July 8

The *Sky Bird's* cargo would have been clandestinely diverted to Croatia from Marina di Carrara or en route to the Turkish port of Iskenderun, the ship's next port of call The UN tightened its arms embargo on Croatia in May 1992 — between the two shipments — which would have prevented the *Sky Bird* from delivering its cargo openly

Details of the shipments emerged in March this year when the Cameron Commission heard testimony in Switzerland from Danish-American shipper Michael Steenberg and Joseph der Hovsepian, a Lebanese arms dealer based in Germany.

Der Hovsepian said Wazan had bought the consignment, which included both shipments, from Armscor and "the arms were transported from South Africa to a country by Steenberg". Neither Der Hovsepian nor Steenberg would reveal the country

Exhibits handed to the commission include a copy of the *Sky Bird* bill of lading, which denotes the port of discharge as Beirut, and the port of loading as Singapore — previously used by Armscor as decoy

Armscor said "Armscor at no stage until after the completion of the transactions suspected that the weapons were destined for Croatia It does, however, appear from information that later came to the attention of Armscor that the weapons that were shipped to Lebanon could possibly have landed up in Croatia "

Angola

A CLANDESTINE call at "Unita's port" by a vessel that previously carried Armscor weapons adds to mounting evidence that South Africans have continued supplying Angola's rebels in contravention of government and UN embargoes

The *Sky Bird*, also implicated in a June 1992 Armscor shipment that appears to have landed in Croatia, left Cape Town on October 13 1992, the same day Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha met Unita leader Jonas Savimbi on a last-ditch "rescue mission" as Angola slipped back into full-scale civil war

Heavy fighting had erupted in the capital, Luanda, two days before when Unita rejected its defeat in UN-supervised elections

Investigations by the *M&G* and *Morgenavisen Jyllands-Posten* reveal that Department of Customs and Excise documentation — which denotes the *Sky Bird's* cargo as "nil" and the port of destination as Luanda — conflicts with its true mission

PortNet documentation shows that the *Sky Bird* docked at Cape Town's container terminal where 33 containers were loaded Lloyd's Maritime Information Services records show that the vessel never called at Luanda, instead it docked at Matadi, a Zairean port on the border with northern Angola

Experts on the Angolan situation this week pointed out that Matadi has been known to be used by Unita Zaire, an active supporter of Unita, allowed free cross-border movement.

Jorgen Pouosen, the Danish operator of the vessel, this week denied the vessel had ever been to Matadi, claiming Lloyd's records would back him up Pouosen is internationally known as an arms shipper, and was also the agent for the *Arktis Pioneer*, the vessel involved in last year's aborted Armscor shipment to Yemen that led to the Cameron Commission of inquiry He was fined by Denmark in the 1980s for shipping arms to South Africa

Armscor this week said it had "nothing to do" with the *Sky Bird's* October 1992 voyage

ROY ANDERSEN

Arms and the man

(254) FM 2/6/95

There is no paper whatsoever on Roy Andersen's desk in the presidential office at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange His desk has the angular beauty of an empty parade ground. Andersen's own appearance would be equally pleasing to the regimental sergeant-major elegantly tailored regulation blue suit, lighter blue shirt, Rugby World Cup tie

There is not much coincidence here Brigadier Roy Andersen (47) is now the country's most senior part-time soldier Last week he took over the office of the Director Part-Time Forces of the army But he won't be giving up his day job the office in Pretoria will be run by full-time staff

Educated in Johannesburg, at Northview and Wits University, Andersen had no military interests or background when he reported for duty at the artillery base in Potchefstroom in 1966, one of the last men to be balloted before conscription

After nine months' initial training, he was posted to the Transvaal Horse Artillery Andersen soon became hooked on the tradition and challenges of this old Citizen Force regiment By the time he was 27, he was commanding officer He served on the border and in Angola

Regimental service was followed by senior staff postings In the Eighties, Andersen moved to 7 SA Division as Colonel of Artillery, then was promoted to Senior Staff Officer (Operations)

Such promotions did not simply happen They depended on intensive study and practical experience For instance, a regular army officer was expected to complete the senior staff course in one year, working full-time, Andersen, a renowned workaholic, did it part-time over three years

In the late Eighties, Andersen went on the reserve but became heavily involved in veterans' affairs and was appointed honorary colonel of his regiment It has always been important, though, to find time for his wife, Wendy, and their three children

Now he has been brought back into the mainstream for a vital role in what he sees as a "genuinely exciting" task the creation of a new part-time force This force will have to be highly flexible, dependent on volunteers rather than conscripts, and increasingly representative of the new SA

The basic principle will be that of a partnership between the SANDF (which will be able to count on a stable part-time force), the volunteer serviceman (who needs financial incentives) and the employer (who will gain through the employee's personal development)

Andersen chaired Ernst & Young before taking the hot seat at the JSE in 1992 He



believes his two professions, of accountancy and of arms, have been mutually enriching "The army taught me that a leader must be visible and he must have a vision and be able to articulate it Officer training also brings home the value of planning Business, of course, depends more on consensus — but the good CEO understands that when the listening and participation are over, there is one commander who must be held responsible" ■

Armscor: 'We're coming clean with the past', says Kasrils

(254) ARG 3/6/95

PRETORIA — Foreign front companies marketing and acquiring arms for South Africa are being closed down as fast as possible, state arms procurement agency Armscor said

"They have been closed down at a higher rate than they were started," Armscor managing director Tielman de Waal told a news briefing yesterday after the agency's annual report was handed to Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils

Armscor's net income dropped sharply in the year to R5 million from R40,2 million in the year to March 31, 1994, representing an 87 percent drop. The reasons cited for the decrease, were a fall in the government's allocation to Armscor, increases in operational expenditure and a rise in the cost of marketing promotions

Mr Kasrils said the government had ordered a "clean break with the past" with respect to front companies, set up to sell and buy arms to counter the United Nations ban on weapons-dealing with South Africa, during the apartheid era

"We still have some front companies running, because we cannot go into a breach of contract with a company that has an order with an overseas organisation," Mr Kasrils added

In the report Armscor said it was still involved in a court case in which Armscor, an electronics company and seven individuals were accused of contravening United States laws

"These laws pertained to the supply of military equipment to South Africa during the arms embargo era. Various efforts have been made to resolve the matter, but no success had been achieved by the end of the financial year"

The report said representations by President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to US President Bill Clinton had "created a climate that could lead to a reasonable settlement"

In regard to allegation concerning arms sales to Rwanda and it's Hutu-led government, Mr Kasrils said he and Defence Minister Joe Modise had adopted a hands-on approach to arms exports and had found no factual basis for the allegations about the supply of arms to Rwanda, to which South Africa last sold arms, officially, in February, 1993

The United States-based Human Rights Watch group said in a report published this week that South Africa was one of several countries helping Rwanda's former army to rearm

Mr Kasrils said he and Defence Minister Joe Modise were also deciding on all other cases individually

"We don't operate by a list. It's a case-by-case study," Mr Kasrils said

While he and Mr Modise did not deal with every application for arms exports, they dealt with matters that fell into the "grey area." "Anything sensitive or questionable is brought to our desks"

Turning to the controversial issue of the possible purchase of corvettes for the navy, Mr Kasrils said no final decision had been taken on their purchase

"You must be a little patient for the official statement," he told the briefing. President Nelson Mandela told the Senate this week plans to buy four corvettes from Britain or Spain had been put on hold and his government would examine afresh whether they were needed. He said there was significant popular opposition to purchase of the corvettes at a cost of R1,69 billion

The annual report showed that South Africa's armaments trade amounted to R854 million for exports in the 1994/95 financial year, and R519 million in imports

Imports included "equipment for aeronautics and maritime equipment and combat systems"

It said the total spent on acquisitions was R3,77 billion. Most of this, R3,45 billion was for equipment for the SA National Defence Force. Armscor's purchases for the SA Police Services amounted to R271 million — Sapa-Reuter

Counting the cost of counter-trade

APG 3/6/95

(254)

■ Another "red herring" in the Great Corvette Debate, argues **TERRY CRAWFORD-BROWNE**, is the argument that a deal would attract counter-trade to South Africa

As even the Navy's admirals reluctantly concede, there is no discernible foreign threat to South Africa There is however, a very real, immediate and dangerous internal threat to security in the form of poverty and unemployment

Realising that "toys for the boys" holds a very low priority in post-apartheid South Africa, the admirals scaled down their dreams from frigates to corvettes And then seized upon the idea of protecting fish and other marine resources as being their *raison d'être*

Of course, they'd actually far rather be playing war games and manoeuvering with their American, Argentinian, Brazilian, British, Chilean, French, Indian, Italian, Spanish, Taiwanese, Uruguayan or friends than protecting our fish! Or delivering Armscor's weaponry to a Middle East which is already awash with weapons — another disaster just waiting to happen

Protecting fish and marine resources is, however, far better undertaken by a civilian coastguard well versed in the application and enforcement of international law It is a matter of policing, not soldiering Just as army troops are inappropriate in internal policing operations against crime, so navy sailors have no business or expertise policing the seas

The Department of Sea Fisheries reckons that it could do the job better and at one-tenth of the cost of four corvettes.

Accordingly militarists have introduced another "red herring" into the controversy, namely "counter-trade"

Counter-trade is supposedly an international technique by which a country can reduce the foreign currency cost of foreign goods and services The lure has been cast that in return for spending R1,69 billion on four corvettes, Britain or Spain (the two main contenders) will invest, respectively, R3,2 billion or R4,8 billion in South Africa

In the process, South Africans have been told, the corvette proposals will create up to 25 000 jobs for the RDP, build 10 000 homes and infuse new technology into the South African economy.

Not surprisingly, neither the navy nor Armscor has been able to quantify this magic formula, which defies all economic logic In fact, counter-trade is a form of barter devised by the Soviet Union and East bloc and is frowned upon by specialists in international trade because of the opportunities it creates for massive corruption

Even cursory study of the proposals destroys all claims that counter-trade will create thousands of new jobs Virtually half of the Spanish provisions relate to an increase in coal exports to Spain The projected increase of approximately 20 million tons over ten years amounts to only 1 percent of South Africa's coal production At best this might create about 600 jobs

The British proposals are even more ominous and should prompt alarm amongst all South Africans The Yarrow shipyard is a wholly-owned subsidiary of GEC, which is Britain's largest electronics and defence contractor

Included in the British counter-trade proposals is a R500 million long-term partnership between GEC and Kentron Kentron is a subsidiary of Denel and much of its technology is suspected to have been pirated or stolen from the United States, where Armscor, Kentron and other SA companies have been indicted on sixty-seven counts of conspiracy, fraud, money-laundering and tax evasion

The GEC-Marconi division has already formed a joint venture with another Danel subsidiary, LIW, which is involved in the manufacture, refurbishment and upgrading of guns including the G5 and G6 artillery weapons These cannon are derived from American technology developed by a Canadian, Dr Gerald Bull and sold to South Africa in violation of both the United States and United Nations arms embargoes against apartheid

Dr Bull was consequently jailed in the United States He was murdered in 1990, apparently by the Israeli secret service, Mossad, because of his later involvement with Iraq and the so-called "super-gun" It is claimed by British journalists that Mrs Margaret Thatcher's son, Mark, was handsomely paid by Armscor for introducing Dr Bull, and that he was spared Dr Bull's fate only because of his mother's position

Other provisions of the counter-trade proposals suggest that GEC, Britain's largest electronic and defence contractor, would co-opt South Africa into manufacturing British weapons under licence for export to politically sensitive regions such as the Middle and Far East

GEC has a long record of supplying weapons to non-democratic countries which violate human rights, including Brazil, Nigeria and Indonesia Such weapons include helicopters, tanks and fighter aircraft

It is the increasing practice of armaments manufacturers in Britain to licence the manufacture of their equipment in newly industrialising countries such as South Africa The purpose is to reduce the risks of diplomatic and political embarrassment to the British government because of violations of human rights by military dictatorships

The armaments industry world-wide is a depraved and dirty business Armscor is, however, amongst the worst, having specialised in supplying some of the most unsavoury dictatorships including Libya, Iraq, Iran, Somalia, Rwanda, Sudan, Oman Armscor spokesmen now claim that whatever its disreputable past, South Africa's arms industry is a valuable national asset

Yet instead of being financially lucrative the armaments industry is, in fact, heavily subsidised In recent years the industry has accounted for some 30 percent of government spending on research and development It amounts to only 1 percent of South Africa's GDP — an extraordinarily poor return for what has been depicted as a lucrative, albeit immoral, industry

The industry is capital intensive rather than labour intensive and thus diverts economic resources away from social priorities of the RDP such as housing, education and health services Squandering public funding on warships and other armaments makes utter mockery of commitments to the alleviation of poverty It can only aggravate the country's domestic instability, including the tragic legacy of violence

Finally, the notion of killing people for profits is utterly obscene and totally contradicts South Africa's post-apartheid commitment to the promotion of international human rights

The Anglican Church through its synods and bishops has called upon the Government to immediately end the authorisation of arms exports and progresssively and rapidly to dismantle the armaments industry — by so doing deploying its resources for the purposes of peaceful development

■ *Mr Crawford-Browne is a former international banker who has been appointed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to represent the Anglican Church at the Cameron Commission of Inquiry into Arsmcor*

THE GREAT CORVETTE DEBATE

Bakkies of the sea, yes or no?

ARG 3/6/95 (254)

■ Does South Africa need a navy and, if so, are we well-informed enough to evaluate the corvette debate? **DR GREG MILLS** addresses the question and urges a new approach by the militarists.

THE ongoing corvette saga has raised, pardon the expression, a political storm in a teacup.

It has been characterised by most as a choice between ships or guns between a contribution to the reconstruction and development programme or unnecessary expenditure And it has raised tensions between the Ministry of Defence and that of Trade and Industry, with Trevor Manuel allegedly upset over the lack of consultation concerning the counter-trade aspects of the various offers

Yet the debate between a choice of guns and butter is misleading, over emotional and over simplified It should rather focus on the real issue at hand what do we need warships for, or indeed why do we need a navy? If we can answer the latter question, then perhaps it will be easier to ascertain whether South Africa needs corvettes or not

South Africa is an undisputed maritime nation Its coastline stretches 3 000 kilometres, and 80 percent of exports and imports (by value) pass through its ports With the recent creation of the international Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), we have an effective maritime responsibility area reaching 370kms seawards

In addition, the South African economy is heavily dependent on it its marine resources (shipping, diamonds, oil/gas and fishing) for a considerable slice of its GDP, and importantly for the direct employment of over 110 000 people These are the facts

There are further considerations There is an estimated 300 000 to 500 000 tonnes of oil passing our shores at any one time It is scary that this lethal cargo is carried in a decrepit tanker fleet, the average age of which is around 20 years, creating an ever-increasing risk of accidents and oil-spills

And there are other responsibilities to consider such as search-and-rescue missions, and South Africa's role in a regional marine management system

Is the navy the only government service capable of carrying out these tasks? Currently, yes Yet the answer to this question is ambiguous while the South African navy is at present the best equipped, it still relies on others to perform certain key functions, whether this be the National Sea Rescue Institute or the Department of the Environment

Also, a new service, such as a Coast Guard, could be formed to provide a similar service

But the important point here is that while the navy, with its current inventory and staff levels, is most-suited at present, this will not be the case in 10 years time when most of its present equipment becomes redundant It is a fact that the current nine strike-craft (which, due to their lack of patrol-endurance and sea-comfort are wholly unsuited to our coastline anyway) will have to be scrapped over a ten-year period from 1997 on

At current rates, replacement craft will take around three to five years to procure If we do not make our minds up on what sort of new vessels are required before this limited timeframe is up, the decision will *de facto* be not to have a navy as we know it today

Yet the navy does not only have the capacity to carry out or co-ordinate all the functions pertaining to the above Navies also perform important diplomatic roles, whether this be in the form of courtesy visits, or through the sharing of regional responsibilitoes through joint patrols, training and disaster relief

And perhaps most important, but something we prefer not to consider or mention in these supposedly more secure post-Cold War times, is that navies do have a fighting capacity They can stop not only gill-netters, but can also contribute to the protection of our coastlines, our shipping and natural resources, and assist in internatonal peacekeeping and other operations.

If South Africa's need for a naval force is so clear, why then all the confusion and why the debate around the suitability of the corvettes?

The blame for this lies partly at the feet of the Ministry of Defence for not preparing its case fully, and with the navy for not having lobbied hard enough It was suitable in the "old days", when the budget was bargained in secret, to prepare the argument for the benefit of military minds Fortunately this is no longer possible in our new democracy And this is a trick the navy has clearly failed to learn

In spite of the apparently rapid conversion of Deputy Minister Ronnie Kasrils who has championed the corvette cause, arguing the necessity for these "bakkies of the sea", the navy has done itself a disservice by — as far as it is known — limiting the options

It seems that while the navy has considered that only corvettes are suitable for the tasks set (and it is probably right), the public has not been informed of the options Why four corvettes and not four of the sort of fleet-replenishment vessel we picked up from the Ukraine in 1992 for R40-million (now the SA Outeniqua)? Or why not two of these and two corvettes? Why not hulls from a new friend such as India, a potential maritime-ally? Why not second-hand vessels?

Finally, a question which is often asked, but not clearly answered, why don't we build the ships here — surely this is more attractive than any counter-trade offer in terms of domestic job creation?

These questions have all presumably been answered. But most of them have been answered by the navy in their parliamentary submission, for a debate which is happening behind closed doors No doubt the navy had its sums right when it narowed the 40-odd corvette bids to just the Spanish and the British offers, but how are we to know without seeing the choices?

Playing the secrecy game to the old rules could then see the South African navy shore-bound in the end But if the need for new ships is so great, should the public allow this political whitewash?

■ *Dr Greg Mills is Director for Studies at the South African Institute of International Affairs and is the co-author and editor of a forthcoming volume on Maritime Policy for developing nations He writes in his personal capacity*

— new warship deal

(254) ARG 3/6/95

■ As the Cabinet delays its decision on whether to buy four corvettes for the Navy, the Spanish bidders are tempting South Africa with a related deal to enable the Cape's controversial community fishing trusts to buy their own trawlers.

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

NEW life has been injected into the proposed R1,7-billion corvette deal, with Spanish bidders offering to rescue the Cape's turbulent community fishing trusts from their vicious circle of poverty as part of the contract.

As part of the tender, Bazan, the Spanish company bidding to supply four corvettes to the SA Navy, has offered a multimillion rand contract to finance fishing trawlers for the Cape's impoverished community fishing trusts

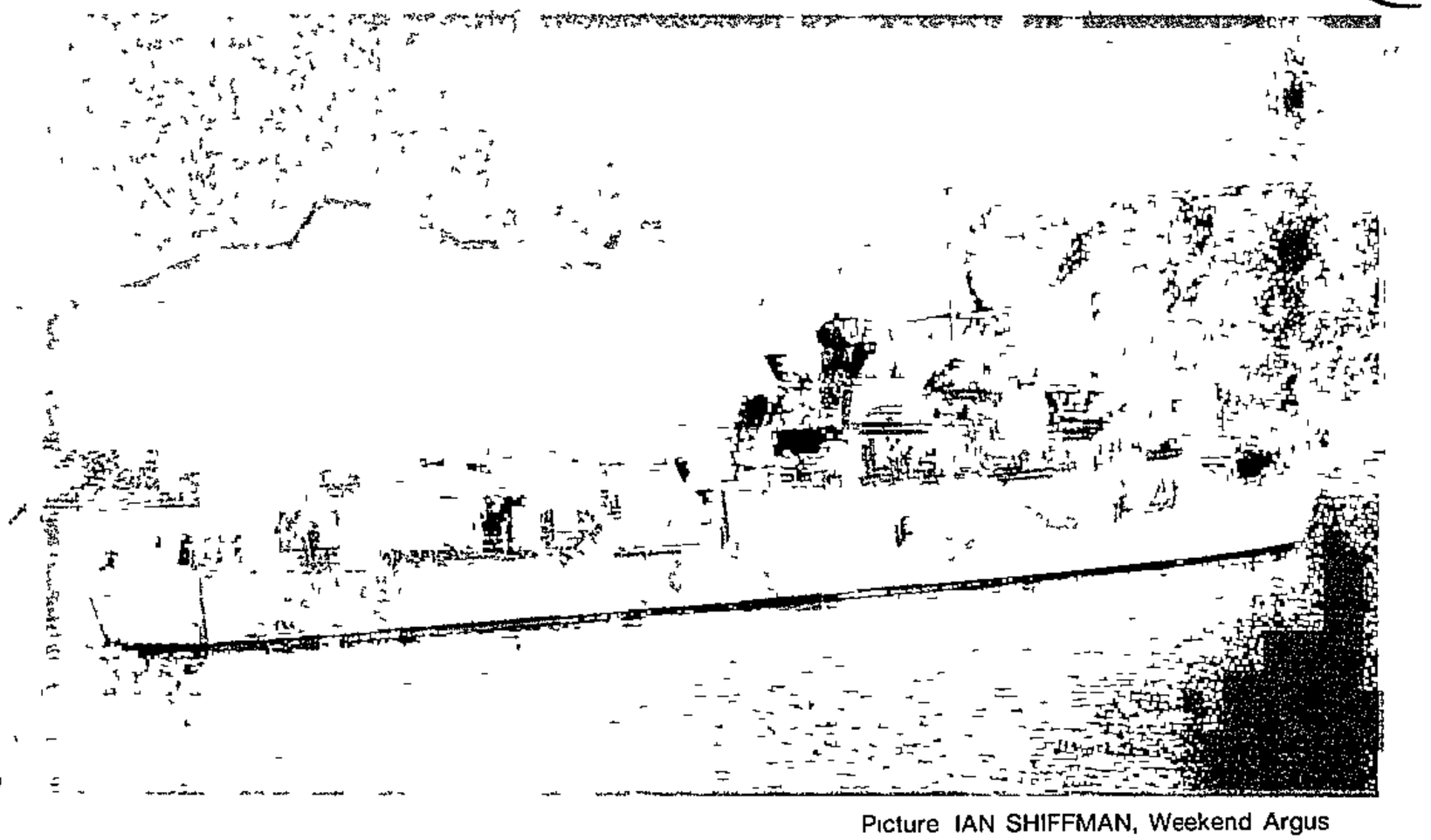
The offer is aimed at getting the turbulent and often violent unemployed fishermen out of their poverty trap and on to the high seas where big money is to be made

Bazan vice-president Joaquin Coello, in Cape Town to keep tabs on the offer, said the fishing deal was one of 18 programmes in a R1,1-billion package of counter-trade involving investments, imports and soft loans to South Africa to create 20 000 jobs in the country

Mr Coello said the offer to revitalise South Africa's fishing communities involved

■ A soft loan of $100 million (about R360 million) at two percent interest repayable over 25 years

■ This loan would be made to South Africa to build 30 fishing vessels in a South African shipyard — Dorbyl in Durban — creating more jobs



Picture IAN SHIFFMAN, Weekend Argus

CORVETTE VISIT: An Argentinian corvette that visited Cape Town this week. The warship is similar to those the Spanish are hoping to sell to South Africa

■ The 30 trawlers would be sold to new South African fishing companies — not the big companies More specifically, the trawlers would be sold to small fishing companies to be owned by the community trusts, aided by Spanish expertise

■ Each trawler would cost about R12 million Loan repayments would cost about R110 000 a month Spain and the European Union would guarantee buying the catch for about R800 000 a month, enabling the trusts to make a healthy profit

■ The loan would also be used to build two fish-processing factories in Lamberts Bay and Port Nolloth on the West Coast to provide a total of 1 400 jobs

Over the past few years the government has granted fishing quotas to community trusts But the trusts, consisting of small fishermen, failed to catch the fish quotas to which they were entitled

Instead, the trusts, which lack the finance and expertise to run their own trawlers, have sold their quotas to big fishing companies which made the real profits

Trust members gained a reputation for violence as they squabbled among themselves and with fishing companies over the money from selling their quotas — without catching a single fish

Recently fisherman demanding payment for their hake quota took Sea Fisheries chief director Louis Botha hostage

But now the Spanish have come up with a proposal to uplift the community trusts as part of their tender to supply four corvettes to the SA Navy The proposal is specifically aimed at rescuing the fishermen from poverty

Mr Coello said a similar loan scheme was working successfully in Namibia, where small fishing companies sold their catches to Spain

A similar but larger scheme was also running well in Indonesia, where Spain had provided a soft loan to build 60 fishing vessels

The South African Cabinet has postponed a decision on the corvettes yet again as the majority African National Congress appears divided on whether to go ahead with what some regard as a waste of money

But Mr Coello said the choice was not between "guns or butter" With counter-trade providing thousands of RDP jobs, it was a case of "guns and butter," he said

Informed sources say the delay may favour a rival bid by the British Yarrow shipyard in Scotland, which is better able to weather the delay, as Bazan is in greater need of the contract to tide it over

The British have also come up with substantial counter-trade offers to win the contract, involving an injection into South Africa's reconstruction and development programme

The Spanish bid is battling against adverse international publicity involving an allegation that Spanish fishing fleets are depleting fish sources

Spain was recently involved in a standoff with Canada over North Atlantic fish stocks

And in Cape Town the Spanish captain of a South African-owned trawler, the Sistro, was arrested after illegal gill nets were found aboard

As the main peacetime function of the proposed corvettes would be to protect fishing from poaching, observers say it would be ironic if South Africa bought Spanish corvettes to prevent poaching by Spanish trawlers

"It would be like getting the fox to guard the henhouse," said Democratic Party environmental spokesman Errol Moorcroft

But Mr Moorcroft said he now supported the purchase of corvettes He said the fish off Madagascar had been wiped out because that country had no defence against poaching

Mr Coello maintained there were no Spanish-owned trawlers in South African waters

■ See page 19.



Picture HANNES THIART Weekend Argus

□ **SPANISH DEAL:** Joaqin Coello, vice-president of the Bazan shipyard in Spain, with a drawing of the corvette proposed for the South African Navy.

SA to link up with partner on nuclear technology

PELINDABA — South Africa's Atomic Energy Corporation is negotiating with a potential foreign partner on development of laser technology to produce industrial quantities of enriched uranium, the corporation's chief executive Waldo Stumpf said (254)

"It's being finalised now and hopefully in the next few weeks it will come to fruition. What we're doing with our partner is industrialising technology already developed," he said, declining to identify the foreign partner.

He added South Africa was the world leader in molecular laser isotope separation. ARG 3/6/95

Mr Stumpf said last August he hoped a Western nation would invest about R36 million over the next two to three years in a pilot plant to produce nuclear fuel for export. — Reuter.

Star 3/6/95 (B) (254)

Atomic body spreads wings

SA's Atomic Energy Corporation is negotiating with a potential foreign partner on development of laser technology to produce enriched uranium, AEC chief Waldo Stumpf said in Pelindaba yesterday. "It's being finalised now and hopefully in the next few weeks it will come to fruition" — Sapa-Reuter

Army officials ordered to help hit squad probe

(254) Star 3/6/95

By CRAIG DOONAN

Durban — The Defence Ministry had ordered top Military Intelligence (MI) officials to help police with information that could help a probe into hit squads in KwaZulu-Natal, an official said yesterday

The police investigation task unit searched MI offices in Pretoria on Thursday night for documents which could help their investigation, said Howard Varney, a lawyer and member of the civilian board overseeing the unit.

However, unit members could not find what they were looking for. Senior MI officers were ordered to look for a file which could help the investigation.

The file "may have afforded evidence of the commission of several offences, including murder and conspiracy to murder", Varney said. The unit "was aware that the file was in MI headquarters".

The search ended at midnight and senior MI officers were ordered to look for the file

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi set up the unit last year to probe allegations about hit squads

The unit is headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Dutton, who investigated the 1988 Trust Feed massacre in which police were found to have been involved

Major 'bombards' Mandela over proposed purchase of corvettes for SA Navy

Star 3/6/95 (254)

By ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — President Nelson Mandela had been "bombarded" with letters from British Prime Minister John Major on the proposed purchase of four corvettes, he told the Senate this week

Although he gave no details of the letters' contents, they presumably related to a tender from the Yarrow shipyard in Scotland

The president said leaders from Nordic countries and France had also approached him on the navy's proposed R1,7-billion purchase

The matter has given rise to heated debate, dividing the ANC between those in favour of the deal and those who feel the money would be spent better on upliftment

Defence Minister Joe Modise has proposed to the Cabinet that a decision on the deal, the costs of which would be spread over six years, be delayed

Mandela told the Senate on Thursday the proposal should be discussed in terms of a draft policy document on the defence force Any decision should be addressed in such a way that "everyone is satisfied that their tender has been handled properly". The background to the purchase had "unfortunate aspects" which needed probing



RONNIE KASRILS: Seeks clean break with the past

Close foreign front companies, Armscor ordered

(254) Star 3/6/95

By BRENDAN SEERY

The Government has ordered Armscor to close down its front companies abroad, set up to circumvent the United Nations arms embargo

However, some remain in operation to fulfil terms of sales and supply contracts negotiated with foreign companies

The companies acquired weapons and technology from other countries, such as Britain, during the sanctions era and shipped them to South Africa via a number of clandestine routes

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday "We instructed them to make a clean break with the past" "Them" meant Armscor and the defence force, he said.

Armscor managing director Thelman de Waal said the front companies were being closed "faster than they were opened" All would eventually close

De Waal and Kasrils were speaking at the release of Armscor's annual report in Pretoria, where the deputy minister disclosed that a cabinet committee had been appointed to formulate a new policy for South Africa's defence industry

Kasrils said he and Defence Minister Joe Modise were scrutinising all exports of weapons to "grey area" countries

The release of the report comes as members of the former defence triumvirate — Armscor, the defence industry and the defence force — are parting ways over the future shape of South Africa's defence industry

Next week the Cameron Commission of Inquiry will enter the second phase of its investigation into broader arms sales policy. The three parties have made submissions to commissioner Professor Laurie Nathan

Sources in the defence force say the military proposal favours a much leaner defence industry

Senior defence force officers and planners are becoming more vocal about the spending of what they consider "their" money on expensive development projects they do not really want

Foreign off-the-shelf equipment can be much cheaper than local equivalents

Military planners are increasingly asking what Armscor's procurement staff can do that its own, experienced project officers cannot Armscor's reply is that its top brains have the knowledge, particularly of systems engineering and contract negotiation, that no-one in the military can match

■ See Page 8

Armscor's income drops to R5m

(254) BDS/6/95

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — Armscor's net income plummeted 87% in the past financial year to R5m from R40,2m the previous year, the armaments procurement company's annual report showed

The sharp drop was caused by a shift in the acquisition profile of Armscor to smaller contracts as a result of a cut in defence spending, Armscor chairman Johan Moolman said on Friday

About 90% of Armscor's business activities were the procurement of equipment for the SA National Defence Force — an activity scaled down significantly during the 1994/95 financial year.

Armscor's export effort during the year had resulted in the shipment of defence equipment worth R854m, while commercial exports resulting from defence contracts amounted to about R380m

For the 1994/95 financial year, Armscor received R185,9m from the state in the form of a defence budget allocation Of this, R169,8m was used to defray operating costs, R17,6m for technology development and R2,1m for the acquisition of assets This allotment was R10,5m less than the previous year.

Other factors in the drop in net income were a reduction in government allocation, an increase in marketing and early retirement expenditure, an increase in operational expenditure and a decrease in profits of subsidiaries.

The total value of Armscor's acquisition activities was R3,767bn Acquisition of SANDF equipment constituted R3,468bn, and SA Police Service equipment R27,1m.

In terms of an Armscor guideline that all armament import contracts exceeding R5m must contain a countertrade component of at least 50%, the company had

Continued on Page 2

Armscor report

BD 5/6/95

Continued from Page 1 (254)

secured countertrade worth R465m.

Meanwhile, Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said he and Defence Minister Joe Modise had adopted a "hands-on" approach to arms exports transactions. Contracts which could be sensitive had to be approved by them.

Answering questions at the handover of the report, Kasrils said recent allegations into Armscor's involvement in selling weapons to Rwanda had been thoroughly investigated by the defence ministry and that no "deviousness" had been found.

Arsmcor MD Tielman de Waal said foreign front companies set up to market and acquire arms during the sanctions years were being closed down at a very high rate.

"Unfortunately all of these fronts cannot be closed immediately because of contractual obligations," he said.

Denel expands: Denel, the government-owned private company formed from from Armscor, has extended its international client base to 65 countries, managing director Johan Alberts says in the annual report. See next page

CT(BR) 5/6/96

(254)

Modise vetting Armscor orders

(254) 5/6/95 Star

SOUTH AFRICA is again in the spotlight following allegations of arms supply to Hutus in Rwanda

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, are personally vetting "sensitive" potential orders for arms from countries or customers which cause concern to the national defence procurement organisation Armscor.

Existence of what Kasrils called a "hands on" approach was revealed at an Armscor media conference in Pretoria at the weekend.

It is the latest development surrounding the controversial arms manufacturing industry which has again been brought into the public spotlight as a result of an American claim that South African weapons have been supplied to warring Hutu tribesmen in Rwanda.

Kasrils said the government was mindful of international opinion, particularly that of the United Nations, regarding arms sales, not only by SA but by other countries as well.

While there was no "prohibited list" of customers kept by Armscor, it was necessary to be aware of "sensitive" requests. "We have a hands-on approach," Kasrils said "Anything that is sensitive or questionable is brought to the desks of the minister and myself."

Kasrils added that the Eli Wazan case, which is now the subject of a judicial commission of inquiry by Mr Justice Edwin Cameron, had given Armscor valuable lessons about arms deals. The case involved millions of rands worth of AK-47 assault rifles which were shipped to Yemen instead of Lebanon and then returned to SA.

He and Modise were also watching with great interest — "and that's an understatement" — the developments unfolding over South Africa's alleged supplying of armaments to the Hutu forces. The claim has been made by the Human Rights Watch organisation in the United States

The Government has ordered an in-depth probe into the allegations

Kasrils made the disclosures when receiving a copy of Armscor's 1994-95 annual report from its chairman, Dr Johan Moolman. The briefing was also attended by Secretary for Defence General Pierre Steyn and by Armscor managing director Tielman de Waal.

Arms sales have been a focus of attention since the Government of National Unity took office in May last year, with concern voiced by churches and individuals over the South African defence industry.

There are 1 200 local companies contracted to Armscor for armaments manufacture, and in the last financial year SA exported R854-million in arms and R380-million in commercial defence industry exports In 1994 Armscor set itself a goal of R1-billion in exports.

Many job opportunities were sustained through countertrade deals.

Local jobs, particularly in high-tech industries, were saved through a decision by the SA National Defence Force to shift its priorties from the acquisition of new defence equipment to the upgrading and maintenance of existing equipment.

Moolman said."The local defence industry is a dynamo of economic development and also contributes to national security and stability. Armscor and the industry are now attempting to make a similar contribution to Africa."

"We are already making our acquisition capabilities available to some African countries."

shopping list for weapons

R5-bn

□ R1,7-billion approved but still to be contracted

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa has an international armaments shopping order totalling nearly R5-billion, according to the financial statements of the once-secret Special Defence Account (SDA)

Of that, about R1,7-billion has been approved but has still to be contracted

The statements were published as part of Armscor's annual results, which administers the account, last week They give no details of the shopping list other than the financial implications

Pretoria defence sources said armaments such as navy corvettes and other war materiel commitments were under consideration before the Government of National Unity took office

The corvettes are regarded by the navy as vital to its future capability to defend the coastline, and deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils says the question of the corvettes — which has become a major political hot potato — was not yet clear

The SA National Defence Force has come out in favour of buying the vessels, a version of which South Africa bought from France 17 years ago but that order was cancelled because of the international arms embargo against this country

Added to the R1,7-billion in the SDA is about R3,1-billion described in the cashflow statement as "subject to contracts entered into" No details are given

Another R13,6-million is held in trust — the funds of which are administered on the basis of "final execution of procurement actions" — as against R32,8-million in 1994 but, of this, a total of R3,9-million has already been withdrawn but has not yet been recorded against the SDA

There is no indication of what this money may have been used for

The SDA — administered by Armscor in terms of an act of parliament — was recognised in the past as being one of the most controversial defence force accounting procedures

It was alleged that the SDA was used to pay for certain defence force operations and the payment of running expenses for front companies operating on behalf of Armscor and other military operations

Tielman de Waal, Armscor's managing director, said at the weekend that some of these front companies were still operating because of contractual obligations but that others were being closed down as fast as possible

Armscor says many international armaments contracts, which could have had an impact on its finances this year, are being completed over the next 12 months

Although the national procurement organisation posted an income of R854 m in exports for 1994-95, income dropped by 87 percent compared to the previous financial year because of a shift in the acquisition profile to smaller contracts

Net income dropped from R40,2 million to R5 m, but this is not regarded as abnormal by Armscor

An Armscor spokesman said yesterday that export orders had been R32 million less than last year but that the organisation had had a trade balance of R335 million — three times more than in 1993-94, and R600 million more than the figure posted for 1992-93

"A lot of transactions are being concluded and will probably be reflected in next year's financial statements," the Armscor spokesman said

"Exports realised in a particular year often result from contracts concluded in previous years This year's performance is therefore partly a result of successful marketing in previous years"

According to Armscor, one of the most important aspects which had to be taken into account in the drawing up of the organisation's latest accounts was that high quality in contractors' products was a necessity

"The average monthly percentage (in quality) was 97,9 percent for 1994-95 compared to 92,5 percent in 1992-93," says the organisation's latest annual report, published in Pretoria

"This is due to a sustained management effort to motivate contractors to improve their quality and the positive response by contractors"

Sonn coming home with plan to resolve arms smuggling impasse

ARG 6/6/95 (254)

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — Ambassador to the United States Franklin Sonn is returning to South Africa to present proposals which he hopes will resolve the long-drawn-out arms smuggling case against Armscor that has bedevilled relations for four years

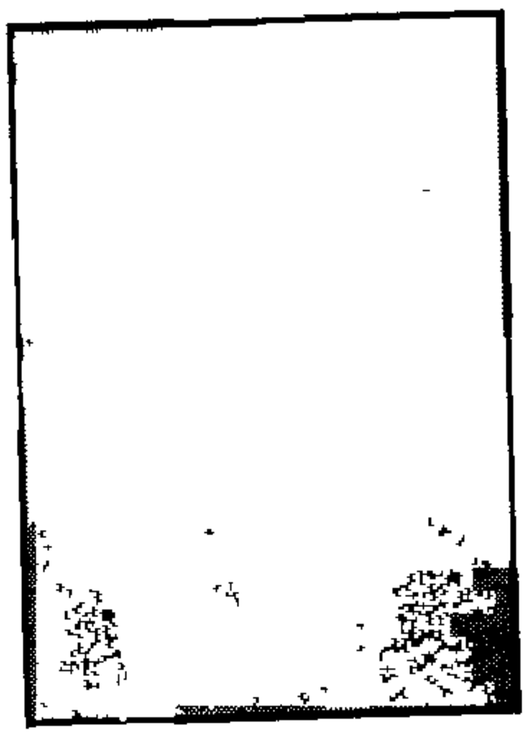
Mr Sonn will present Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and officials of government arms agencies Armscor and Denel with a proposed settlement negotiated by South African government lawyers and US prosecutors in Philadelphia

The embassy here announced yesterday that Mr Sonn would meet Mr Mbeki on Monday — when he would also discuss the US/SA Binational Commission

If Mr Mbeki, Armscor and Denel agree to the negotiated terms, Mr Sonn could return to the US next week to wrap up the case against the government agencies

This would lead to the lifting of the US arms embargo against these agencies, after an agreed debarment period

It would also lift a heavy burden off relations between the two countries The Armscor case has



Franklin Sonn

prevented the full normalisation of relations, especially in the military field

But that would still leave unresolved the US arms smuggling case against Fuchs Electronics, a private company that was a subsidiary of Barlow Rand at the time of its alleged involvement in arms smuggling

If Fuchs does not settle at the same time as Armscor, it runs the risk of the US prosecutors widening the case by indicting Barlow Rand and its subsidiary Reunert, which also allegedly broke the arms embargo

The prosecutors threatened to do so in March this year but held back, pending co-operation

The embassy is not disclosing the precise terms of the proposed settlement

But it is thought to include mainly a criminal plea agreement with the Justice Department and a consent agreement with the State Department The plea bargain includes fines running into several million dollars and agreement by Armscor officials to testify against Robert Ivy, a US citizen who worked for ISC, the American company from which Armscor allegedly bought arms equipment — such as missile parts — in contravention of the arms embargo.

The proposed consent agreement lays out the conditions for the US government to monitor arms sales from the US to SA after the debarment period, to ensure they comply with arms export laws

It is understood the South African government has been concerned that the deal may entail the possible disclosure of official secrets by Armscor officials testifying against Mr Ivy

Transnet, Denel show strong revenue growth

BD 7/6/95 (254)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Transnet and Denel, two of the state's biggest assets, showed strong growth last year, increasing total revenue by R2bn and R200m respectively, Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau told parliament yesterday.

In the case of Transnet, Sigcau said total revenue was boosted by the overall recovery in the economy, from R16bn to R18bn. Net profit before taxation and abnormal items increased from R1,6bn to over R2bn.

Unfortunately the carrying cost of the pension fund commitment which was inherited with the commercialisation of Transet amounted to nearly R2bn which left the company in a break-even situation.

Sigcau said she intended raising the problem with Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg who was addressing the pension fund problem for the state as a whole.

An agreement had been reached between Transnet and the British group Securicor International to form an SA-based company Cross-Keys Security Services which would serve the general market and create 1 500 jobs over the next 18 months. Portnet, the harbour division of Transnet, was experiencing record traffic levels, resulting in the port of Durban and Cape Town being under considerable pressure. A major portion of capital expenditure was being earmarked for equipment and land expansion for this year and next year, she said.

On Denel, Sicau said sales to the SA security forces decreased by 9% but these had been more than compensated for by an increase of 25% in exports and 25% in commercial sales to the local market.

The net income after tax amounted to R260m which showed growth over the previous year. A dividend of R70m had been declared compared to R60m the previous year

Sicgau said that after the lifting of the arms embargo last year, Denel was placed on the US state department's "denial list" which prohibited Denel from importing any item on the US ammunition list and from exporting such items to the US. The denial order was restricting the growth of Denel's business and normal trade relations between Denel and US industries was not possible.

Sapa reports she said SA Airways was establishing commercial alliances with Thai Air, American Airlines, British Midland Airways and Lufthansa. SAA was also acting as a catalyst for the success of regional airlines involving Tanzania and Uganda.

Rationalised regional air services were going to be discussed with Malawi, Namibia and Zambia, while a joint venture was under way domestically with SA Express involving 50-seater aircrafts for regional use as well as a broader air link on tertiary routes.

Ysterplaat bosses ignore us workers

(254) ARG 7/6/95

Staff Reporter

CIVILIAN workers at Air Force Base Ysterplaat say protracted recognition negotiations between the military and the National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) at national level are leaving them in the lurch

A spokesman for the workers, Salie Gester, said his colleagues were getting desperate as none of their demands were being addressed by management, which was awaiting finality on the national recognition negotiations

Mr Gester has been appointed Nehawu shop steward-in-waiting at Ysterplaat and also heads the liaison committee between workers and management

Nehawu and the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) have been negotiating a recognition agreement for about a year

"Management listens, but pays very little attention to our complaints because there is no recognition, the union is useless," said Mr Gester

Worker complaints included a perception that management was racist, that they were not paid overtime for working on public holidays, that affirmative action was ineffective, and that there was no place for personal advancement

Some workers had done the same job for "decades" but never achieved promotion, while others were paid as labourers but filled semi-skilled posts

An Ysterplaat spokesman said it was impossible to negotiate with Nehawu locally, while a recognition agreement was being negotiated nationally

An SANDF spokesman confirmed negotiations with Nehawu were ongoing, but could not put a time-frame to their conclusion

MEASURE 'NOT DISCRIMINATORY'

Defence Force makes Aids tests compulsory

CT 7/6/95 (254)

JOHANNESBURG: The SANDF says its decision to introduce Aids tests follows months of discussion between itself and medical authorities.

THE South African National Defence Force (SANDF) is to test would-be soldiers and other employees for Aids, it was confirmed in Pretoria yesterday.

A potential soldier who refuses to be tested will be disqualified automatically.

The decision follows months of discussion by medical authorities and the defence force on how to tackle the issue.

According to an information bulletin posted at various commands yesterday, the SANDF says the measure was not discriminatory "but represents the SANDF's (employer) prerogative to determine the medical profile which must apply to all employees".

The defence force says the decision was taken because HIV infection and Aids have emerged "as one of the most challenging modern health matters. The pandemic has created not only medical, but also ethical, legal, social, political and fiscal issues."

It is now required that all applicants should be screened as part of their medical fitness requirements. These include testing for hepatitis B and syphilis. A positive result means an applicant will be disqualified.

Permanent Force members who contract HIV are to be examined and in the absence of symptoms or signs of an Aids related illness, a medical board will decide on the matter.

Sufferer

Such people will also have to undergo an annual examination.

Full-blown Aids sufferers will no longer do combat duties, take part in contact sport, will not donate blood and will be unable to fly, parachute or dive. When the sufferer is unable to perform useful functions, he or she will become medically unfit, the force says — Special Correspondent

Mclean alleged that

Abortive secret deal lost SANDF $1,6m

BD 8/6/95

CAPE TOWN — The SA National Defence Force had made a $1,6m loss after a 1992/1993 covert overseas deal went awry, the joint public accounts committee heard yesterday. (254)

The covert project involved the purchase of "very sensitive chemicals" from eastern European institutions, SANDF chief Koos Meiring said Attempts to recover the money were still continuing

Asked by Freedom Front MP Piet Gous to elaborate, Meiring said he would require special permission from Cabinet to disclose further information.

The matter was under investigation by the Office for Serious Economic Offences, which had requested permission from Justice Minister Dullah Omar to continue investigations abroad, office head Chris Swanepoel told the committee.

The request had been made in September last year, but no response had been received from the minister as the matter was still before Cabinet.

The agent responsible for the loss had made a statement at the SA embassy in Bonn, acknowledging full responsibility for the disappearance of the money and promising full co-operation, Meiring said.

An intricate delivery and payment structure had had to be created. There had been adequate control over the transaction "up to a certain time".

The SANDF's stock — nearly R37bn — was scrutinised by the committee, with some members suggesting the state's tied-up assets could be put to better use.

Chairman Ken Andrew (DP) noted that if the stock was reduced by 15% then SA's total budget deficit could drop below 5%

Meiring told the committee that in many cases stock was below a "desirable level for a defence force of this size" Reserves had already been eaten into as a result of these cuts and SANDF stock was at far from an optimum level

The committee also called for an independent investigation of the acquisition, renovation and sale of property for an SA mission in New York. The building, intended as office and residential accommodation for the mission and consulate, was later sold for an eighth of the purchase and refurbishing costs.

In its report to Parliament, the committee expressed "serious concern" at the procedures used to acquire the property.

It urged the auditor-general to appoint an independent legal expert to investigate the matter locally and abroad to "determine the facts, possible culpability, and whether there is a basis for further legal action to recover losses".

The committee further recommended that responsibility for the refurbishment of buildings abroad be clearly assigned, and that the foreign affairs department ensure that its officials act strictly in accordance with procedure when renting, acquiring or refurbishing buildings overseas. — Sapa.

Hansard.

(264)

INTERPELLATION

The sign * indicates a translation The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language

Decision to purchase corvettes for the South African Navy

1 Senator J SELFE asked the Minister of Defence

Whether the Government has taken any decision to purchase corvettes for the South African Navy, if not, when is it anticipated that a decision in this regard will be taken, if so, (a) what process will be used to decide who will supply such corvettes and (b) what considerations will be taken into account in this process?

S295E INT

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE Mr President and hon senators, I rise on behalf of the Minister of Defence in reply to the question put by the hon Senator Selfe

No final decision has been taken President Mandela indicated to the Senate on 1 June this year that the decision to buy the corvettes needed to be re-examined once a White Paper on defence had been produced Deliberations in drawing up a series of White Papers are under way between the Minister of Defence, the National Defence Force and the Defence Secretariat, and will also involve the Joint Standing Committee on Defence

It is expected that the first draft of the White Paper will be ready very soon The eventual series of White Papers should outline the ways in which Defence will conduct its operations, both in times of war and peace, the end result it wishes to accomplish and with what means it will do it Depending on the nature of the consultative process around the White Paper, a decision could be expected by the end of 1995 or during 1996

In reply to subquestion (a), I want to say that the process used is the State tender process whereby tenders received by the closing date are evaluated by experts against a predetermined value system The result of this process is a recommended best option that will be put before the Cabinet for debate and a final decision

With regard to subquestion (b) I would like to say that the main considerations to be taken into account during the evaluation of the relative merits of each tender are as follows Firstly, the price seen against the cost ceiling of this project, imposed due to the severe constraints of the SA National Defence Force budget, secondly, the technical quality in terms of the functional and logistic requirements for executing both the military tasks and the nonmilitary utility support tasks of the vessels, and thirdly, the economic benefit that will accrue to the Republic of South Africa in terms of the offset purchasing and investment package offered by the contender Taken together, these considerations indicate the most cost-effective solution for the country

Sen J SELFE Mr President, I would like to thank the hon the Deputy Minister for his candour here this afternoon I also want to thank the hon Chief Whip for making this interpellation possible I have raised this matter as a matter of some national importance, because in my view the way in which the matter was handled and is being handled is a chronicle of confusion, and lost opportunities, which has left the SA Navy in particular and the Government in general, compromised and embarrassed

Let me say at the outset that I believe South Africa requires a blue-water capability This means that we require ships that can patrol our coast and our territorial waters effectively We have a long coastline which is very vulnerable to gun running and drug smuggling Perhaps more importantly, the seas along our coast contain some of the richest fishing grounds in the world and harvesting this constitutes not only a contribution to our food supplies but also to our foreign exchange It has been estimated that some 122 000 people directly or indirectly gain their livelihood from the fishing industry Lastly, a very considerable amount of the world's shipping passes along the Cape sea route Many of the ships that do so are old, unseaworthy and susceptible to maritime disasters as occurred only this time last year in the case of the *Appollo Sea*

If we are to stop smuggling and gun running, if we are to protect our fishing resources and if we are going to keep a check on shipping passing our coastline, then we require ships of this kind Moreover, these ships need to be supplemented by aircraft, ideally helicopters, operating off the

ships They can provide aerial surveillance, thus insuring that the entire coastline and as much of our exclusive economic zone as possible is effectively monitored in this way

There are many people in South Africa who dispute this necessity There are people who say that this money should be spent on schools and clinics The Minister, his Ministry and the South African Defence Force knew that the decision to purchase corvettes was bound to be controversial Therefore I cannot understand why the proposal to acquire the ships was handled in the way that it was

As far back as June last year, a very high-powered conference was arranged at which the case for the acquisition of corvettes was made The conference was attended, amongst other people, by the Deputy Minister of Defence himself It became clear at that conference that there were a number of other institutions which operated marine patrol vessels, and which were involved in marine protection and whose efforts needed [Time expired]

Sen M G E WILEY Mr President, this morning I gave a lift to a person, who turned to be a tunny fisherman, from Hout Bay to Cape Town I asked him how it was going and he told me that he had been a tunny fisherman for nine years He further told me that the stocks were declining and that it was getting worse every year I asked him how far he went up the coast He then told me that he went up to 200 to 300 miles I then asked him whether, within our territorial limit of 200 miles, he ever came across foreign fleets He said that he regularly came across predominantly Spanish and Japanese fleets

When I asked him if there were any improvements, he said that things were becoming worse and he told me that the Russian fleets were coming in in numbers. Eventually I asked him if he reported these matters He then told me that he reported to the Cape Town radio on a regular basis and was told not to bother and waste his time, because Environmental Affairs did not have enough crew to send their boats out and that nobody could stop them since they only travelled at 12 knots I further asked him what they did about the long lines that the Japanese and Russians put out on the water—something that we are not allowed to fish with, but which they are allowed to fish with He told me that he and his colleagues cut them when going past, since they were in our territorial waters, and told them when they passed them [Laughter] [Time expired]

Sen P POWELL Mr President, we have heard very good reasons advanced in the House this afternoon for why South Africa needs a capability of this kind

The new diplomatical and economical role which we have in the region necessitates that we must be able to project our maritime power beyond our present capabilities Our concern, briefly, is that a tender process was undertaken and it seems to have been well considered and exhaustive It is very surprising at this late stage that the activity of the tender process is under question This reflects badly on the government of the day Given the considerable expense to both the taxpayer and the developers of the ships which have participated in the tender this last minute delay seems to be questionable We believe that the process should be accelerated, and that a decision is needed soon

Sen A A B BRUWER Mr President, the FF has no problem with the principle that these corvettes should be purchased However, we want to concur with what Senator Selfe said when we say that it would seem as if this matter has been handled very badly The necessity for the corvettes is absolutely above suspicion South Africa's coastline remains a strategic area

There are a great many tankers sailing in these waters that even wash out their holds in our territorial waters and nothing is being done about this The purchase of the corvettes must, as far as we are concerned, take place very quickly, and we cannot understand why the matter has been handled this badly We strongly support this matter being finalised as quickly as possible

Sen J SELFE Mr President, as I was saying, there are a number of actors that are involved in this There is the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, which Senator Wiley referred to, there is the Cape Provincial Administration and the South African Navy itself

The first step that should have been taken, should have been to have sorted out the lines of responsibility and communication as between the various actors that have responsibility for marine protection

Secondly, a decision should have been taken about the exact purpose of the vessels which were needed to supplement the existing craft at our disposal By this I mean that a decision should

have been taken as to the primary and secondary uses to which the new craft should have been put If the purpose of the ships was to engage in armed conflict, clearly, one sort of design specification was indicated If the purpose was to do fisheries patrols, clearly another design would have been appropriate My information was that the decision was made to ask for tenders for warships and this in an era of general peace was very, very difficult to justify

Thirdly, the debate about the possible establishment of a coastguard [Time expired]

*Sen D V BLOEM Mr President, this is a very sensitive matter we are dealing with here I think the President spelled matters out very well in this House last week that a final decision has not yet been taken on this matter There are many other matters which must be taken into consideration and I think we should not pursue this matter now

Sen J SELFE Mr President, the whole issue of the coastguard, whether we have a coastguard or whether we do not, should have been resolved There are many arguments in favour of a coastguard and there are many against However, we need to resolve that argument before we can go forward

In the fourth place, the specifications of the countertrade arrangements should have been settled politically and by that I mean on Cabinet level at the stage that the tender specifications were drawn up My information is that the details of the countertrade were only disclosed to the Minister of Trade and Industry when the tender was made public Likewise the RDP elements in the countertrade were only discussed with Minister Jay Naidoo at the same stage

Fifthly, the parliamentary committee should have been involved at a far earlier stage in the debate on the desirability, feasibility, design specifications and countertrade As I have said, the decision to acquire these corvettes is very politically controversial and we as public representatives needed to have the facts at our disposal so that we could have communicated with our constituents

I am satisfied that within the brief they were given, the South African Navy did all that was expected of them in their normal efficient way They acted on a political brief and subjected the various bids to a rigorous evaluation using no less than 1 050 subcriteria All this work has now been wasted, because certain political work has not been done Now several other shipyards are sending representatives to South Africa to present their proposals, and in the process casting doubt on the wisdom of the Navy's choice

I am very pleased to hear from the Deputy Minister that we are now going to have a proper consultative process, which is going to be done via the mechanism of a White Paper I hope very much that all these considerations which we have raised this afternoon in the Senate, will be taken into account in that consultative process

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE Mr President, I wish to thank the senators for the contributions made I must say at once that I certainly agree that it is no secret that the Minister and myself agree with the need for the ships We agree with the need for a Navy That is beyond dispute and that is the position of our Ministry

At the same time I think we need to pay attention to the wise words of Senator Bloem over there, who has referred to the speech of President Mandela in this very Senate We have inherited a situation, especially in relation to the corvette issue This whole project began in 1993 and we must bear that in mind It is quite clear that when the Minister and myself were briefed by the Navy and the Defence Force after May last year, approximately in July and August, we paid great attention to that brief and were persuaded However, we really had to take into account the question of national consensus We could not jump ahead

I would defend the way the Minister and myself have moved on this issue with the Defence Force I am not saying that we are beyond criticism, but I believe that we handled this matter in a patient and organised way The Joint Standing Committee on Defence had many briefings by the Defence Force, the Navy and indeed by at least one of the contending shipyards from France So, I disagree with Senator Selfe that there was very little of this consultation

We were going on a lateral path leading to the President, his Deputy Presidents and the Cabinet. We were engaging Parliament and the public in a debate—a heated debate to be sure, but I would say it was an extremely healthy debate It was a debate which has helped us all It has focused attention on the naval issue [Time expired]

Debate concluded

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE Order! I wish to draw hon senators' attention to the fact that only the first page of the Question Paper was reprinted to add the interpellation, but that all 18 questions, as they appear on the original Question Paper, will now be put

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QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version

For oral reply

Ministers

Section 126. implementation

*1 Sen Dr R RABINOWITZ asked the Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development

Whether it is the intention to fully implement section 126 of the Constitution before the new Constitution comes into operation, if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details?

S231E

The DEPUTY MINISTER FOR PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr President, sen Rabinowitz asked the following question

Whether it is the intention to fully implement section 126 of the Constitution before the new Constitution comes into operation, if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details?

Sen A VAN BREDA We know!

The DEPUTY MINISTER Sen Van Breda has often said to me that after Wednesdays he cannot read English [Laughter] I thought the Afrikaans translation may not give an accurate reflection of that sen Rabinowitz wanted to ask, so I was reading it for his benefit I am surprised that he is unappreciative In any event, the reply is as follows

Section 126 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993, deals with the legislative competency of the provincial legislatures and of parliament with regard to matters falling within the functional areas specified in Schedule 6 The section came into operation, as did the Constitution itself, on 27 April 1994 and nothing remains to be implemented If by "implementation" the hon Senator means the exercise of the powers conferred by section 126, then the extent to which provinces will implement section 126 by legislating on the matters concerned, will depend entirely on individual provinces themselves

Sen Dr R RABINOWITZ Mr President

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE Order! Could we please have the sound system in a working condition The Senator may proceed

Sen Dr R RABINOWITZ Mr President, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, the question is a follow-up on questions that were asked during the previous week and the week before The question that I would like to ask, is a follow-up on those and this one

As you have mentioned, within the scope of Schedule 6 there are certain powers and functions which belong both to the central Government

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE Order! Will the hon Senator please put her question

Sen Dr R RABINOWITZ Mr President, I unfortunately have to give a bit of background

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE Order! In that case the hon Senator must please table her question

Sen Dr R RABINOWITZ The question very briefly is

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE Order! We have limited time The hon Senator should please table her question

Sen Dr R RABINOWITZ Mr President, the question is as follows When provinces have not been entitled to adopt laws or to implement laws which were previously assigned to provinces—such as the Ingonyama Trust Act, which was within the scope of KwaZulu-Natal to adopt—who decides that the province may not be assigned those laws or may not in the future adopt those laws which are part of certain powers and functions which they should be entitled to?

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE Order! The question of the hon Senator borders on the argumentative The hon Senator should please table her question for the next round

Basis for allocation of funds to provinces

*2 Sen Dr R RABINOWITZ asked the Minister of Finance

Officers rejected for civilian posts

POLITICAL STAFF

254 CT 8/6/95

ANC Parliamentary defence committee members yesterday rejected the placement of senior former South African Defence Force officers in key posts in the "civilian" National Defence Secretariat (NDS)

It was the ANC's second major intervention in an aspect of defence policy in the space of three weeks.

On the first occasion Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso, a senior ANC MP and member of the Joint Standing Committee on Defence, effectively put a brake on the navy's plan to spend R1,7 billion on four naval corvettes

Yesterday Ms Mtintso led ANC opposition to a plan, unveiled by Defence Secretary Mr Pierre Steyn, for 17 former SADF officers to be included in the NDS "to provide continuity"

The NDS was planned as a civilian structure which would place control of the country's integrated defence forces in the hands of suitably qualified civilians

Transferred

According to a briefing document Mr Steyn gave the committee, about 17 military people in various ranks have been temporarily transferred to the secretariat

Asked by committee chairman Mr Tony Yengeni how long "temporarily transferred" really meant, Mr Steyn said some of the officers would be at the NDS for a month and others for three years.

In almost all cases, civilians would be appointed to serve in positions either above or below the officers The officers include at least six former SADF brigadiers and several colonels and captains They would be employed in tasks ranging from legal services, defence force structuring and policy formation to work study and communications The other 10 former SADF officers would constitute a recruitment office to place suitable civilians in key posts

Ms Mtintso said the personnel plans gave the impression that "white former generals" were being deployed in key posts. An attempt was being made to "shift attitudes" and it was crucial that new blood be included

POLIT

Tunny fisherman story told during debate on corvettes

ARG 9/6/95 (254)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

SOMEWHERE on the high seas is a tunny fisherman who would welcome South Africa buying corvettes.

The story of the fisherman was told in the senate yesterday by Mark Wiley (NP)

The fisherman, whom he had met when he gave him a lift, had been at his trade for nine years, journeying hundreds of miles in South African territorial waters in pursuit of his livelihood.

On the oceans he found Spanish and Japanese fleets, and an increasing number of Russian ships.

But when he reported the ships to Cape Town Radio, he was told not to bother.

The department of environment affairs did not have the resources to stop the violations, he was told.

So he resorted to cutting the fishing lines of his illegal rivals.

James Selfe (DP), who requested yesterday's debate on the corvette issue, agreed that they were needed.

But he fired a salvo at the government for mishandling the issue.

"The way the matter has been handled is a chronicle of confusion and lost opportunities . the government has been compromised and embarrassed," Mr Selfe said

The issue of counter-trades should have been settled in advance, at cabinet level

The parliamentary joint standing committee on defence should have been involved in the issue at an earlier stage.

And whether South Africa should have a coast guard should have been resolved, Mr Selfe said

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said no final decision had been made about the corvettes.

A white paper on defence in terms of which decisions on operations in war and peace could be taken, would be published soon

The state tender process would be used in deciding which shipyard should get the contract

Factors to be taken into account included the price, technical quality, and the economic benefit

Mr Kasrils said national consensus about the issue would have to be developed: "We cannot jump ahead."

'Serious client' for the Rooivalk

(254) CT 9/6/95

THE armaments company Denel has decided not to send its Rooivalk attack helicopter to the prestigious Paris Air Show this year, mainly to enable a full demonstration in SA for a "serious potential client"

Denel chief executive officer Mr Johan Alberts did not name the client, but informed sources said yesterday it could be Malaysia, which was interested in building the Rooivalk under licence

The helicopter has also undergone modifications, including more powerful engines and better exhaust suppression, improving its overall performance by 10%.

Meanwhile, a South African armaments firm, Reumech, manufacturers of the Olifant tank, Rooikat and Ratels, has been shortlisted for a R1 billion contract to supply 450 armoured infantry vehicles to the Australian army in 1998

Reumech has teamed up with the Australian National Industries to supply the vehicles. — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter

Corvette decision postponed until consensus achieved

ET 9/6/95 (254)

BARRY STREEK
POLITCAL STAFF

A FINAL decision on whether to go ahead with the R1,8-billion purchase of four corvettes would be taken before the end of the year or in 1996, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, said yesterday.

He also said the government had to achieve national consensus when deciding about the defence force's request for the corvettes

"We cannot jump ahead," he said in an interpellation debate introduced in the Senate by the Democratic Party's Senator James Selfe

Both Mr Selfe and the Freedom Front's Senator Dries Bruwer strongly criticised the government for the way the corvette proposal had been handled, although both supported the purchase of the ships

Mr Selfe said the way the matter had been handled was "a chronicle of confusion and lost opportunities which left the navy in particular and the government in general compromised and embarrassed"

Mr Kasrils, however, defended the role of the Minister of Defence, Mr Joe Modise, and himself in the matter

He said his ministry and the defence force had handled the issue in a patient and organised way, and had engaged Parliament and the public in sometimes heated, but healthy and helpful debate

Mr Kasrils said a series of White Papers on defence policy were being drawn up and a draft White Paper would be ready "very soon"

He said the decision on the corvettes would be based on the price, the technical quality of the bid and the economic benefits to South Africa

Councillors hit back at arrears leak

(254) CT 9/6/95

MUNICIPAL REPORTER

THE ANC launched a furious attack on councillors, or a councillor, who leaked information to the Cape Times that six non-statutory councillors were in arrears to the extent of R28 000 for water, lights and rent yesterday

In a press release, ANC councillor Mr Mansoor Jaffer, speaking for the councillors identified in the leak, said leaking the details was a "manifestation of resistance" to the changes taking place in local government.

Mr Jaffer said the central issue was that the leak must have come "from sources who have for decades lapped up the privileges which apartheid patronage bestowed on them".

'Pensions'

It annoyed those councillors named that they, who collectively owed R28 000 to the council, stood accused while there were other councillors who had willingly accepted "apartheid pensions totalling huge amounts"

"It is cowardly for nameless and faceless people to drag their names through the mud, especially since many of them had voluntarily done community work over the years, alleviating the plight of members of their community."

Govt sets tight limit for Marais

CT 9/6/95

CHRIS BATEMAN
POLITICAL STAFF

THE central government yesterday swiftly enforced its legal "slapping down" of Western Cape Local Government Minister Mr Peter Marais' boundary proposals by giving him just 18 hours to propose a new Provincial Committee.

However, Acting Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Fismer apparently relented after a furious response from Premier Mr Hernus Kriel's office and extended the deadline.

The Provincial Committee to which Mr Marais appointed two NP-supporting members, ensuring his controversial exclusion of Khayelitsha from the Tygerberg sub-structure, is supposed to be a neutral watchdog of transition.

The amendment to the Local Government Transitional Act declared invalid decisions taken by restructured provincial committees between April 30 and June 7 this year, negating Mr Marais' Cape Metropole demarcation.

It also requires Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development and Justice Ministry approval for any new Provincial Committee appointments by provincial ministers

Top NP sources in the central government said no chance of a political settlement — as pleaded for by Mr Kriel and Mr Marais — now existed as the ANC would rely on the amendment to force the Western Cape's hand.

Shopping till they drop

STAFF REPORTER

WHAT do the wives and girlfriends of the English rugby players do while the boys are busy training for their most important game in the World Cup? Shop, of course.

Tracked down at the Waterfront they said travelling on a rugby tour could be a bit lonely

Ms Jayne Guscott, wife of centre Jeremy Guscott, who brought the couple's two young children, said she was enjoying herself even though she spent most evenings in the hotel with the children while the rest of the group went out to enjoy the city night life.

The two groups are living in separate hotels.

Ms Michele Lawrence, girlfriend of loose forward Ben Clarke, said: "You have to be a certain type of woman to have a boyfriend or husband as part of the English team. We are all independent and most of us have our own careers"

'Serious client' for the Rooivalk

(254) CT 9/6/95

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Reumech has teamed up with the Australian National Industries to supply the vehicles. — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter

Integration into SANDF is now 'going smoothly'

(254)

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

More than 10 000 of 34 800 former non-statutory forces members who are integrating into the South African National Defence Force have so far accepted letters of appointment

This has been disclosed by SANDF chief, General Georg Meiring, who said in Pretoria yesterday that the integration process, which began just over a year ago, was now "an established routine" and that fewer problems were being experienced

The process is being overseen by the Integration Work Group and the Parliamentary Integration Oversight Committee.

Initially, the process had been racked by squabbling over rates of pay and the perceived belief by former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla and other non-statutory forces that preference was being given to ex-members of the former SA Defence Force

According to a defence force bulletin issued in Pretoria, a total of 15 416 members of the 34 800 had reported to assembly points

"By May 24, 11 464 were in the pre-selection stage or had been placed, 11 224 letters of appointment had been issued and 10 427 letters of appointment had been accepted," Meiring said

Those now in the military had been placed with bridging training units

Star — 13/6/95

'Slow Joe' just won't let go of army land

(254) WM 9-14/6/95

Reluctant to release any of its vast tracts of land, the Defence Force is being threatened with land invasions by displaced communities, writes Eddie Koch



Waiting for their land A former resident of Schmidtsdrift pondering the army's departure

PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD

THE South African National Defence Force has come under fire for scuttling land reform in parts of the country where the army controls large tracts of unused territory — much of it taken forcibly from black communities during the apartheid era.

Land organisations this week fired a broadside at Minister of Defence Joe Modise over his handling of land claims by three black communities — the Khosis, Maremane and Gathlose — who were forcibly removed in 1977 so that the South African Defence Force could build the world's second biggest battle school at Lohatla in the Northern Cape

The displaced groups have claimed back parts of the battle school which covers 135 000 hectares of arid land near Posmasburg, and have started negotiations with the defence and land ministries to resolve the dispute

But the National Land Committee (NLC) which represents the removed communities says a massive invasion by the Maremane community is looming — possibly as early as this weekend — because Modise and also the Ministry of Land Affairs have been slow in dealing with the demands for land restoration at Lohatla

The Ministry of Defence denies it is blocking land reform "The SANDF is not unsympathetic to claims upon land that has been allocated to it for use " said Modise's spokesman "However it should be borne in mind that (it) has a responsibility to train its army as well as to ensure a professional and proficient defence force as called for in the Constitution "

The Lohatla dispute is the latest in a series of complaints that the SANDF the single largest owner of state land outside of national game parks is refusing to play its part in a government land reform programme that aims to redistribute 30 percent of all arable land to landless communities within five years

An official statement from the SANDF says the military has the use of 600 000 hectares in various parts of the country "Of this 500 000 hectares are undeveloped and are used for training areas bombing ranges and buffer zones around airstrips and ammunition depots "

Some of the larger SANDF properties

TERRAIN	Size ha
PW Botha Training Area (Lohatla)	[illegible]
Vastrap Weapons [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	27 [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] (Cape)	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]



Joe Modise 'He appears to have the attitude of an apparatchik from the apartheid era on the Lohatla issue'

Lohatla is the second biggest battle school in the world The largest is owned by the United States Army in Nevada. The NLC and officials in the Department of Land Affairs believe that this land could be used to meet the government s land redistribution targets

There are also new disputes looming in the Northern Transvaal where the SANDF controls large tracts of land along the Limpopo River which are being claimed by the original Venda inhabitants and also in the Maputaland area of KwaZulu/Natal where the army is holding onto land that is no longer required for security purposes

"Modise and the military have not been playing their role in promoting the land reform programmes " says NLC director Brendan Pearce "We've been saying to the communities that they should wait and go through the formal land claims process But their patience is running out because the government departments are dragging their feet on the issue "

A "joint working group" made up of officials from the defence and land ministries has been set up to settle the land claim It also has representatives from the displaced groups at Lohatla to settle the land claim at Lohatla by negotiation rather than in the newly established Land Claims Court The latest in a series of complaints is that delegations from both government departments failed to attend a meeting of this group that was held in Kimberley this week

Modise's spokesman told the *Mail & Guardian* this interdepartmental group was "working full time" to resolve the Lohatla issue and that the military had not ruled out giving back parts of the battle school He stressed, however, this would take time as "alternative land has to be identified, purchased and an infrastructure be established"

But Pearce says popular anger around Lohatla increased after the military last month allowed 15 white farmers to graze cattle inside the battle school grounds while access to the area by community members is heavily restricted

"In terms of the Restitution Act it is illegal to lease or allocate land that has a claim pending And while white farmers are allowed to use the land, community members are not even allowed in to clean their ancestors' graves — a highly emotional issue that causes lots of conflict "

Although the NLC blames inertia from both the military and the Ministry of Land Affairs for the escalating conflict at Lohatla, government sources say the burgeoning controversy over the battle school is opening cracks in relations between the defence and land ministries

The two ministers have had a series of face-to-face meetings relating to land controlled by the military The sources say Minister of Land Affairs Derek Hanekom complained that the military's decision to lease Lohatla land to white farmers was undermining his ministry's land reform programme and commitment to resolve claims through "transparent negotiations"

"Modise appears to have the attitude of an *apparatchik* from the apartheid era on the Lohatla issue," said one non-governmental organisation source "He is using old-style government arguments that the people from Lohatla received compensation and that alternative land should be found for them instead of breaking up the battle school "

Jabu Dada the NLC's official in charge of land redistribution, says the three communities from Lohatla are incensed because they have just heard the SANDF will be staging massive war games at Lohatla later in the year

"It appears that while the defence ministry has been in negotiation with us, behind our backs they have been planning to use the battle school for an operation that precludes its being given back to the people The irony is that while war games are going on, there are likely to be real invasions of the land "

The SANDF has confirmed that it will stage a training exercise called Operation Southern Cross at Lohatla in October and November but denies media reports that foreign military personnel will take part in the games

Hanekom is also said to be disgruntled because the military has been slow to release land at Schmidtsdrift, another large battle training ground in the Northern Cape despite an official agreement that this area will be given back to a group of BaTswana who were removed by the army in 1968

In February this year, Hanekom promised the people from Schmidtsdrift that they would be back on their land "within months" Although his ministry has obtained formal agreement from the military for title to be restored to the BaTswana progress has been complicated by the fact that some 4 500 Khwe and !Xu people are still living at the army base

The "bushman" community is made up of families of Khwe and !Xu soldiers who joined the then SADF during South Africa s bush war in Namibia and fled south with the army fearing persecution after that country became independent in 1990

Hanekom obtained permission at a Cabinet meeting two weeks ago to take over responsibility from Modise for resettling the Khwe and !Xu, who form the biggest surviving "bushman" community in Africa, so that the land claim at Schmidtsdrift can be settled

Modise's spokesman said a committee to devise ways of relocating the Khwe and !Xu would take place at the end of the month and that a solution could be in place by July this year

"The minister has instructed the Defence Force that there must be no discrimination with regards to making available emergency grazing It should be available to organised agriculture and individuals in a declared drought stricken area who may request it "

ARMSCOR (254) FM 9/6/95

Unto the breech?

With the reduction in requirements by the SA National Defence Force and the specialist nature of global requirements, the local arms industry is refocusing its marketing strategies

Viewed against poor results from Armscor — which saw net income drop 87% from R40,25m to R5m in the past financial year — the sector is at a crossroads and looking for fresh direction

The industry must now face up to the fact that it no longer has an assured (and growing) local market Peace in the subcontinent and the new political dispensation put paid to that

But, says Deputy Minister of Defence Ronnie Kasrils, as SA has a fairly sophisticated arms industry in line with most developed economies, exports should continue to be part of the marketing strategy — subject to the "key questions" of responsibility, transparency and control

And he is happy that Armscor, which buys both locally and internationally, meets these criteria

But, says Armscor's combat systems GM Jaco de Jager, market niches should now be developed further where SA has proven to be globally competitive in price, performance and quality

The areas where SA can best compete with the rest of the world include

- Artillery systems (where SA's world-renowned G5 and G6 systems continue to rake in foreign exchange, the latest sales being to the Sultanate of Oman),
- Anti-mine warfare systems (SA has developed some of the world's most advanced systems, which should find a ready market in UN peacekeeping operations in Angola and Mozambique), and
- Frequency-hopping radio technologies and other forms of advanced telecommunications systems

Markets in the Middle East and Far East remain the best options, with India a new potential customer for some of SA's proven systems But the Rooivalk helicopter seems to be in a cul-de-sac with no apparent ready takers Industry observers say the likelihood of the multibillion rand British helicopter tender going SA's way seems "more remote by the day" The tender, which called for 91 attack helicopters, now looks set to go to US manufacturers ■

FM 9/6/95 (254)

COASTAL DEFENCE

Shipping water

Sentiment in the ANC has swung sharply against the planned purchase by the Navy of four corvettes and it now seems likely that government will opt for less costly offshore patrol vessels (OPV) instead of warships to protect SA's coasts

The shift in attitude could be bad news for the Spanish shipyard Bazan, which seemed to be on the verge of clinching the R1,6bn deal (*Business* March 31) The new front-runner appears to be the Danish Svendborg shipyard, whose tender was for a more versatile ship which would cost less to build and operate than a fully fledged warship but would nevertheless have defensive and search-and-rescue capabilities

A reassessment by government of its maritime protection requirements could also open the way for a bid by the Vancouver-based Western Canada Marine Group (WCMG), which offers an OPV that may be better suited to SA's needs than a warship WCMG representative John Aster is due in SA later this month and hopes to present the group's proposals to Armscor, the Navy and members of parliament's defence committee

Less than two months ago there was little doubt that the Cabinet would give the go ahead to the corvette deal, in spite of objections from some ANC Ministers and members of the defence committee who argued that the money could be better spent on RDP-related projects

The National Defence Force and Armscor contended that SA needed a full naval capability to protect SA's 200-mile economic exclusion zone off the coast and to deter any military threat The corvettes were to have replaced SA's ageing fleet of strike craft

But it now seems that most members of the defence committee believe Armscor and the Navy tried to ram through the deal without adequate consultation and have demanded that the process be halted President Nelson Mandela is reported to have sided with the anti-corvette lobby in Cabinet, which means the Spanish deal is unlikely to go through in its present form

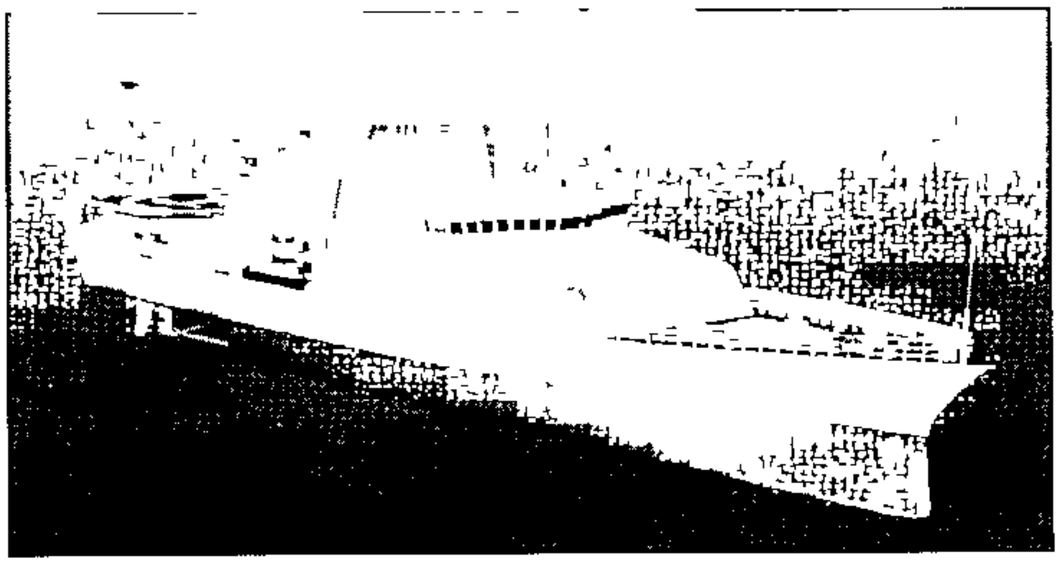
In this case government is expected to either ask the defence committee to start the process from scratch by clearly determining SA's maritime protection needs and how best to meet them within a limited budget, or opt for the Danish package

Svendborg MD Per Glente argues that SA does not need warships He says potential maritime enemies will raid SA's fish resources rather than its shores, and can best be defeated by OPVs capable of spending most of their time patrolling and not berthed, as would be the case with warships which are expensive to operate

The Danish vessel operates successfully in the North Sea It can remain at sea for up to four months, carries a helicopter and can be equipped with a wide range of weaponry if necessary

Glente says the ships can be supplied for R200m each if Armscor's initial "excessive" demands for specifications such as high speed, adherence to US military standards, weapons interface systems and administrative quality assurance systems are excluded

Aster says the configuration of the WCMG vessel is also flexible, although at 75m it is substantially smaller than the 110m Danish ship and would therefore be at a disadvantage when being assessed for operation in SA's deep and rough coastal waters



Offshore patrol vessel *the Canadian option*

However the ship could be supplied for around US$35m — less than two-thirds the cost of the Danish vessel, but with virtually the same operational capabilities, including speed, long-range patrol, search and rescue and pollution prevention and control

The WCMG is currently constructing a ship for the Mauritian coastguard in a joint venture with the Chilean naval shipyard, Asmar Aster says if SA opted for the Canadian ships they could be constructed in a local shipyard using Canadian technology

There is no indication when a decision on the corvettes will be taken by Cabinet A briefing scheduled for Thursday by officials of the Ministry of Defence to update the defence committee on the corvette project was cancelled ■

Children escape places of safety

Ingrid Salgado

NEARLY 400 of the 792 children released from prisons last month had escaped from places of safety, Welfare deputy minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi said on Friday.

More than 240 of the escapees were from KwaZulu/Natal, where the largest provincial release, 351 children, took place, while 78 Gauteng children — from a total of 185 releases — escaped, she said.

Released when an amendment to Section 29 of the Criminal Services Act became effective on May 8, the minors were put into the care of parents, guardians or into places of safety. Only child detainees and awaiting trial prisoners under 18 years old were released.

More than 50 children in the Western Cape escaped, eight each in the Eastern Cape and Free State and five in the Northern Cape, she said. These figures included 1 455 minors released from police cells nationwide. Some had been rearrested.

No minors were released from prisons in the Eastern Transvaal while the amendment — excluding releases from police cells — affected 87 in the Western Cape, 70 in the Eastern Cape, 52 in North-West, 29 in Northern Province, 14 in the Free State and four in the Northern Cape.

Fraser-Moleketi said public fear that the escapees were dangerous criminals was misplaced. None were convicted criminals and in KwaZulu/Natal less than 8% were awaiting trial for serious crimes.

Numerous children were orphans, homeless and living in poverty. If government did not redress this issue, children who were the victims of violence would become the perpetrators, she said.

The minors had been released when places of safety were not equipped to deal with the influx and the Welfare Department had to create mechanisms to enable them to fit into communities.

Better synchronisation between departments should have been in place when the minors were released, she said, but it would take more than a year to transform the entire childcare system. Although the releases were not successful, they represented "an important decision in terms of basic human rights".

About 50% of all crimes were committed by youths between 18 and 21 years of age and over 5 000 youths were awaiting trial.

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purchase, but De Villiers conceded was "a problem".

had indicated its willingness to be- f the joint management operation sizeable Venetia/Limpopo Game he park.

ark area of between 50 000 and s envisaged on the SA side of the es said.

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Province premier Ngoako Ramath- government was committed to re- eration and this would help in ex- tourism potential of the area.

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Denel enters deal to upgrade fighter jets

John Dludlu

ARMS manufacturer Denel at the weekend struck its first post-sanctions international deal by entering into a trilateral co-operation deal with leading French and Spanish counterparts to upgrade and modernise engine components of the Mirage F1 fighter jets and the Super Etendard.

The agreement — which was clinched in Paris by Denel CE Johan Alberts and his counterparts from the French company SNECMA and Spanish ITP — would see the three companies working together to manufacture modern atar engine parts for aircraft widely flown in France, SA and Spain.

From Paris yesterday Denel spokesman Paul Holtzhausen said in terms of the deal Denel would have to design and manufacture major turbine components for the fighter jet engines.

The deal also provided that ITP, a leading Spanish aircraft manufacturer, would have to design and produce high pressure compressors for the Mirage F1 engines.

Holtzhausen said although it was difficult to put monetary value to the deal, he expected it to beef up Denel's international export business.

A spokesman for Armscor said the deal characterised the post-sanctions era, and reflected the international competencies of the SA defence industry.

Sapa-AFP quoted SNECMA chief Bernard Dufour as saying the deal would be profitable for the French company.

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From the talk shop

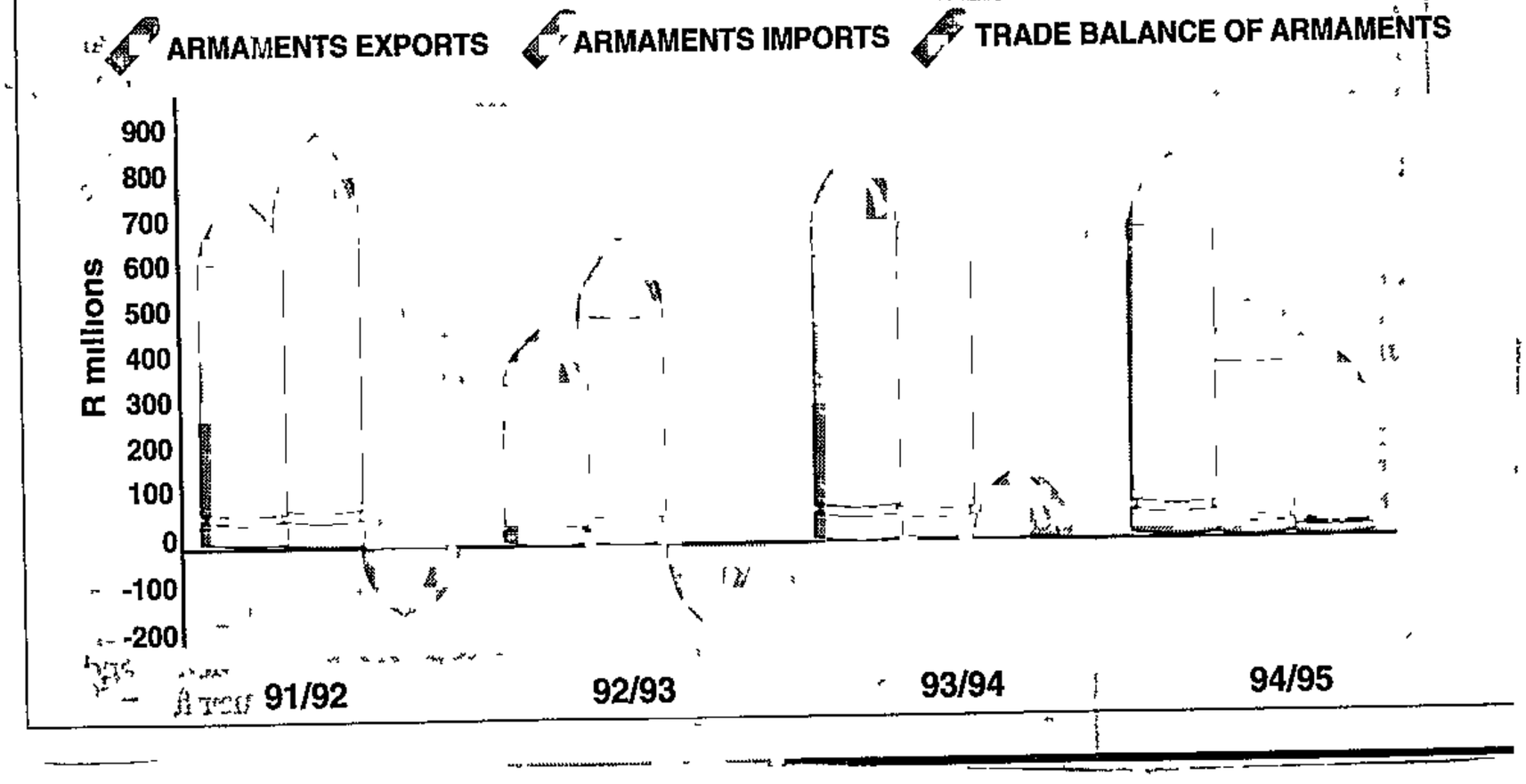
■THE moratorium on prosecutions of citizen force members who have ignored their callups will be extended, Defence Minister Joe Modise said this week. He told the National Assembly that the Defence Force is looking for ways to attract volunteers for an affordable, fully representative part-time force (254).

■AN Emergency Bill has been tabled in Parliament to replace parts of the Public Safety Act, Defence Act, Internal Security Amendment Act and former homeland security legislation. Under the new Bill, the president may declare a three-week Emergency, with a two-thirds majority in Parliament required to extend it for three months at a time.

Justice

A COURT in the central Chinese city of Xian has jailed a man for life for killing a panda, and passed sentences of 11 to 12 years

SOUTH AFRICA'S ARMAMENTS TRADE



makers

New strategy for SA arms

BD 14/6/95 (254)

HILARY JOFFE

WHAT happens to the arms business when the war is over? It shuts down or it tries to find something better to do Denel is trying to go the latter route.

In 1992 Armscor's manufacturing arm split off to become Denel, leaving Armscor as the procurement arm for the defence force. Since then Denel, incorporated as a private company wholly owned by the state, has been obliged to prove its commercial viability

This has not been easy, with the SA defence budget falling rapidly, and less world military spending.

Denel's strategy has been to counter the fall in SA defence spending by increasing its exposure to non-military markets and to grow both military and commercial exports. The group's annual report for the year to end-March, published last week, demonstrates it has been respectably successful in achieving this

Sales to the SA security forces have fallen to less than half of Denel's total income, from nearly two-thirds in financial 1993 Exports and local commercial sales rose 25% each during the year, together accounting for more than 40% of turnover Higher productivity helped the group increase after-tax income by 9% on total income, which was up 5%

Denel was the brainchild of MD Johan Alberts, at the time the chief of Armscor, who believed the research and engineering capacity built up in the "total onslaught" years would be lost unless it could be turned to new uses. He took over from Armscor those manufacturing facilities which could be transformed into commercial ventures, closing the rest.

Denel now employs 13 500 people, from 28 000 at its formation Only around 12 500 are permanent, with the rest on contract It has gone from being the secretive outfit it was in Armscor days to a business which receives no government subsidy (unlike some of its foreign counterparts), is required to disclose details of its operations and is at pains to point out its contribution to employment, export earnings and the reconstruction and development programme

As Alberts defines it, Denel is not in the military industry It is a diversified technology group with security-related products as part of its portfolio

Denel is very strong in mining and is doing development work on new products for the mining industry. Its other strengths are in information technology and in the upgrading and conversion of commercial and military aircraft. It is paying particular attention to improving its capacity to upgrade equipment

It has gained from entering into alliances with international partners. The group has had an arrangement with Rolls Royce to supply auxiliary gearboxes for aircraft At the weekend it announced a deal with France's SNECMA and Spain's ITP to upgrade and modernise engine components for fighter jets.

Denel also sells research. The group spent R51m on its own research and development in financial 1995, but its engineers, scientists, computer people, metallurgists and chemists carried out a further R280m worth of contracts for clients.

But the arms business remains the group's core, contributing about 70% of its turnover. To Denel's sales to the SA National Defence Force of R1,3bn in financial 1995 were added military exports of about R740m (exports totalled R805m — R644m in 1994 — with the rest coming from commercial products)

Alberts stresses Denel's role as a "responsible" arms exporter. "I do not export to any place where I haven't got the authority of the South African government to export," he says The group has to get export and marketing permits for all its exports. The annual report reveals that R40m worth of potential contracts did not materialise due to Denel's "inability to obtain certain export permits"

Alberts says he is satisfied with profits for 1994/95, which exceeded budget, but notes that the 9% increase in after-tax income is disappointing in real terms He says international competition has been tough, although he believes the world market is starting to normalise following the post-Cold War cuts, and Denel is a new entrant to the world market Direct contracts have been established with more than 100 countries and Denel is selling to more than 60 of these.

It is, however, being handicapped by the US denial order imposed on Armscor and Denel following the lifting of the UN arms embargo last May The US will not accept that Denel is separate form Armscor, viewing it as a "successor in titles" Denel sees this as unreasonable and unjust, says Alberts, and is hoping high level negotiations between the governments will resolve the problem Yesterday's Armscor announcement suggests this may have occurred.

Denel would be selling in the US but for the order, which also affects its trade with other countries; for example upsetting its tender for the valuable contract to sell 91 Rooivalk attack helicopters to the UK

The annual report reveals the differing fortunes of Denel's divisions in 1994/95. The increase in the group's revenue came largely (and about equally) from two divisions. Informatics, which increased sales by 22%, and its aviation division (Simera, which includes Atlas Aviation on the military side), with sales up 12%. Generally there were substantial revenue declines in the mainly military operations income was down 30% in LIW, which manufactures weapons systems from artillery to pistols. LIW's exports also fell markedly. The contribution to income from Kentron, which makes missiles, also declined, as did that from Somchem which makes chemical products such as propellant for ammunition

Alberts expects further growth in profits this year although it may again be disappointing in real terms due to stiff international competition

US penalties amount to R57m

(254) BD 14/6/95

Armscor to pay sanctions busting fines

Kevin O'Grady

ARMSCOR will pay nearly R57m in admission of guilt fines and civil penalties to settle a dispute with the US over sanctions busting, foreign affairs director-general Rusty Evans said yesterday

SA ambassador to the US Franklin Sonn and embassy lawyer Philip Hare were in Johannesburg yesterday finalising the plea bargain agreement which would be put to the Philadelphia-based prosecutors in the case "within weeks", Evans said at a Pretoria news briefing yesterday

It was a "complicated settlement" but he was confident the plea bargain agreement would be reached

Armscor, its then subsidiary Kentron and private company Fuchs Electronics were indicted by a Philadelphia grand jury in 1991 on charges that US company International Signal and Control sold US military technology to Armscor and its subsidiaries while the arms embargo was in force against SA

Also indicted were 10 Americans and seven South Africans who were under no obligation under international law to respond to the charges

However, when the US arms embargo against SA was lifted last year the US state department slapped another embargo on the indicted companies, scuppering SA's R3bn bid to sell its Rooivalk attack helicopters, which cannot be marketed without US weapons systems, to the UK army

The amounts to be paid by Armscor and Kentron, now incorporated into the commercialised arms company Denel, are R47,8m in admission of guilt fines to the US justice department and R9,19m in civil penalties to the US state department for contravening US export regulations

Hare yesterday declined to say what penalties would be levied against Fuchs Electronics or the seven South Africans indicted in the case But it is believed the agreement would give them indemnity from prosecution in return for testimony against US citizen Robert Ivy, formerly Kentron group technical manager

Once the case is settled, the ban on trading with US firms will remain in place for a "debarment" period — usually about a year — after which the companies will have to submit to an audit to ensure they comply with licence conditions for the purchase of defence-related US products

And in another development, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad said yesterday his department was planning legislation to crack down on the "thousands" of SA mercenaries fighting in foreign countries

The department was consulting the departments of defence and justice to "tighten up the law" to prevent former SA Defence Force soldiers joining conflicts elsewhere in the world South Africans were involved in conflicts in Sudan, Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone, a situation that was of "great concern to SA"

Continued on Page 2

Armscor (254) BD 14/6/95

Continued from Page 1

Pahad also suggested mercenaries' activities could be curtailed by international conventions preventing people fighting for gain, or by appealing to OAU member countries to resolve not to employ them.

Pahad also said SA should not pay R378m owed to the UN and would seek a resolution from the UN General Assembly to write off the membership debt incurred by the NP government The new government was not responsible for the arrears or for SA's expulsion from the UN in 1970.

OAU support would be sought for the stand against payment and "then we will be taking the issue to the UN General Assembly and try to get a majority vote" in favour of writing off the debt.

Pahad did not believe the same logic could be used in seeking write-offs for World Bank and IMF loans incurred by the previous government. "That would create such an investor shock that it would be very difficult to get any loans, private or otherwise, from any country after that."

Pahad also said as many as 26 African countries could be barred from participating in the next session of the OAU because they were more than two years in arrears.

Corvettes 'bias' claim probed

ARG 14/6/95 (264)

DEPUTY presidents Thabo Mbeki and F W de Klerk have appointed a four-man board to investigate allegations of bias in the stalled purchase of four naval corvettes

Responding to a debate in the senate, Mr Mbeki said he heard allegations during a trip abroad of bias in the tender process which had initially been narrowed to rival R1,6 billion British and Spanish bids

"I got worried because a suggestion was coming out that our new government might have acted in a way that was not even-handed," he said

Mr Mbeki denied an allegation by an opposition member that he unilaterally reopened the tender process and invited Denmark, Germany and France to submit new bids

He contacted the state-owned Armscor weapons procurement agency and the navy and met tender board officials with Mr De Klerk

He said he and Mr De Klerk had jointly appointed a board to investigate the tender process from the original invitation to the narrowing of the five initial bids to two

"The board has reported to the two deputy presidents," Mr Mbeki said, without indicating whether it had found any evidence of irregularity

President Mandela hinted at an irregularity when he told the senate recently that the corvette purchase had been shelved pending further investigation of the navy's needs

He said then that if the tender process was reopened, additional measures would have to be taken to ensure that the bid process was fair — Reuter

)AY JUNE 14 1995

Kasrils warns on defence

Star 14/6/95

254

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils yesterday likened defence budget cuts to those in Russia, warning that further cuts would compromise defences.

He was addressing the portfolio committee on defence where he gave a preview of the speech Defence Minister Joe Modise is due to give the National Assembly next week.

Kasrils said the South African National Defence Force was hard-pressed to finance its activities and acquisitions with a defence budget of R10,5-billion, down about 50% from the R20-billion budgeted in 1989.

Kasrils said that among the funding demands faced by the SANDF were the integration of the the former SADF, TBVC and "non-statutory" armies at a cost of R996-million this year, R1,5-billion next year and R4,5-billion in 1998-99, air force capital projects to replace ageing aircraft at a cost of about R4-billion over the next eight years, the navy's R1,8-billion project to buy four corvettes to replace strike craft, and running costs to keep the military in fuel and food which took up about 73% of the defence budget.

President Mandela, facing calls from within the ANC to spend defence money on the Reconstruction and Development Programme rather than on military hardware, has already put the corvette project on hold Kasrils said Modise did not want to ride roughshod over the objections, but without the craft being replaced by 1997 the navy would be in a "painful predicament".

The Air Force is entering a period of crisis as well, he said. Its stock of aircraft was down from a high of 740 to 400.

The perception that South Africa's defence capability would be reduced to a large pool of well-fed foot soldiers was not true. Of a force strength of 90 000, about 20 000 were civilians. Of the 77 000 people in uniform, 37 000 were in support tasks, leaving about 40 000 combat troops, Kasrils said.

Denel loses millions in US trade ban

Kevin O'Grady (254) BD 15/6/95

THE "wrongful" inclusion of Armscor subsidiary Denel in a ban on trade with the US last year had cost the group millions of rands in lost deals, Denel communications chief Paul Holtzhausen said yesterday.

He was responding to reports that a settlement — in which Armscor is to pay nearly R57m in fines for sanctions busting — had been reached with the US following Armscor's 1991 indictment, together with its then subsidiary Kentron, on criminal charges

After the US arms embargo against SA was lifted last year, a new ban on trade was placed on Armscor and Denel, which was established in 1992 as Armscor's manufacturing arm.

Denel "inherited" the embargo because it had by then incorporated Kentron.

Holtzhausen said the "Kentron that was involved in that case is not the Kentron that Denel is using to market its missiles Denel is wrongly regarded as an extension of the Armscor name.

"Denel as an industrial group is not implicated in this case and therefore is not liable to be called upon by Armscor to assist in paying any fines that arise from it," said Holtzhausen.

There were "a large number of US companies that would very much like to trade with and go into alliances with Denel but have been unable to because of the prohibition," he said.

The embargo had impeded Denel's international business which included the manufacture and sale of firearms, ammunition, electronic systems and aircraft

Holtzhausen was unsure what "debarment" period — during which time embargoed companies have to submit to audits to ensure they comply with licence conditions for the purchase of defence-related US products — would be instituted following the plea bargain agreement.

"We will just have to sit it out and see what happens," he said.

Armscor offers financial experience to government

CT(BR)15/6/95(254)

BY ROY COKAYNE
PRETORIA BUSINESS EDITOR

Armscor, acquisition agent for the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and SA Police Service (SAPS), has offered its services to the government — in the field of financial management control

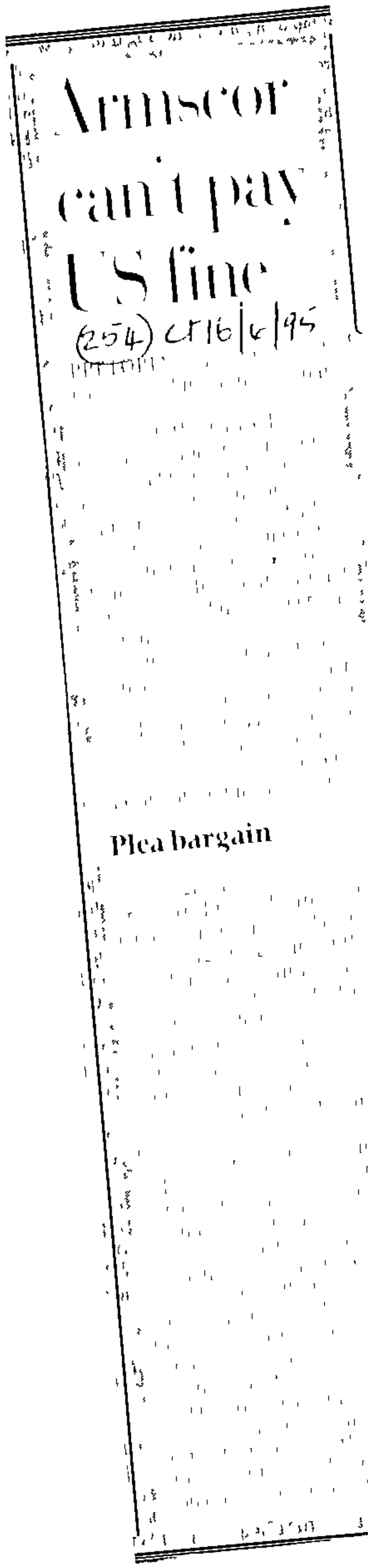
"Our experience of spending billions of rand and our know-how of financial management control has made our system on a par with the best in the world," said Tielman de Waal, Armscor executive general manager

Armscor's annual report for 1994/95 reveals it successfully managed acquisition activities for the SANDF and SAPS with a combined value of R3 767,2 million One Armscor senior manager has already been seconded to the RDP ministry and other regional cabinets have asked for assistance, De Waal said

He was speaking at a briefing session on Armscor's financial management system, part of Armscor's commitment to greater transparency Yacoob Abba Omar, Armscor general manager corporate communications, said the government was looking for a model for efficient financial management and Armscor was offering its system as that model

Gideon Ellis, Armscor senior financial manager, said according to Auditor General reports over the last 10 years, R37 198,89 million was paid out of the Special Defence Account However, Armscor had received a clean bill of health from the Auditor General and could be faulted for only R8 000 paid out in terms of a management decision

The Commission on Serious Economic Offences had also found Armscor to have sound control measures with no loss to the state, Ellis said


Armscor can't pay US fine
(254) CR16/6/95
Plea bargain

Top army brass earn more than Mandela

CT 19/6/95

(~~188~~) (254)

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

SOUTH AFRICA'S top defence force generals earn more than President Nelson Mandela, according to documents leaked to the Cape Times

Secret SANDF capital budget proposals for the next 10 years give details of spending on projects that make the controversial plan to buy four corvettes for R1,7 billion seem modest by comparison.

Salary scales in the military and expenditure on high-tech equipment are expected to become the focus of a bruising battle between hawks and doves in Parliament when Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise's budget vote is debated on Wednesday

A well-placed ANC source predicts a showdown over the pay and perks of the military boys and the size of their toys

Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils warned last week that the cut in defence spending — from R20bn in 1989 to R10,5bn this year — was threatening the force's capacity to upgrade its equipment while meeting its daily running costs

Among the statistics that will rankle is that some generals and admirals take home R464 638 — more than the president's basic salary of R460 000

His two deputy presidents have an annual salary of R400 000, while cabinet ministers, provincial premiers, the Speaker in the National Assembly, the president of the Senate and the chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly earn R352 800 a year

At the other end of the military scale, volunteer privates earn R10 470 a year Those in the citizens force and commandos are paid R12 593 a year

Some MPs who will be taking part in this week's debate have condemned these discrepancies as shameful

It is expected, however, that the major confrontation will be over whether money should be spent on high-tech defence equipment or RDP projects

Mr Modise is slated to make a statement on the controversial R1,7bn corvette programme

Mr Kasrils has disclosed that at least R4bn has to be spent in the next seven years to replace ageing jet fighters and transport aircraft

The military aircraft fleet has been slashed from 740 to 400 Seven of the10 fighter squadrons have been scrapped and the futures of the Mirage F1 squadron at Hoedspruit and the Impala ground attack fleet hang in the balance

According to the defence force documents, a substantial decline is projected in the largest capital expenditure budgets, but a sharp increase is projected for some items

For example, the amount spent on Rooikat armoured vehicles was R1,3bn up until 1993 and dropped to R249m in 1994, an expenditure of R182m has been projected for 1995 and modest increases that would take the figure to R230m a year have been projected for 2001-2004

Until 1993, R725m was spent on 110 Olifant tanks This figure has dropped to R20m this year, but it is projected to increase to R78m from 1997 to 2004

CT 19/6/95

Armscor 'used 130 companies as fronts'

BD 20/6/95 (254)

CAPE TOWN — Armscor had used about 130 front companies at the height of SA's international isolation to counter the UN arms embargo, Armscor head Tielman de Waal said yesterday.

However, Armscor was no longer involved in clandestine armaments deals, he told the Cameron commission

De Waal was one of three senior Armscor officials making oral submissions to the commission during the second leg of its inquiry into arms trade policy The first leg involved an investigation into Armscor armaments deals which went awry in the Middle East in 1993 and 1994 The commission's report was delivered to President Nelson Mandela in Pretoria last Thursday

After the UN arms embargo was lifted in April last year, De Waal said, it was no longer necessary to use front companies Most had been wound up Several were still operating because of contractual obligations About 30 companies would still be operating by year-end, but all would be wound up by next June

Armscor senior manager Andre Buys said Armscor had never used front companies to export arms but only to facilitate armaments imports to SA

SANDF spokesman Pierre Steyn said arms export control should be subject to greater parliamentary supervision Arms export policy and controls should be integrated inter-departmentally with Cabinet authority and supervision Parliament should oversee the process

The new arms policy should ensure that arms exports posed no threat to the people of SA It should also comply with international legal and ethical standards, such as arms control treaties and human rights criteria — Sapa

'Mammoth task' causes delay in draft Defence Bill

(254) ARG 20/6/95

Political Correspondennt

A NEW Defence Bill, reflecting the far-reaching transformation of the armed forces, is unlikely to reach parliament this year

Redrafting defence legislation is proving a mammoth task, with provision having to be made for civilian control of the military and a new structure for part-time forces

In his budget speech to the national assembly tomorrow, Defence Minister Joe Modise is expected to cover progress in integrating former rival armies and the corvettes issue

Mr Modise's speech will coincide with the release of a green paper

The defence force this week disclosed its approach to a future arms control export policy

Addressing the Cameron Commission, Defence Secretary Pierre Steyn said arms exports should pose no threat to the people or armed forces

Policy should be predictable, practical and comply with international legal and ethical standards

This included international arms control treaties, disclosure systems like the United Nations register of conventional arms, human rights criteria and anti-terrorism

South Africa did not make or trade in weapons of mass destruction, and had put an embargo on exports of land mines

Arms export policy and control procedures should be implemented on an inter-departmental basis under cabinet supervision, with parliament overseeing the process

Defence strategists and commanders were ambivalent about exports of defence equipment

Exports brought foreign exchange and domestic tax earnings, but there should be no threat to South Africa, they said

Mr Steyn said the defence force would probably take part in peacekeeping missions in Africa, under the auspices of the United Nations, Organisation of African Unity or the Association of Southern African States

The constitution required the defence force to defend the country and to serve in compliance with South Africa's international obligations

No more secret deals, Armscor inquiry told

ARMSCOR was no longer involved in clandestine armaments deals, Armscor head Tielman de Waal told the Cameron Commission

At the height of South Africa s international isolation about 130 Armscor front companies had been used to counter the United Nations arms embargo, he told the commission in Cape Town yesterday

Mr De Waal was one of three senior Armscor officials making oral submissions to the commission during the second leg of its inquiry into arms trade policy

The first leg involved an investigation into Armscor armaments deals which went awry in the Middle East in 1993 and 1994 The commission's report was delivered to President Nelson Mandela last week

After the UN arms embargo was lifted in April last year it was no longer necessary to use front companies and most had been wound up, Mr De Waal said (254)

A number were still operating because of contractual obligations ARG 20/6/95

About 30 companies would still operate by year's end, although all would be wound up by June 1996

Neither were any clandestine deals nor front companies being used to counter the United States arms embargo still in force against South Africa

Armscor had never used front companies to export arms but only to facilitate armaments imports to South Africa, Armscor senior manager Andre Buys said — Sapa

Armscor used 130 'fronts'

254

CT 20/6/95

ARMSCOR was no longer involved in clandestine arms deals, Armscor head Mr Tielman de Waal told the Cameron Commission yesterday

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Obligations

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No clandestine deals or front companies were being used to counter the United States arms embargo still in force against SA

Senior manager Mr André Buys said Armscor had never used front companies to export arms, but only to facilitate imports

Mapping out a policy to meet the times

(254) Star 20/6/95

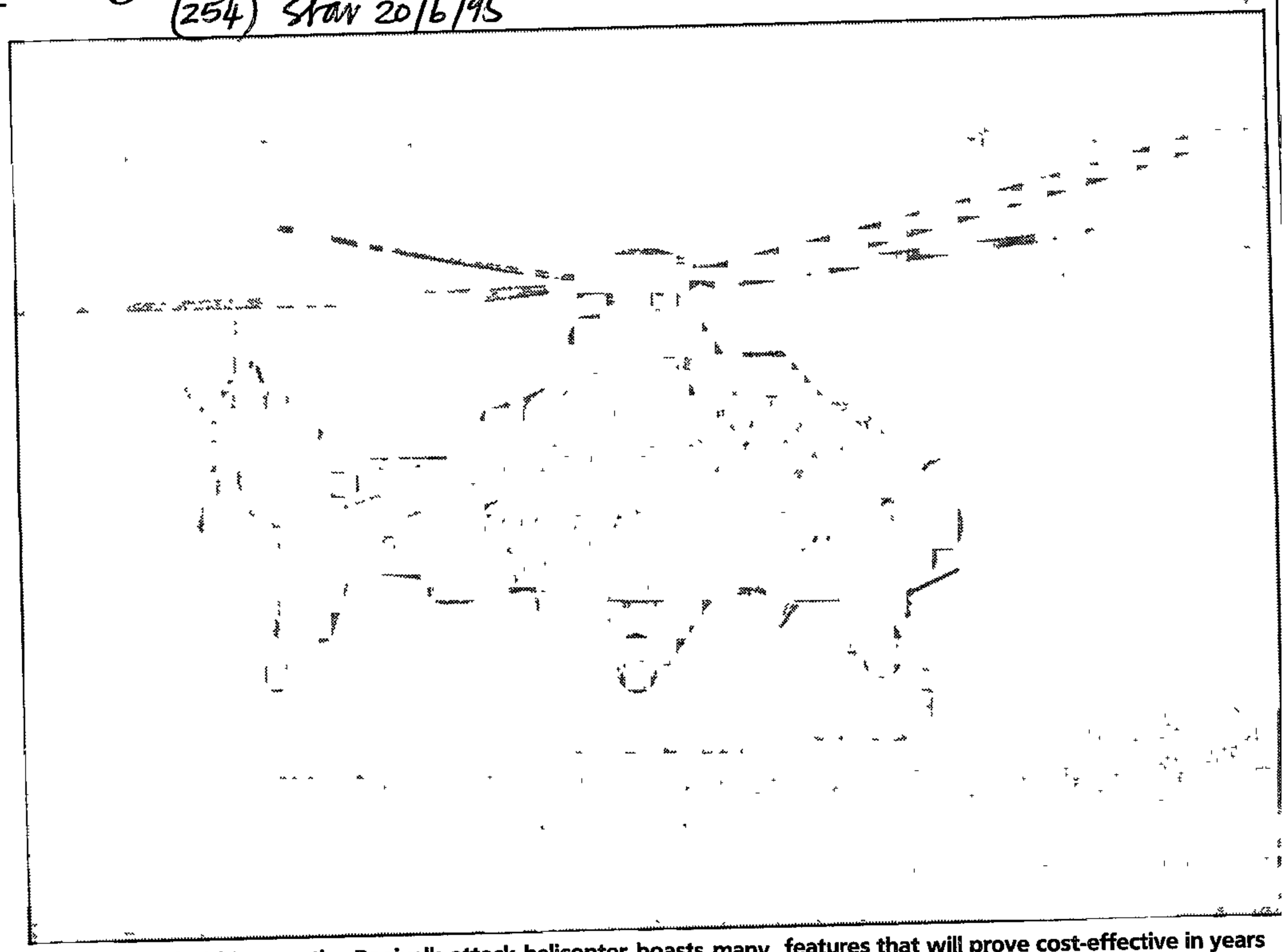
DOES South Africa need a defence industry? Defence Correspondent Norman Chandler reports on the industry's views

The thorny question of whether or not South Africa really needs a defence manufacturing industry is expected to be one of the cornerstones of the Defence White Paper to be tabled in Parliament tomorrow by Defence Minister Joe Modise

At the same time, he is also to present his budget — and, with the doves lined up against him and seeking a major reduction in defence spending, it is perhaps appropriate that the local defence industry is today making an important submission about themselves to the Cameron commission of inquiry

The commission was established following the embarrassing sale of arms negotiated by businessman Eli Wazan

The shipment was first destined for Lebanon but turned up in Ye[illegible] be-



Made in South Africa . . . the Rooivalk attack helicopter boasts many features that will prove cost-effective in years

fore being returned by the Yemeni government to South Africa, where it was offloaded at Port Elizabeth and sent to a secret SA National Defence Force weapons dump in Northern province

Modise will find many friends in the defence industry, which has seen hard times as a result of a major cutback, as well as retrenchments, in the South African military machine in the post-Angola war era.

The industry is complaining that it is labouring under the yoke of defence legislation more in keeping with the sanctions years than the mid-1990s

This legislation has delighted the anti-war faction but has meant that many top-notch developments, as well as the personnel connected with them, have left the country

The defence industry has lost some 2 100 employees over the past three years as a result (between 1989 and 1994, the sector employment figure fell by 112 000) and total production of defence equipment has declined by 22% over the same period

Over the past five years, the defence budget has been trimmed from a record R15,7 billion in 1989 to about R9 billion and defence chiefs have warned time and again that successive cutbacks seriously affect the capabilities of the defence force to take up their constitutionally enshrined responsibilities towards the country

This viewpoint has been particularly evident judging from the strident debate in Parliament and outside its precincts over whether or not the South African Navy should be allowed to purchase four corvettes

Success by the doves — whose argument has been that the RDP programme is more important that military spending — will almost certainly mean their attentions being turned next on the SA Air Force, which desperately needs new capability in terms of fighter aircraft in the first years of the next century

It is important to note that, in 1990, 56% of the defence budget was spent on operations versus 44% on capital items This rate has now changed to 76% on operations and 24% on capital items

Today, the South African Defence Industry Association (Sadia) and the Aerospace Industry Representative Association of SA (Airasa) — which together represent 700 companies with an investment of R5 billion — say in their joint submission that the local industry is, and should be seen to be, a responsible industry

"In the past, the environment was characterised by conflict and embargoes which were seen by government to justify exceptional measures

"However, circumstances, with the lifting of the embargoes, are manifestly different today and policies and procedures of the past are probably unsuitable," the industry says

As far as the industry is concerned, a properly constructed arms trade policy — a matter which has been receiving attention at the highest level of government — as well as the removal of all restrictions by foreign countries, will allow it to continue to make a significant contribution to the creation of jobs and the growth of the economy in general

However, in this post-sanctions age, it sees no reason why the highly restrictive procedures of the past should continue to be allowed to be a hindrance to business

Owing to existing legislation which gives control of the arms trade to Armscor, the industry has not been able to expand — "yet the industry has to maintain a preparedness for a possible rapid increase in demand if the situation needing it arises", according to the submission

"This is part of the risk of doing business in the industry No matter how good the products are, or how good the marketing, a manufacturer cannot expand and grow the local market There is a total inelasticity of the market"

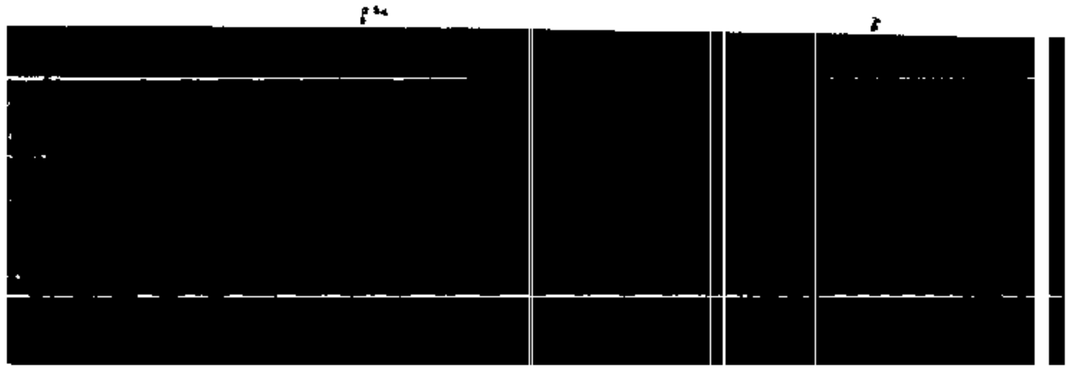
The industry supports the nation's participation in, and commitment to, relevant international treaties which limit the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and those designated as inhumane but, at the same time, is concerned that not all sanctions and embargoes on defence equipment trade by South Africa have been removed

One important aspect which appears to be getting up the nose of the industry is the thorny subject of technology transfers from South Africa to foreign countries which have had no significant material advantage for the local defence industry, particularly during the sanctions years

It urges that perhaps the time has come for a trade-off situation to develop

"In return for compliance to the various international protocols, South Africa should negotiate for recompense through technology tranfers and loans to the affected industry which would help redress the problem of defence industrial adjustment"

In the desperate days of blanket sanctions, secret South African military equipment, the most visible being the G series of artillery pieces and ultra-mobility heavy-wheeled vehicles, were sold to foreign buyers, with little or no compensation for the industries which built them



Not guilty of axe murder

Deborah Fine

GAUTENG salesman Stefanus Schultz, 38, was found not guilty in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday of killing a woman with an axe and setting her alight.

Judge G Gordon said he was acquitting Schultz "with regret" but the State had failed to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the East Rand salesman had murdered Wondra Pieterse, 42, in Alberton on April 21 last year.

It had emerged that Schultz and Frans Page met an intoxicated Pieterse at the Elsburg Hotel, near Germiston, and had then driven her to a gravel road to have sex with her.

Pleading not guilty to murder, Schultz claimed he could not remember going anywhere with Pieterse. He could only remember being with her at the hotel and then waking up at his Elsburg home the following morning.

Judge Gordon said Page — the State's only eyewitness — had sought only to distance himself from the murder and had given thoroughly unreliable evidence.

Arms exports do not pay — expert

(254)

DD 21/6/95

Edward West

CAPE TOWN — SA's arms exports provided only marginal financial gain and net returns were even more negligible when subsidisation and other hidden costs were taken into account, the Cameron commission heard yesterday.

This was said by London University Centre for Defence Studies senior research fellow Susan Willet who, with UCT Centre for Conflict Resolution researcher Peter Batchelor, submitted to the commission a cost-benefit economic analysis of SA's arms trade.

They argued that in the long term, arms exports could have significant opportunity costs, could be detrimental to industrial development and economic performance, and that resources should be released from subsidising arms exports and be redirected towards civilian investment and the creation of employment.

Willet told the commission that those in SA who defended arms exports pointed to foreign exchange earnings, job creation, lower production unit costs, recovery of local research and development costs and technology spin-offs for civilian production, as the major economic benefits.

In 1994 arms exports — supporting about 15 000 jobs — amounted to R854m or 1% of total exports and 2% of manufactured exports, a far less significant economic contribution than claimed by its proponents, said Willet.

In 1993, R206m, nearly half of total defence research and development, was spent on subsidising research and development in private firms.

Defence research and development had in the past accounted for more than 30% of total government research and development spending, with little visible benefit to civilians.

The demand for labour in the armaments sector was predominantly for highly skilled workers.

Without more exports, the industry was likely to downsize even more.

The defence labour market distorted human capital formation by absorbing disproportionate numbers of science and technology graduates and technicians.

About 40% of SA's total arms procurement needed to be imported, and if exports were highly dependent on imported components, net foreign exchange benefits would be significantly reduced.

And while SA had managed a trade surplus in military technology over the past two years, arms trade figures did not include the import of capital goods for weapons production, which if included, would probably mean a deficit in the military technology trade balance, said Willet.

AWB 'siege' pair sentenced

Susan Russell

DD 21/6/95

TWO senior AWB members who took part in a right-wing storming and siege of Kempton Park's World Trade Centre during multiparty negotiations in June 1993, were sentenced in the Johannesburg Regional Court to six years suspended for five years for public violence.

Josias Cruywagen and Dirk Ackermann were identified as the driver and passenger of a armoured vehicle known as a Viper which drove through the glass front and into the foyer of the centre on June 25 1993, allowing scores of other protesters to pour into the building.

Fifteen co-accused won an application for their discharge on Monday on the grounds that the prosecution had failed to prove the charges against each of them.

Counsel for Cruywagen and Ackermann closed the case without calling witnessess or leading evidence from either of them. However, AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche testified in mitigation.

The AWB leader, who was present at the siege, denied there had been any right-wing plan for violent protest and said the intention was to hand over a written protest to the multiparty negotiators.

Sapa reports that Terre'Blanche said the AWB's coffers had been depleted by R500 000 spent providing legal representation and bail funds after the invasion.

Magistrate JJB Esterhuizen found that the state had proved a charge of public violence against Cruywagen and Ackermann beyond reasonable doubt.

He said, however, there was evidence that the offence had occurred during the emotion of the moment. The magistrate said the failure of Cruywagen and Ackermann to testify had also made sentencing diff[illegible]

In comparing the present case to one he had tried in 1992 in which an MK member was charged with attempted murder for planting an explosive device which caused no injuries. During the trial the late MK leader Chris Hani had testified on the unlikelihood of the accused committing a similar offence again due to the changing circumstances in the country. The accused then was given a suspended sentence.



Halt arms exports — expert

(254) ~~[illegible]~~ ARG 21/6/95

SOUTH AFRICA should stop arms exports since it had only insignificant short-term benefits and could harm the country's economy in the longer term, a British defence economist said in Cape Town.

"Once the subsidies and hidden costs are taken into account, the economic benefits which accrue from arms exports are relatively insignificant and .. those benefits that do exist are usually only realised in the short term," said Susan Willett of the Centre for Defence Studies at London University yesterday

"In the long term arms exports may have a detrimental effect on South Africa's industrial development and economic performance.

"We therefore suggest that the current strategy of arms export promotion should be halted," Ms Willett said.

She was testifying to the Cameron Commission of inquiry into Armscor's weapons sales abroad.

The judicial commission was appointed by President Nelson Mandela after an abortive sale of AK-47 rifles to a Middle East arms dealer by Armscor last year

Ms Willett said "The defence sector's contribution to South Africa's economy is far less significant than is claimed by its proponents

"Furthermore, the economic benefits of arms exports, especially in terms of foreign exchange earnings — $237 million (R853 million) — balance of payments considerations and jobs appear to be relatively marginal."

She said the industry had also absorbed a disproportionate number of the country's scarce scientific and technological graduates, with little obvious benefits to the civilian economy

Contribution to SA's economy insignificant, commission hears

Call to halt arms trade

(254)

Star 21/6/95

DEFENCE economist believes foreign exchange earnings and job opportunities in the defence sector are relatively marginal

Cape Town — Arms export should be stopped and the resources redirected to job creation and improving the efficiency and competitiveness of South Africa's civilian manufacturing sector, defence economist Dr Sue Willett told the Cameron Commission yesterday

Presenting the findings of an economics study on South Africa's international arms trade based on a cost-benefit analysis, she said the defence industry's contribution to South Africa's economy was far less significant than claimed

She said that once arms export subsidies and hidden costs were taken into account, the economic benefits were relatively insignificant

Such benefits as there were usually had only short-term effects In the long term, arms exports could have significant opportunity costs and might have a detrimental effect on SA's industrial development and economic performance, Willett said

Earlier, the South African Defence Industry Association (Sadia) said trade in defence equipment had contributed R335-million to South Africa's balance of payments in 1994

The exchequer had earned R857-million through taxes and dividends, Sadia spokesman Julius Kriel said

The defence industry had played a strategic role in developing the country's industrial and manufacturing sectors

Nearly all the defence companies had been able to apply their technological capabilities to commercial production.

These included environmental control systems for mining applications, sporting rifles and ammunition, cricket bats, civilian aircraft engine gearboxes, walk-through metal detectors, rural telephone systems, composite racing bicycles and marine distress flares, he said.

Armscor, Denel and 800 private companies comprising the local arms industry had contributed nearly 1% of GDP last year, while total employment in the arms industry (70 000 people) amounted to 0,5% of total manufacturing employment in 1994, Willett said.

Arms exports, which accounted for about 20% of the value of domestic arms production, supported about 15 000 jobs or 20% of total arms employment

Last year's arms exports of R854-million accounted for about 1% of total exports and 2% of manufactured exports.

From these figures it appeared that the defence sector's contribution to the SA economy was far less significant than claimed by its proponents, while foreign exchange earnings, balance of payments considerations and job opportunities appeared relatively marginal, she said

Despite massive state investment and attempts to be self-sufficient in arms production, South Africa consistently had to import a significant amount of military-related technology

About 40% of total procurement spending was on direct and indirect imports, which meant that the net foreign exchange benefits from arms exports were significantly reduced

South Africa's re-entry into the "official" international arms market had been overshadowed by the Armscor Middle East arms sales debacle

Scandals

This had prompted the Cameron Commission of Inquiry and recent media reports alleging South Africa had supplied arms to Rwanda, Croatia and the rebel Unita movement in Angola in defiance of the United Nations arms embargoes, Willett said

These scandals had raised concerns about the Government's commitment to being a responsible arms seller and highlighted the urgent need for a new arms trade policy. — Sapa.

Detailed military review promised

Defence cuts will hit SA – Modise

(254)

Star 22/6/95

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Defence Minister Joe Modise has warned Parliament that radical defence budget cuts — by 50% over the past seven years — will leave South Africa with a "second-rate" military force

The warning was made during his introduction yesterday in the National Assembly amid a clamour from sceptical MPs for a smaller defence budget and more money for the RDP

Modise, introducing the debate on his department's R9,8-billion defence budget, said "The reductions in the defence budget have reduced the size of our core defence capabilities."

He welcomed the concern among MPs and the public over the continued high rate of defence spending and promised that a comprehensive defence review was being prepared for next year's budget

"In the spirit of the RDP imperative, we are following a zero-based budgeting process to reprioritise defence activities and redirect resources towards an improved balance between capital and operating expenditure," he said.

MINISTER warns that erosion of the defence budget will leave South Africa with only a second-rate military capability

Modise agreed that there was "no immediate apparent threat" but warned that this complicated defence planning and that "the absence of an immediate war threat does not guarantee peace"

South Africa faced a rising tide of refugees, gun smuggling, drug trafficking, international racketeering and poaching. It also shared responsibility for regional security, he said.

Modise said the navy would decommission its first naval strike craft in 1997 and the last by 2005

"Unless these ships are replaced in time by combat vessels capable of extensive deep-sea patrolling, our navy loses a vital capability. Owing to budget constraints and the current absence of a national consensus on the matter, I have had to defer, for the time being, the purchase of the corvette replacements for the strike craft," he said.

The army's Buffel and Eland armoured cars were being withdrawn and scrapped and the upgrading programmes for the Olifant tank and Rooikat tank destroyer and a replacement for the Ratel had been drastically reduced

"Regarding the air force, the number of aircraft has been cut by 50%. Seven out of 10 frontline squadrons have been scrapped. It now looks as though we are going to have to depend on only one supersonic fighter squadron, the Cheetah," Modise said

South Africa's coastline was being patrolled by one squadron of Dakotas dating from World War 2, he added

Modise released a Defence White Paper to coincide with his speech. The document said the defence review being drawn up would contain detailed and motivated budgetary forecasts

Soldiers, sailors and airmen face discharge

ARGT 22/6/95 (254)

Dwindling defence budget means far-reaching cuts — Modise

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

THOUSANDS of soldiers, sailors and airmen face the sack as the defence force is shrunk to the bare minimum

The dwindling budget for defence will mean far-reaching rationalisation

Ageing equipment is to be scrapped and in some cases not replaced

Speaking yesterday in his budget debate in the national assembly, Defence Minister Joe Modise said defence spending had been cut in half in the past seven years

Funding was now about R10-billion, of which most was spent on daily operating costs like food, fuel and salaries

"At this low level of funding we are unable to renew our defence equipment, with all the risks this carries

"This has negative implications for our security in the next 10 to 15 years."

Mr Modise disclosed that

- All navy strikecraft were to be decommissioned by 2005, with the first being removed from service in 1997
- Corvette purchases had been put on hold because of budget constraints and the lack of national agreement on the issue
- Buffel armoured personnel carriers and Eland armoured cars were being scrapped
- Upgrading programmes for the Olifant tank, Rooikat tank destroyer and a replacement for the Ratel had been cut back drastically
- The number of air force aircraft had been cut by half
- Coastal patrols were being done by only one squadron of Dakotas

Mr Modise said the defence force was the nation's insurance policy

"What we contribute to defence reflects the value we attach to our new state and to our achievements

"As such we do not deserve a second-rate army, navy or air force"

Tony Yengeni (ANC), chairman of the parliamentary joint standing committee on defence, said his committee would insist on full involvement in a comprehensive defence review

He asked what was being done to eliminate discriminatory attitudes in the defence force

He hoped the soon-to-be-created defence secretariat would not be staffed by white people from the existing defence headquarters

Mr Yengeni asked what steps were being taken to reorientate the military intelligence division

Nyambeni Ramaremisa (NP) said there were military and practical reasons to buy corvettes

The coastline had to be safeguarded or outsiders would do as they liked

South Africa also needed new jet fighters, which would cost three times the price of navy strikecraft, Colonel Ramaremisa said

Crisis looming, warns Modise

SA's defence capability 'devastated'

254

BD 22/6/95

Adrian Hadland

CAPE TOWN — The slashing of the defence budget by 50% over the past seven years had devastated SA's capacity to muster even a minimum force level in the event of conflict, Defence Minister Joe Modise said.

"We do not deserve a second-rate army, navy or air force," he told the National Assembly during the defence budget debate. "Our national defence force is our nation's insurance policy and the extent of that insurance depends on what we invest in it" The decrease in the defence budget, from R20bn in 1988 to R10bn in 1995/96, meant equipment could not even be renewed. This had negative implications for SA's security in the next 10 to 15 years

Modise, who also tabled a draft White Paper on defence policy yesterday, said the absence of an immediate war threat did not guarantee peace. If anything, uncertainty meant SA had to be prepared for a wider range of possible threats.

"We need to appreciate that threats, if left unchecked, could lead to a crisis."

SA was one of the f[illegible]ries that still had obsolete Dakota aeroplanes patrolling its coastline and sea-space. The navy's last strike craft would be decommissioned by 2005, Buffel armoured personnel carriers and Eland armoured cars were being scrapped and upgrading programmes for the Olifant tank and Rooikat tank destroyer had been cut. Seven out of ten front line air squadrons had been ditched leaving one supersonic fighter outfit.

But ANC MP Tony Yengeni, who is also chairman of the National Assembly's defence committee, said "vague threats" about SA's security should not be used to justify a bloated defence force

Sapa reports Modise said SA had made about R100m on arms sales to Rwanda before the May 1994 UN arms embargo on that country. Replying to a question from Ebrahim Ebrahim (ANC), he said between late 1980 and March 1992 Armscor sold weapons and ammunition worth about R26m to the Rwandan government.

Denel took over Armscor's contracts in 1992 and sold infantry type weapons, and equipment worth about R74m to Rwanda. In 1993 Armscor refused to issue Denel any more export permits because the Rwandan situation was deteriorating rapidly. As a result Denel had to dishonour orders worth about R45m Last year the then Defence Minister withdrew all permits for arms exports to Rwanda.

The draft White Paper, which will be circulated for discussion before it is considered by Parliament in April, includes an analysis of SA's strategic environment and outlines the transformation process of the defence force. It also deals with its adherence to international law and treaties and entrenches civilian control.

The paper says 30 000 soldiers, or nearly one-third of the armed forces' current strength, will have to be rationalised or demobilised over the next few years

Modise said the moratorium on the prosecution of citizen force members who ignored call-ups would be extended

Anglican Church calls for prohibition on arms exports

TYRONE SEALE, Political Staff

THE Anglican Church has called for a prohibition on arms exports from South Africa (254)

It says the notion of killing people for profit is "utterly obscene and contrary to the post-apartheid commitment to the promotion of human rights worldwide" HRG 22/6/95

The church made the call at a hearing in Cape Town of the Cameron commission of inquiry into alleged arms transactions between Armscor and Middle Eastern arms dealer Eli Wazan and other related matters.

Part of the commission's brief is the assessment of submissions on future arms trade policy.

Yesterday the commission presented its first report to President Mandela for consideration by the president and the cabinet.

Terry Crawford-Browne, representing Anglican archbishop Desmond Tutu, told the commission the Anglican Church had, through its synods and bishops, called on the government to end immediately the authorisation of arms exports and progressively and rapidly to dismantle the arms industry and to deploy its resources to peaceful development.

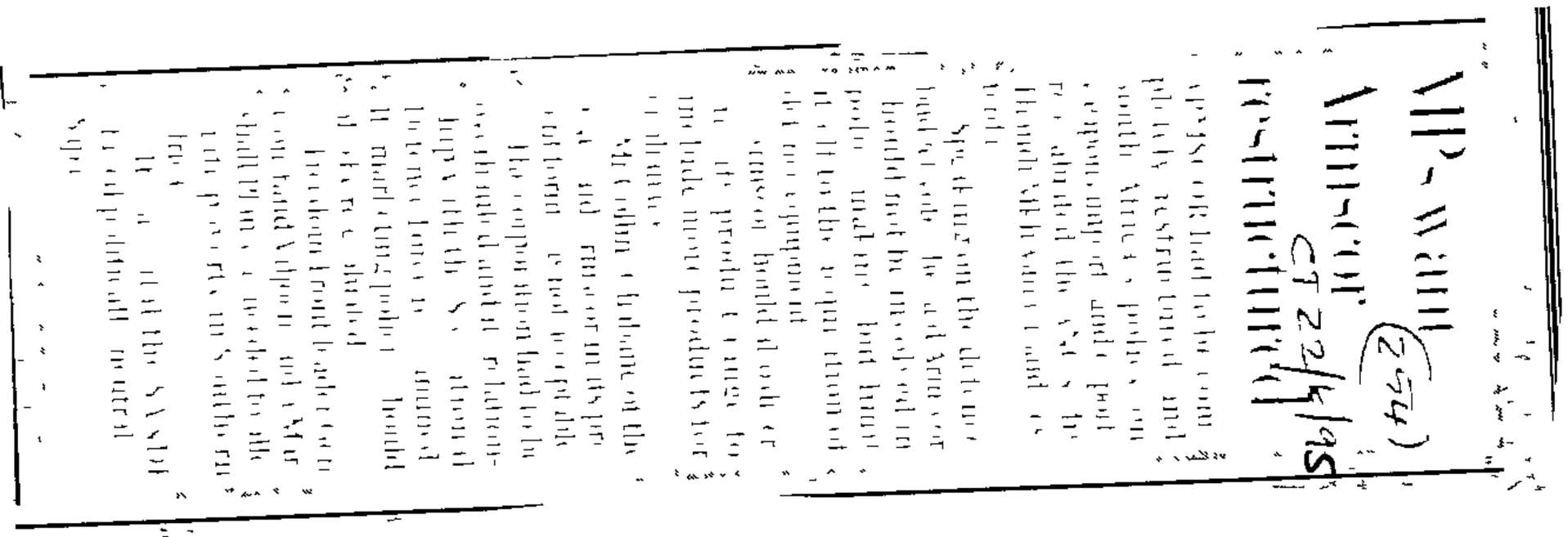
The Anglican Church's stance was guided by the World Council of Churches' acknowledgment of the "just war" tradition of most Christian churches, and the council's noting that the culture of violence was extremely complex.

The council had declared that many of the conflicts in the world today arose from situations of injustice, the struggle for power, resurgent racism and xenophobia, and violence against women and children, among other reasons.

Many of these conflicts would not have taken the outrageously violent forms had it not been for the abundant availability of increasingly sophisticated and expensive weaponry and the indoctrination of the military by the ideology of national security.

Under these circumstances, the tradition of a just war — that required a just cause and the use of just means — was challenged.

An inescapable question was how war could be seen as an act of justice.



SA Navy under threat — Modise

ET 22/6/95 (254)

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE imminent decommissioning of navy strike craft and the reliance on obsolete Dakotas for coastal surveillance was threatening South Africa's ability to protect its economically vital territorial waters, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said yesterday

The minister said during the debate on his budget vote in the National Assembly that drastic cuts to the defence budget in recent years had reduced SA's defence capabilities

He said the decommissioning of navy strike craft would begin in 1997 and end in 2005

"Unless these ships are replaced in time by combat vessels, capable of deep-sea patrolling, our navy loses vital capability," he said

The minister said budget constraints and the "current absence of a national consensus" on the purchase of corvettes had resulted in a decision being deferred

"This despite the urgent need to protect our 200-mile exclusive economic zone and territorial waters and the natural resources to be found in them," he told MPs

Mr Modise added that the withdrawal of the Shackleton maritime aircraft meant SA's coastline and sea-space was being patrolled by only a single squadron of Dakotas

"We cannot continue indefinitely with ailing and obsolete equipment," he said

"What we contribute to defence reflects the value we attach to our new state and to our achievements. We do not deserve a second-rate army, navy or air force"

Mandela briefed on Cameron report

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has been briefed by Mr Justice Edwin Cameron on the report of a commission of inquiry into Armscor arms sales to the Middle East

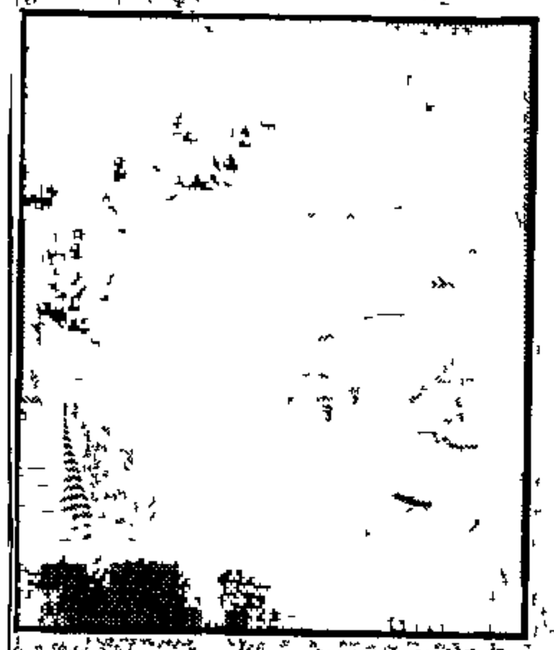
Presidential spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana said the report was handed to Mr Mandela at Tuynhuys yesterday

The judge, joined by commission member Mr Laurie Nathan and the commission's advocate Mr Brian Sheer, discussed the report with Mr Mandela, Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar and Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise for about 30 minutes

Mr Mankahlana said Mr Mandela gave no indication of when he would make public the commission's findings

Mr Mandela appointed the commission of inquiry headed by Judge Cameron after the abortive sale of AK-47 rifles to a Middle East arms dealer by Armscor last year — Reuter

(254) CT 22/6/95



Ronnie Kasrils

Ronnie Kasrils trains his guns on 'toys for the boys' jibes

(254) ARG 23/6/95

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

DEPUTY Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils has declared war on the phrase "toys for the boys," as he put it

And he led a sortie against the question "guns or butter?" in the national assembly

Mr Kasrils, an ardent advocate of a strong defence force and outspokenly in favour of buying corvettes, used the defence debate yesterday to launch an attack on the concept of "toys for boys".

"This is a facile, sexist and subliminally racist characterisation that seems to have taken root in the minds of some commentators on defence

"Is it "toys that protect our citizens in Katlehong, the East Rand and Kwazulu-Natal?

"Who and what are these 'boys'? As most of our soldiers are black, the word 'boy' is demeaning," Mr Kasrils said

The phrase was misguided, given efforts being made towards gender equality

"Are we going to start talking of goodies for the girlies?"

Contrary to the fashionable impression, Defence Minister Joe Modise and the military were not "just a bunch of gun nuts out for a big ammo fest"

Mr Kasrils said the "guns or butter choice" was a cliché that was incorrectly used It was not a choice between houses and corvettes

Not to invest in defence would be like leaving one's home with the front door and windows unlocked, he said

Doug Gibson (DP) lashed the government for its botched handling of the corvettes issue

"I predict that the delay will cost this country many millions of rands," Mr Gibson said

It was one of the weaknesses of the government of national unity that it was unable to take decisions

"As soon as they pick up a little flak they become weak at the knees and instead of taking decisions, they procrastinate and delay and network and consult," Mr Gibson said

Wynand Breytenbach (NP) said the handling of corvette issue had caused uncertainty in the navy and the defence force as a whole, and had damaged South Africa's image internationally

The Argus, Friday June 23 1995

on defence spending

"Defence cannot and should not become a victim of indecision"

Mr Breytenbach, a member of the committee overseeing integration, said progress was relatively smooth and morale far better than a year ago

He welcomed proposals on caring for veterans and disabled former liberation army soldiers, but said members of the former Defence Force should not be neglected

Ian Phillips (ANC) said the corvette programme had run aground because information about it had emerged in dribs and drabs

The tender process had been inadequate

Warning that public suspicion was fostered if issues like the corvettes were handled behind closed doors, Dr Phillips said Britain's armed forces reported to parliament on almost all major projects.

China, France and now US renege on non-proliferation treaty

Star 23/6/95 (254)

SA confronts nuclear powers

■ BY PETER FABRICIUS
STAR BUREAU

Washington — South Africa fears it is being betrayed as one nuclear power after another announces plans to go ahead with nuclear bomb testing

Last month South Africa persuaded developing countries to support the nuclear powers by indefinitely extending the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty In exchange the nuclear powers made strong commitments to disarmament.

SA has already protested strongly to the French and Chinese governments about their plans to resume test blasts. Now it is expected to seek clarity from the US government on its announcement this week that it is also considering resumption of underground bomb testing

At last month's conference SA played a leading role, canvassing support among developing countries for an indefinite extension of the treaty — the position favoured by the nuclear powers

Developing countries felt that the agreement would perpetuate an unfair system which allowed five powers to have nuclear weapons but forbad all other countries from acquiring them.

The conference approved an SA-initiated set of objectives and principles which included a commitment to negotiations for a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty by no later than 1996

THE NUCLEAR treaty breakthrough made last month is under threat, drawing its broker, SA, back into the heated arena

"Pending the entry into force of a comprehensive test ban treaty, the nuclear weapons states should exercise utmost restraint," the statement said.

Nuclear disarmament groups and SA believe the plans to resume tests breach this commitment as well as the general spirit of the conference agreements

Last week SA delivered a demarche — a strong form of diplomatic protest — to the French embassy in Pretoria. It also issued a strong statement at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, which said France's plans to conduct eight underground blasts between September and May contradicted "both the spirit and the letter" of the principles and objectives it had agreed to at the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty conference

This week US Defence Secretary William Perry said the Pentagon was considering what sort of experiments to conduct to ensure the reliability of its existing nuclear stockpile

It is understood that Perry, President Clinton's national security adviser Anthony Lake, and other cabinet ministers and top officials will meet tomorrow to decide which option to take

Yesterday Michael Krepon, president of the Henry L Simson Centre, a Washington-based nuclear watchdog group, said he believed Pretoria should — and would — communicate privately with the US government

Krepon said every bit of leverage would help He believed SA's concerns would carry great weight with the Clinton administration

"This is one of the by-products of SA's leadership at the review conference Their voice carries more weight than any other voice"

The 'South African concept' on nukes

WM 23-29/6/95 (254)



South Africa's input at the UN conference on the extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty won wide acclaim, writes **Abdul Minty**

THERE has been considerable confusion and misunderstanding about the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review and Extension Conference which took place at the United Nations headquarters during April and May.

The NPT, adopted for a fixed period of 35 years in 1970, was due for renewal, and the Treaty provided for three extension options indefinite, fixed period or fixed periods (or the rolling option)

The NPT has provided a virtual monopoly for the nuclear weapon states (NWS) while imposing restrictions and control over the non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS).

In addition, there was a high level of political discrimination by the major Western NWS in relation to certain threshold states Inevitably, this gave rise to sharp divisions and soon developed into serious polarisation. Instead of disarming, the NWS increased their nuclear arsenals during most of the life of the NPT and it was only with the end of the Cold War that they began to significantly reduce their stockpiles

In the new post-Cold War era, fresh problems of nuclear proliferation have arisen, especially in central and eastern Europe

Democratic South Africa inherited a situation where the apartheid regime, having developed nuclear weapons, reversed its policy during the transition period. it signed the NPT and later announced that it had unilaterally dismantled its nuclear weapons.

In formulating its policy for the 1995 NPT conference, South Africa found that there was no agreed Non-Aligned Movement, Organisation of African Unity or Southern African Development Conference position on the extension issue The South African decision on the extension option was only taken in early April, virtually on the eve of the NPT conference, and this left very little time for subsequent consultations

No governments seriously suggested that the treaty itself should be amended or that it should be allowed to die One of the three options had to be agreed by the conference and the decision needed a simple majority.

The US conducted a public campaign to win support for the "indefinite and unconditional" extension of the NPT Those countries, like South Africa, which were concerned about the lack of implementation of NPT provisions regarding disarmament, peaceful uses and other aspects, did not share a common position on the extension question

South Africa took account of the fact that the draft African Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty (ANWFZ) was intended to be permanent. It also took the view that the legitimate concerns about the lack of effective implementation of certain provisions of the NPT and its inherent inequalities should not be dealt with in such a way as to threaten the security that is provided by the NPT It was also important to recognise that the NPT was the *only* international instrument on nuclear disarmament to which *all* the nuclear weapon states are bound

Those who opposed the indefinite extension did so because they felt that when the treaty came up for a new period of extension they could extract certain concessions from the NWS It was clear that what the overwhelming number of NPT members wanted was proper checks and balances to ensure that the objectives of the treaty become reality

South Africa believed that any decision taken by a simple majority would weaken the treaty and undermine the commitment to the NPT of those left on the outside If a decision could not be reached by consensus, it should be by a significant majority and must include key countries from across group and regional boundaries.

These were among the main considerations that led South Africa to support, *in principle*, the indefinite extension of the NPT together with a package that dealt with the concerns of most governments The package, which became known as the "South African concept," involved establishing review mechanisms between the five-year review conferences and adopting a set of "principles" which took into account the new international situation and contained specific goals so that it would serve as a yardstick for governments to measure their non-proliferation and disarmament achievements

The statement by Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo turned out to be the only one containing a comprehensive set of proposals for strengthening the operation of the NPT It won wide approval among all groups.

The statement by Alfred Nzo turned out to be the only one containing a comprehensive set of proposals for strengthening the NPT

The South African proposals which not linked to extension were used by the president of the conference to reach a consensus and the conference finally united in adopting the decision to extend the NPT without a vote

The South African concept helped to strengthen the NPT and there is now wide expectation that South Africa should play a key role on questions of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

The new democratic government has to overcome the legacy of secrecy and involve Parliament, non-governmental organisations and the general public in policy-formulation

Abdul Minty was a delegate to the NPT conference and advised Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo on nuclear matters

Genial general takes over as W Cape deputy

(254) ARG 24/6/95

GLYNNIS UNDERHILL
Staff Reporter

APPROACHABLE General Adam Blauw,crt the newly appointed deputy provincial commissioner for the Western Cape, is not shy to concede his could be considered an affirmative action appointment.

"My promotion is both affirmative action and also merit. It is a combination of the two," he said

Happy to ignore any grumblings within the police force, he pointed out that while he skipped a rank to take up his new post, he was not promoted as quickly as some of his white colleagues in the past

■ Police appointments within the South African Police Services in the Western Cape have caused dissension in some quarters. It's a question of adapt or die, they admit.

"Alongside other colleagues, I stayed a colonel for five years, while some of our white colleagues were promoted every two years," he said

His appointment this month comes as a "pleasure", said General Blauw, who is living near Eerste Rivier with his family

The genial general has come a long way since he finished school in Oudtshoorn and entered the police force, taking up the job of branch commander of the detective branch in Mitchell's Plain in 1988

His aim now is to help make the SAPS acceptable to the community

General Blauw said he never lost heart as he watched his white colleagues being promoted faster than he was

"I always believed that things would come right and I accepted things the way they were I never complained It's not my way," he said

While promotions within the South African Police Services have caused widespread debate, General Blauw said he had received a lot of support since his appointment

A high-ranking police source said some of the new appointments had caused morale to dip Many senior policeman, including colonels and brigadiers, had been overlooked for promotion

The appointment of about 21 members of the department of internal security within the African National Congress to police appointments in the Western Cape was more understandable, he said While they were not trained in the police force, they were trained in intelligence, he said.

"We realise it is a case of adapt or die But what can we do," said the source

The question was whether affirmative action appointments could handle the situation, he said

Andy Miller, general secretary of the South African Police Union, said it would not object to appointments given to people who had been disadvantaged as result of skin colour

"What we object to is lateral appointments of unqualified people from outside the service being promoted into positions of power within the service, solely on political merit This is not affirmative action," he said.

Mr Miller said there was growing unhappiness over the announced appointment of some HIV-positive people within the force — while others were discriminated against, he said

"What about the few assistant constables, some of whom have hepatitis B, who have been refused appointments to permanent status?" he asked

All 12 of the assistant constables affected by this status were in the remission stage of the disease, said Mr Miller

(254) ST 25/6/98

Modise draws heavy fire in defence debate

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

LIKE troops dropped in unfamiliar terrain behind enemy lines, Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, weathered a hail of bullets when they explained to Parliament why South Africa needed its 100 000 strong defence force this week.

Addressing Parliament at the opening of his budget vote, Mr Modise painted a picture of a force decimated by budget cuts — 50 percent in seven years — and using out-moded equipment.

But the one-time Umkhonto we Sizwe commander came under attack from one of his former guerrillas, Defence Committee chairman Tony Yengeni, who said his committee had expected more change after a year of democratic government.

Mr Modise said that of the SANDF's 100 000 members, only 10 500 were "available for deployment", with the rest in civilian or uniformed back-up roles.

The figures led the Democratic Party's Douglas Gibson to point out that this meant that each deployed soldier was costing R1-million a year with the Defence budget at around R10-billion.

At the heart of Mr Modise's speech was a plea for recognition that South Africa needed to prepare itself despite the absence of any discernible military threat.

that threats, if left unchecked, could lead to a crisis and that these threats can take different forms. The absence of immediate war does not guarantee peace," he said.

The next day Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils defended the ministry's threat analysis, saying: "Concerning possible enemies, the simple answer is that it could be anyone. Not having a hostile neighbour does not guarantee that we will never be threatened.

"The real and immediate enemy is always unpreparedness."

Turning to military history, he cited the unpreparedness of the US at Pearl Harbour in World War 2 and the 1971 Bay of Bengal incident involving India and Pakistan.

"India, which had scrupulously followed Gandhian principles and barely had a navy, had to bow humiliatingly to a greater power. From that day forth, India resolutely increased its defence spending," he said.

Mr Modise emphasised moves to shift control of the defence force into civilian hands via the newly created Defence Secretariat under General Pierre Steyn.

Reforms would go so far as to expose the controversial Military Intelligence division to the glare of "transparency" and put in place "an ethical code of conduct, the rule of law and parliamentary control", he said.

Speaking directly after Mr Modise, Mr Yengeni proceeded to take his party colleague and former commander apart point by point.

"What is the policy of the minister on equal opportunities and affirmative action? Will the new Defence Secretariat be staffed mainly by white former SADF officers? The committee expected more after a year in office," he said.

Turning to Mr Modise's call for funds to prepare for "threats that can take on different forms", Mr Yengeni was particularly harsh.

"The future is indeed unpredictable. Countries in the south are indeed threatened and will continue to be threatened, but the most pressing security problems are right here in South Africa. A more scientific effort to analyse threats and opportunities is needed," he said.

ed with assault

Battle over Defence

(254)
By RAFIQ ROHAN CP 25/6/95

THE MINISTER of Defence had to defend himself this week following criticism that transformation in the army was not taking place adequately.

Minister Joe Modise and ANC MP Tony Yengeni – who is chairman of the Joint Standing Committee on Defence – clashed head-to-head in Parliament, with Yengeni insisting that the transformation process was not under way

He questioned, too, whether detailed plans had been formulated to implement an equal opportunity and affirmative action policy by the ministry.

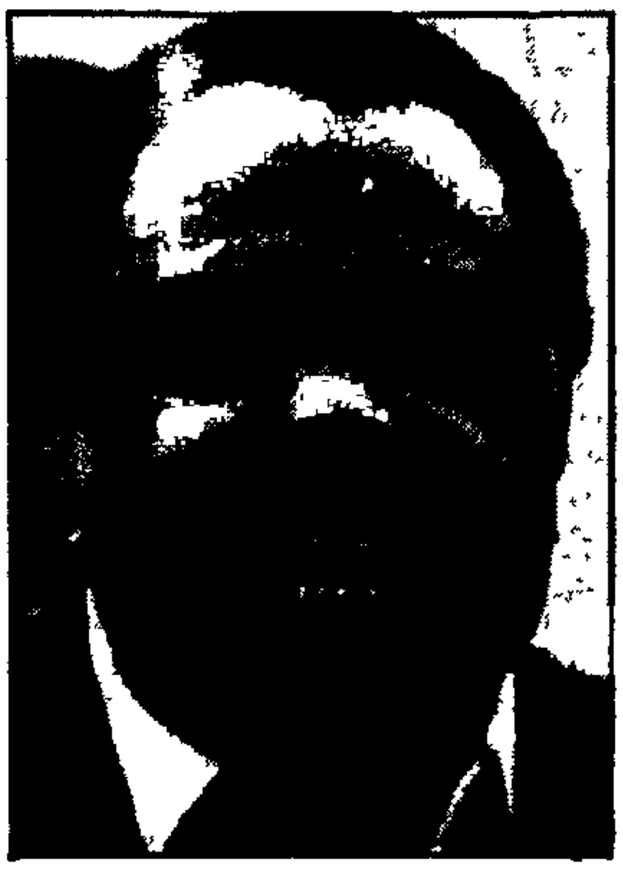
"Will the new defence secretariat which is intended to be the civilian arm of defence be staffed mainly by white former SADF officers transferred from the defence headquarters?" he asked.

After a year in office, more was expected from the Defence Department, Yengeni said.

Modise said he initiated a process of transformation last year with the National Defence Force being reorganised into the Department of Defence.

"Members of the former seven forces are being united into a single, integrated South African National Defence Force," he said.

"Up to now almost 1 200 MK and APLA officers, 2 200 non-commissioned officers and 7 700 privates, that is approximately 43 percent of MK personnel and 42 percent of APLA, have been integrated. Over 11 000 members of MK and APLA are therefore already in the National Defence Force."



UNDER FIRE ... Defence Minister Joe Modise.

He said that it still remained a "challenging task" to integrate 90 000 members of the former statutory forces with the 30 000 from the liberation forces.

Yengeni also said that a "bloated defence budget" could not be justified by arguing that "the future is uncertain" – an argument used recently by Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils.

"There is no doubt that the most pressing security problems are right here at home, within South Africa – crime, political violence, poverty, illiteracy and disease," Yengeni said.

Cabinet row over Lohatla

(254) ST25/6/95

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

LAND affairs minister Derek Hanekom and defence minister Joe Modise are poised for a cabinet clash over the ownership of land in the defence force's Lohatla Battle School in the Northern Cape province.

In a cabinet memorandum, Mr Modise asked his colleagues to back his view that no part of the 135 000ha battle school — the third largest in the world — be given back to forcibly removed communities

The memorandum contradicts a promise made before last year's elections by President Nelson Mandela to communities removed from the battle school that they would get their land back under a democratic government.

Mr Hanekom said the memorandum was discussed by a cabinet subcommittee on Thursday morning, but he only received a copy of it after the meeting had begun. The matter is to be discussed in full at this week's cabinet meeting.

Mr Hanekom would not confirm that he was trying to secure an urgent meeting with Mr Mandela to stop Mr Modise's plan.



AIDING THE POOR ... land affairs minister Derek Hanekom is fighting for displaced communities



DETERMINED ... Joe Modise, defence minister, wants the army to keep the Lohatla Battle School

Mr Modise's nine-page memorandum asked cabinet to note "the uniqueness, irreplaceability and the strategic value" of the battle school

It went on to ask "that cabinet approve the retention of the army battle school together with a full 135 000ha of training area".

The memorandum contradicted a statement made by Mr Modise just hours after he had circulated it In his budget speech to the Senate, Mr Modise said: "I am confident that the current dispute concerning Lohatla will be solved. The inter-departmental work group is presently considering various options".

The work group, consisting of representatives of the defence and land affairs ministries, the Northern Cape government and the removed communities, had been working on a proposal that would see the military keeping battle school buildings while handing back some of the land.

The National Land Committee's Brandan Pierce, who has been negotiating on behalf of the removed communities — the Khosis, the Gathlose and the Maremane — warned that this latest intervention could spark a land invasion.

"Communities have been given the impression that they could get their land through negotiation. This move basically says that the defence force is not committed to talking about it," he said.

The Khosis, who used to occupy land in the centre of the battle school, were moved to Jenn Haven in the Northern Cape, although around 200 of them have defied removal and continue to occupy 14 000ha in the centre of the training area.

The former Gathlose and Maremane native reserves consisted of around 62 000ha on the battle school land before the communities were moved to Bophuthatswana from 1969 onwards.

Mr Hanekom said he and Mr Modise had met to discuss alternatives, including acquiring adjoining farm land in exchange for the disputed territory, but the military had rejected this

Mr Modise said in his Senate speech that almost 490 000ha of land was reserved for use by the military.

"It must be clearly understood that the defence force does not own any land. All state land is registered in the name of the Republic of South Africa and administered by the public works department," he said.

He said the military had undertaken "to investigate the possibility" of returning a second contested training area, Schmidtsdrift, to the Bathlaping community in the North West province.

Asked for comment on the Lohatla dispute, defence secretariat spokesman Chris Rademeyer referred the Sunday Times to Mr Modise's Senate speech.

THE STA

New-look SANDF

Star 27/6/95 (254)

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

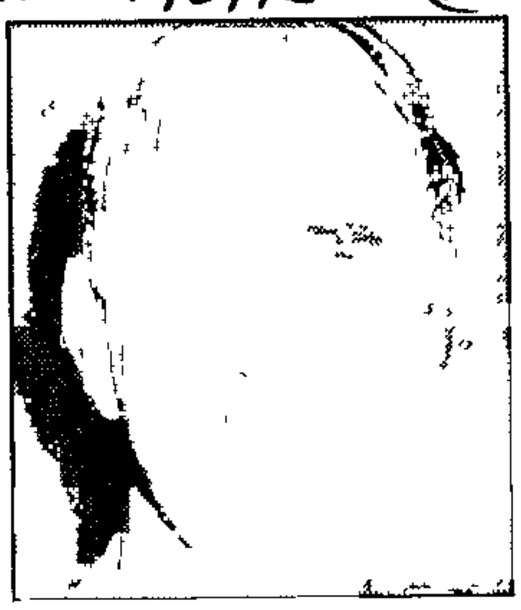
The military is looking at how it can become a more transparent organisation in line with the Constitution

It could mean that the Defence Act will be amended in the near future, in particular clauses aimed at communicating information to the public

It was disclosed yesterday that the Ministry of Defence has taken a number of steps aimed at making the Act compatible with the requirements of the country, "and to bring it in line with the interim constitution and international principles and standards"

The Chief of the SA National Defence Force, General Georg Meiring, said in Pretoria the defence force had over the past four months been involved in research into what were considered the underlying principles that relate to defence communication in a democracy

The result of the research — in co-operation with 77 organisations, including the media, labour, academic and non-government bodies — is to be used to form the basis of the Ministry's response to the proposed Open Democracy Bill, to be debated this year by Parliament



Meiring . . key principles

Meiring said key principles suggested by respondents were that government information is public information and that the public had a right of access in most cases, freedom of information should be the rule, exclusions had to be narrow and convincingly defined, not all national security information should be exempt from the Bill, and a balance sought between harmful openness and harmful secrecy

There would also have to be a standard of proof to identify whether harm would occur if certain information was withheld while, at the same time, if it were in the public interest, then such information should be disclosed

The responses do not however constitute the official standpoint of the defence force "but rather as an indication of the SANDF's sincere desire to communicate more regularly and more openly with stakeholders who also have legitimate interests in the defence and security of the country," Meiring said.

The responses had given the defence force the opportunity "to form a clear picture of the type of amendments to communication-related sections of the Defence Act that, subject to ratification by the defence Command Council, will have to be recommended for consideration by the Minister of Defence and eventually Parliament"

Security no longer purely a military issue

(254)

THE concept of defence **has** widened Security now means **different** things to **different** countries, writes Greg Mills for The Star Foreign Service

Star 30/6/95

Current consideration of the issue of 'defence or 'security' in South Africa centres on the military integration process and a debate over so called "alternative" concepts of defence

No longer is national defence taken to imply territorial sovereignty and defence in military terms The greatest danger to South Africa's wellbeing is now seen in terms of the Government's ability to procure houses education and jobs

Like South Africa Britain is also dealing with a broadening concept of security no longer expressed only in terms of military capability and defence spending

In Europe, as in South Africa, the end of the Cold War has had a major impact on domestic developments

Even west European states with the exception of France have reduced their overall armed forces and defence budgets by up to 25%

Yet analysis in Britain of defence related questions in the post Cold War world still centres on an examination of new military threats and the means of combating them

In the UK, new military threats to security can broadly be grouped around the issue of proliferation missile technological nuclear, chemical and biological in particular While this might appear ironic given Britain's retention of its own independent nuclear deterrent in the shape of the Trident submarines, there is much concern expressed now over the smuggling of nuclear materials and technology from the former Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries

In February 1994, the UK Secretary of State for Defence Malcolm Rifkind authorised a two year study into whether or not there was a need for the UK to have a missile counter measures capability

In South Africa it is currently politically correct to propound concepts and systems of regional collective security

The most recent UK 'Statement on Defence Estimates' makes the point that regional security is all very well, but Britain is not going meekly along that road

For Britain NATO remains 'an irreplaceable guarantee of mutual security' Yet many in Europe favour a redirection of defence resources towards the West European Union (WEU) a force located within the broad organisational framework of the EU rather than with a North Atlantic focus

As before the domestic and foreign policies of the Russian government will largely bear on how European states set their own security parameters In the UK, 'security' still carries primarily military connotations

■ *Dr Greg Mills is director of studies at the SA Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg He is presently researching at the Centre for Defence and International Security Studies in the UK He writes in his personal capacity*

End to rocket tests at Rooi Els

MELANIE GOSLING

ET 30/6/95

THE controversial rocket-testing facilities at Denel-Somchem's site above Rooi Els — which had local residents and the arms giant locked in a marathon legal battle two year ago — are to be dismantled and the land rehabilitated, the company announced yesterday

Denel-Somchem decided last year to shut down its multi-million rand space programme because it was unable to find an international partner to assist with technology and funding.

Spokesman Mr Paul Holtzhausen said yesterday the controversial site would still be used to test artillery ammunition "We will still test ammunition for large guns like G5s and G6s so there will still be the occasional bang."

He said the company would hold a meeting with local residents, environmental experts and other interested parties next week to discuss the dismantling of facilities covering an area of 25 to 30 hectares

"We will undertake this task with great care due to the sensitivity of the natural environment on the test site (and) will establish a monitoring committee of interested parties and environmentalists who will be invited to make contributions on behalf of the community," he said

The legal battle between the Rooi Els Local Council, Somchem and the Overberg Regional Services Council began in July 1991 when the Rooi Els council disputed Somchem's right to occupy and use the land for rocket-testing

In September 1993 the dispute was settled when residents accepted Somchem's offer which involved limiting their lease of the land to 10 years, conducting artillery tests for 15 years and restricting tests of rocket propellants to six a year

Senior posts to ex-guerillas

(254) CT 6/7/95

JOHANNESBURG. Several officers from former liberation armies uMkhonto weSizwe and Apla, as well as the Transkei Defence Force, have been appointed to senior positions in the South African Army's territorial commands.

The appointments were announced yesterday by SA National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring, who said the commands played a key role in providing national security.

They were responsible for rear area defence, border protection, participation in reconstruction and development programmes and supporting other agencies during emergencies and disasters.

Efficient management of regional commands had a direct influence on the stability of provinces, Gen Meiring said.

An army spokesman stressed that the military did not distinguish between officers from former liberation and homeland armies and those who came through the ranks of the old South African Defence Force — Sapa

DEFENCE FM 7/7/95

On the hop

(254)

There is growing concern among military strategists that a backlash in the ANC against defence spending could have serious implications for national security

With the defence budget down 50% since 1989, there are serious doubts that the SANDF can perform its primary role of protecting the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, let alone its more burdensome secondary responsibilities of border protection, internal stability and regional and international military commitments

Defence Minister Joe Modise warned parliament last month that military spending had decreased below the level at which he can maintain even the minimum defence needs (*Current Affairs* June 30).

At a conference on the future of the army in Johannesburg late last year, army chief Lieutenant General Hattingh Pretorius said its "core force" — structured to deal with limited conditions of conflict for a limited



Modise *warning against further cuts in defence spending*

period while a larger force is mobilised — had been reduced to a level at which it no longer existed as a feasible unit It would take two years to expand it back to a proper core force

However, the focus of the crisis is not on troop strength — which has increased in the past year to around 130 000, due to the integration of former opposing forces — but on capital spending, which now accounts for only 27% of the defence budget

This means SA is having to do without the modern technology deemed essential if the country is to maintain an effective military deterrent

For example, Modise says just one supersonic fighter squadron remains in service, and that maritime patrols are being carried out by pre-World War 2 Dakotas In the past three years, 262 pilots have left the SA Air Force Programmes to upgrade armour and antitank capabilities have been shelved and a decision to replace ageing naval strike craft with four new corvettes has been delayed until next year (see page 44)

Modise's deputy Ronnie Kasrils says that maintaining a hi-tech capability is SA's only insurance in the face of aggression The country cannot afford to wait if it hopes to keep pace with change "If we choose low-tech with which to defend our sovereignty and territory, then we must accept the risk of high casualties If we do not invest in our defence and in technology, we will have to confront a future aggressor with the same traditional weapons that proved so ineffective in the past"

The problem is that most of the ANC caucus see no future threat of the nature that requires massive spending on hi-tech weaponry But that, says Kasrils, is the greatest danger "The real and immediate enemy is always unpreparedness It is always unprepared countries that are the victims" To emphasise the point, he mentions the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, India's "humiliation" by US naval might in the Bay of Bengal during the secession of Bangladesh and Argentina's invasion of the Falklands

"In SA we have a country blessed with human and natural resources in a world where resource wars, ethnic cleansing and secession are all the rage and where every tinpot regime is arming itself to the teeth If we choose not to defend ourselves, we will become the easy victims of any international bullyboy"

Independent Institute for Defence Policy executive director Jakkie Cilliers, believes the pressures on the SANDF caused by political change, integration, resignations and budget cuts mean it will for some years be "substantially" less capable than the former SADF to react quickly, effectively and in a sustained manner

In a discussion paper published last December in the IDP journal *African Defence Review,* Cilliers said this was an "extremely serious development," considering the dependence of the police and government on SANDF support

He argued that further cuts in defence spending would threaten the SANDF's ability to ensure stability for development "There are no large chunks of fat left in defence which can be chopped off and added to the RDP, housing or education budgets" ■

SANDF rationalisation may 'emasculate' army

SANDF shake-up fears

SOUTH AFRICA'S part time forces are in an uproar over a Defence Force rationalisation programme that may involve scrapping many of the country's oldest units. **NORMAN CHANDLER** and **WILLEM STEENKAMP** report.

SOME of the oldest and most famous South African part-time military units — which form the bulk of SA's fighting force — face being scrapped as the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) is restructured.

Yesterday senior Part Time Forces (PTF) members warned that any large-scale rationalisation would "seriously" undermine the country's combat capability

Premature

The warning came in the wake of an SANDF statement that there would be "rationalisation", but that it was "still premature to discuss details"

About 400 units — some of which have served the country for over 140 years — are being assessed by the Defence Command Council and the Part Time National Forces Council to see whether they can survive

This includes traditional regiments like the Cape Field Artillery, Cape Town Rifles (Dukes), Cape Town Highlanders and Regiment Western Province, non-traditional units, and the commandos

One furious PTF officer said last night the PTF had in the past made up 87% of the defence force and "the greatest bulk" of the country's conventional fighting force

Without the PTF, he said, SA would have no viable combat capability and the SANDF would be unable to support the police.

This was echoed by Part Time National Forces Council chairman Colonel Ian Deetlefs, who said from Durban last night that he was "flabbergasted" the SANDF was making statements on the matter

"Speculation on the disbandment or otherwise of PTF units at this stage is totally premature," said Col Deetlefs, who added that he intended taking the matter up with SANDF chief General Georg Meiring at a meeting next week



MAN IN CHARGE: SANDF chief General Georg Meiring

The SANDF statement said the "whole subject of the PTF" had been debated and discussed over the past few months, including at a briefing session to businessmen

"The SANDF will be in a better position to provide detail about both the rationalisation process and the PTF once clarity has been reached on a number of issues which are still outstanding," the defence force said

The main reason for rationalisation — officially starting on April 1 next year — is understood to be budgetary restrictions

But this was scotched as "a lie" by one officer, who said that although the PTF formed a large part of the SANDF it received less than 3 perdent of the defence budget.

"Four regiments can be maintained for the cost of one brigadier, who earns about R120 000 a year," he said, adding the SANDF command structure was top-heavy with senior officers

The rationalisation exercise affects units containing 400 000 men — mainly white — who have undergone compulsory Citizen Force training They joined various units after training and attended compulsory camps for years before being drafted into the reserves for 12 years' service or 20 years if in the commandos

It is understood that the cabinet has still to discuss SANDF recommendations on rationalisation, and that these will also be debated by special parliamentary committees before final decisions are made

There is a huge outcry in the PTF about the consequences of rationalisation

One officer, who serves with a rural commando, said the commandos ensured law and order "and deserve at least to be paid the courtesy of consultation in matters that seriously affect us"

Another officer said it was strange that commandos were regarded as "rightist and politically sensitive while, to this day, they still serve the government of the day. I really hope the government will realise the importance of a reliable PTF "

Credibility loss

It was also feared that the SANDF, and in particular the army, would lose international credibility

One officer said it appeared "there is an exercise on the go that will emasculate the army completely"

Officers urged that certain criteria be observed in the disestablishment and said one of the first should be recognition of an affected unit's proven combat capability and efficiency over time Many SA volunteer regiments played an outstanding role in both world wars and in Korea, they said

CT 7/7/95

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Historic SA regiments to get their marching orders

(254)

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

Some of the most famous regiments in South African military history are to be disbanded as part of the rationalisation of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF)

They are among 400 units — some of which have served the country in war and peace for more than 140 years — being assessed by the Defence Command Council (DCC) and the Part Time Forces National Council (PTFNC) to see whether they will survive the axe.

There is no official indication yet as to which regiments are to be disbanded All Part Time Force (PTF) units are affected, including traditional regiments, non-traditional units and commandos

A further change is that the name "commandos" is to fall away in favour of "volunteer". It has already been implemented in the commando air wing, which is now known as the Volunteer Air Wing

The SANDF confirmed in a reply to questions from The Star that there would be rationalisation but said it was "still premature to discuss details".

The process would be carried out over the next few years "in order to shape (the defence force) in terms of the operational requirements as prescribed in the Constitution, as well as to fall within the budgetary restrictions as approved by Parliament"

The statement added that the "whole subject of the PTF" had been debated and discussed over the past few months, including a briefing session to businessmen covering a range of military subjects, one of which was the PTF".

"The SANDF will be in a better position to provide detail about both the rationalisation process and the PTF once clarity has been reached on a number of issues which are still outstanding," the defence force said.

The main reason for rationalisation — officially starting on April 1 — is understood to be budgetary restrictions

Many units are no longer viable entities and members of many units, particularly those in urban areas, have not been responding to legally compulsory call-ups or parades, thereby placing a huge drain on the military's already-stretched financial resources

Only 5 294 Citizen Force soldiers reported for duty during the unrest period from September 1993 to August 1994, military sources told The Star. The thrust of ensuring peaceful elections last year fell on the shoulders of 67 014 commandos — and many commando units are also earmarked for disestablishment

The rationalisation exercise affects units housing 400 000 men — mainly white — who have undergone compulsory CF training.

At the business briefing,

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Regiments get marching orders

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◀ From Page 1

representatives of the public and private sectors were told that recommendations made by an SANDF study team regarding all aspects of rationalisation and a future voluntary service programme had been accepted in principle by Defence Minister Joe Modise and Chief of the SANDF, General Georg Meiring

It is understood that the Cabinet has still to discuss the recommendations, and that these would be debated by special parliamentary committees before final decisions are made

Final approval depends on force designs and structure, the development of a short-term PTF employment plan, and administration, service benefits and incentives, finalisation of the constitution of the PTFNC, and marketing and recruitment

Rationalisation does not however mean that citizens will no longer be liable for military service in future years They will be called up if it is necessary, and the Defence Act is to be amended in October or November to ensure this eventuality is covered

Until amendments are approved existing legislation remains in force

Meanwhile, there is an outcry in the PTF about the consequences of rationalisation.

The Star has been told there are "many concerns among citizen force officers about which units are to be disestablished" while others say that many units are "from a strategic and planning point of view, little more than an expensive paper dragon"

It is also feared that the SANDF and, in particular, the army, will lose international credibility if severe downsizing — as this exercise is known — is effected

Famous army units threatened

Among famous regiments under threat from the rationalisation process are the Cape Field Artillery (established 1857), Transvaal Horse Artillery, Natal Carbineers (established 1855), Durban Light Infantry, Cape Town Rifles (Dukes) and Kaffrarian Rifles

Others include Regiment Botha, Regiment De Wet, Regiment Groot Marico, First City, Cape Town Highlanders, Regiment President Steyn, Regiment Louw Wepener, Kimberley Regiment, Transvaal Scottish, Witwatersrand Rifles and Rand Light Infantry

The SA Irish, 1 Regiment De La Rey, 2 Regiment De La Rey, Regiment Langenhoven, Regiment Christian Beyers, Pretoria Highlanders, 1 Natal Mounted Rifles (formed in 1854), Prince Alfred's Guard, Regiment Western Province, Regiment Molopo, Umvoti Mounted Rifles, Light Horse Regiment and the Pretoria Regiment are being assessed. Some may be merged with existing units

Rising star in WP Command sky

(254) ARG 11/7/95

Staff Reporter

THE first black chief of staff has been appointed to Western Province Command — and he expects to play a key role in humanitarian and police back-up operations in poor areas

Dlambulo Tshiki, who served at the Transkei Defence Force headquarters as a director of personnel, logistics and planning, said his Transkei experience had equipped him well to fit in with the army's peacetime functions

"We did similar civil operations in the Transkei Defence Force," he said

In a move aimed at speeding up the integration of black officers into the defence force, the army appointed Brigadier Tshiki to his new post before he had obtained the necessary qualifications

He is to complete the joint staff command course, largely by correspondence

The jovial 43-year-old, who is married with three children, said that although he had visited Cape Town only once — in 1986 — he was happy to be a "Kaapenaar"

Brigadier Tshiki said a new, more democratic approach was developing in the army

"The management tactics of the military should be similar to those in a private organisation

"Although the military is hierarchical in structure, there should be a standard management-worker relationship"



CHANGE IS THE KEY: The army's new chief of staff in the Western Cape, Brigadier Dlambulo Tshiki, right, shares the Key of the Castle of Good Hope with Major-General Dan Lamprecht, Western Province officer commanding Picture HANNES THIART, The Argus

Land battle over army base

ST(CM) 9/7/95 ~~(271/95)~~ (254)

LAND Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom has ordered an urgent investigation into a private bid to buy or rent a piece of pristine West Coast land which is being used for training by a crack army unit.

His instruction to the Department of Land Affairs coincides with at least two other looming claims for the former 4th Reconnaissance Regiment's Donkergat base on the western shores of the Langebaan lagoon

The National Parks Board (NPB) this week said it deserved first option on the land adjoining the West Coast National Park, but Defence Ministry spokesman D A S Herbst dismissed an imminent handover

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

The Democratic Party has suggested the land be given to the National Parks Board if Iscor's controversial steel mill goes ahead on the opposite shore of Saldanha Bay.

A spokesman for Mr Hanekom said the Land Affairs inquiry would try to identify various claims for the military land, as well as needs relating to it.

"We have to look at optimal land use If land is not being used optimally, we have to find ways of doing so," Mr Helmuth Schlenter said

Dr Herbst said the 2 000 ha terrain — the northernmost tip of a peninsula spanned by the Atlantic Ocean and the lagoon — was needed for training

But, sources claim, Donkergat was "little more than an exclusive resort for military brass"

Military analyst Helmoed Roemer-Heitman said Donkergat was probably the country's best site for maritime special forces training, being secluded but close to naval facilities

He described the Donkergat unit — reorganised into 45 Parachute Brigade — as the South African equivalent of Britain's elite Special Boat Squadron

He said its operatives had probably been involved in a combined police and military raid in May on two trawlers suspected of carrying drugs.

Mr Hanekom ordered an inquiry after being approached by private individuals who say they want to buy or rent the old Donkergat whaling station situated in the military grounds

A Department of Land Affairs spokeman said the matter was receiving urgent attention

A NPB spokesman said Donkergat would make a logical addition to the 27 000 ha West Coast National Park.

Integration of highest ranks in SANDF

New army chiefs are ready to bite bullet

Star 11/7/95 (254)

BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

Former Azanian People's Liberation Army commander Brigadier Dan Mofokeng says he is under no illusions about what is in store for him when taking up a new post next week as Chief of Staff, Natal Command.

His appointment, as well as that of Major-General Gilbert Ramano as Officer Commanding Northern Cape Command, are among the first visible fruits of integration within the highest ranks in the defence force.

The two officers from the former non-statutory forces (Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla), as well as Brigadier Aaron Ntshinga, former Chief of Staff of the now-defunct Transkei Defence Force, were introduced to the media at a briefing at army headquarters yesterday

Mofokeng (39), who is to serve under new Natal commanding officer Major-General C E le Roux, said he was aware "Natal is volatile, a very hot area".

Mofokeng, who left South Africa in 1976 to join exiles in Tanzania, trained in the Peoples' Republic of China, Guinea-Conakry and Yugoslavia before being appointed to Apla's high command.

Ramano (56) left South Africa in 1963 and trained as a commando with the Egyptian army before attending various staff courses in the former Soviet Union and in Zimbabwe

After the integration process began last year, he was appointed commander of the Wallmannstal Assembly Area and served as Chief Director Integration at SA Army headquarters.

Ramano said South African military staff courses were "well balanced" and compared favourably with those he had attended overseas — "they are broad-based and very informative, going a long way to helping me towards this promotion," he added.

Ntshinga (45), a former Transkei rugby player who also represented the country in the world tug-of-war championships, is to take up the post of Chief of Staff, Northern Transvaal Command, in Pretoria.



Old and new . . . military top brass in Pretoria yesterday with Brigadier Dippy Dippenaar, Chief of Staff, Personnel, of the SA Army. The new promotions are Brigadier Aaron Ntshinga (left), General Gilbert Ramano, (second from right) and Brigadier Dan Mofokeng

PICTURE ETIENNE ROTHBART

Preparation for rationalisation in SANDF

Part Time Force recruitment planned

(254) Star 12/7/95

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

SHORT-TERM task of the PTF is to ensure smooth local elections in November

The defence force is soon to launch a major marketing drive for recruits to its Part Time Force (PTF) as part of its wide-ranging integration and rationalisation process

The initial intention, The Star was told in Pretoria yesterday, was to provide manpower in the short-term to ensure the local elections, scheduled for November 1, go off without a hitch

A spokesman for the SA National Defence Force said recruitment would begin countrywide on August 1 and would last five months, after which a three-year rationalisation programme — revealed exclusively by The Star last week — would come into effect

Suggestions that some of the country's most famous traditional and non-traditional units could be affected by the rationalisation process have resulted in many inquiries to SANDF headquarters

"It must be stated that, at this stage, no unit is affected," the spokesman said.

"It stands to reason that the rationalisation exercise will also affect the PTF but any speculation will be premature It would obviously be less likely that well-staffed PTF units will be affected than under-staffed units, and it would therefore make sense not to sit back and stop recruiting in the meantime"

The Star understands that units across the country, worried about staffing levels, have been involved in independent recruitment drives since the beginning of the year

The national marketing exercise involved, as part of the first phase, the establishment of an employer support steering group, assisted by a marketing work group. The private sector, SANDF personnel, communications and service arms, and the Part Time Forces National Council are co-operating on this

The spokesman, describing the PTF as a national asset and "one of the most important instruments in times of crisis", said that between August 1 and December 31 it was hoped to "recruit the necessary short-term human resources requirements for the local elections"

It was also disclosed to The Star that the commando system, which forms a vital part of the PTF, has now officially been renamed

Commandos are now known as Rear Area Defence Units and, according to the spokesman, "their immense contribution to the whole concept of rear area protection, and specified support to local communities and authorities, is acknowledged and highly regarded"

As commandos, these units played a pivotal role in ensuring the success of the 1994 general election when more than 67 000 men answered call-up requests as against 5 000 former Citizen Force volunteers attached to many PTF units This has disappointed the command structure of the SANDF and is seen by military observers as possibly becoming a factor in the rationalisation process

BRIGADIER MUST STILL COMPLETE COURSE

WP Command gets new Chief of Staff

THE Castle's new Chief of Staff is a former member of the Transkei Defence Force. **CLAIRE BISSEKER** reports.

THE Western Province Command has taken the plunge into the new South Africa with the appointment of the first black brigadier and Chief of Staff at the Castle

Brigadier Dlambulo Tshiki, 43, formerly of the Transkei Defence Force, is one of five black candidates to be appointed to top positions at provincial army bases this month

In a stark break with South African army tradition, Brig Tshiki was promoted to brigadier without having first acquired the necessary qualifications

He was appointed Chief of Staff of Western Province Command on July 1, but will spend the coming year completing the joint staff course, half of which is done by correspondence.

ST 12/7/95



SENIOR POST: Brigadier Dlambulo Tshiki is the new Chief of Staff at Western Province Command.

He was not required to sit the course to obtain the rank of brigadier in the Transkei Defence Force, where he was a director of personnel, logistics and planning

In a statement yesterday the Department of Defence said that in making senior appointments "the seniority of members must be considered along with the need to accommodate diversity"

(254)

"The cornerstone of representative appointments in the SA Army is good training All members in line for appointment and promotion must comply with the professional requirements for the post," it said

Brig Tshiki will assist Major-General Dan Lamprecht, the General Officer Commanding Western Province Command, and sees an important role for the base in providing humanitarian aid and police back-up services.

He takes his responsibility as the keeper of the Castle seriously. Holding aloft the symbolic Key of the Castle of Good Hope yesterday, he said· "I am very happy to be the first one to assist in keeping the Key of Good Hope, which is one of the greatest symbols of hope in the new South Africa and of change in the Defence Force"

Brigadier Tshiki very happy to be a 'Kaapenaar' now

ARG 12/7/95 (254)

DLAMBULO Tshiki, the first black chief of staff to be appointed to the army's Western Province Command, has been in Cape Town only two days but already he seems set to become a loyal *Kaapenaar*, writes Staff Reporter COLIN DOUGLAS



DLAMBULO TSHIKI: 'The management tactics of the military should be similar to those of any private organisation'

IF there is such a thing as an instant Capetonian, Dlambulo Tshiki, the new chief of staff of the army's Western Province Command, must be one

He arrived in Cape Town the day before yesterday to take up his post, having visited the city only once before, nearly 10 years ago, but he says he already feels at home

"I'm very impressed with the Cape — I'm happy to be a *Kaapenaar*," he said at his introduction to the Press at the Castle yesterday

Gazing out of an historic window on to a blustery winter's day, though, he seemed apprehensive about the cold and rain of the Cape of Storms, and just a tiny bit sad to be leaving the temperate climate of Pretoria where he has lived for the last three years

Brigadier Tshiki is an "integration appointment" — military-speak for affirmative action — and if there is a field of expertise that could be called his specialisation, it is change, a topic that is at the top of the army's agenda in the new South Africa

His most recent job has been in the Integration Directorate at army headquarters in Pretoria, a position he landed after that super-engine of change, the interim constitution, abolished the Republic of Transkei along with his old job as Transkei's military attaché to South Africa

An easy-going man who is a far cry from the heavy-booted stereotype of traditional South African army officers or the zealous image of their Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) counterparts, Brigadier Tshiki said his job of changing attitudes was a smaller one than many people supposed

"I've never seen any racism in the South African military," said the officer who completed his senior staff course at the SA Army College in 1986, at the height of P W Botha's "total onslaught" strategy

"The army became democratic long ago"

Rebellions by former MK members during the early days of the SA National Defence Force's integration were caused by the dynamics of change, Brigadier Tshiki said, and would not be repeated now that a substantially new military order had been created

He spoke of a "new approach", the past, that was developing in the army in line with the constitution

"The management tactics of the military should be similar to those of any private organisation

"Although the military is hierarchical in structure, there should be a standard management-worker relationship"

In a world where South Africa had no discernable enemies, the army was likely to spend much of its time on civil functions, such as emergency relief and police support

Brigadier Tshiki said his experience in the Transkei Defence Force, from the territory's "independence" in 1976 until 1992, had equipped him well to fit in with such peacetime functions

"We did similar civil operations in the Transkei defence force," he said

In a significant break with tradition, the army has appointed Brigadier Tshiki to his new post before he has obtained the necessary qualifications

He is to complete the joint staff command course, largely by correspondence, while he is in office, and will have to leave his post for a few months while he completes the course's "in residence" component in Pretoria

Brigadier Tshiki's superior, Western Province officer commanding Dan Lamprecht, who introduced him to the Press, said training was the key to the army's integration policy

"Training is important to prepare people for opportunities, and to ensure there are equal opportunities for all," he said

While there are fewer than 300 "integrated" soldiers — those from MK and the former homelands — under his command, Major-General Lamprecht emphasised that the integration process still had some way to go

"The process will take some time, although people tend to hope for instant solutions"

The only instant solution on the horizon was Brigadier Tshiki's conversion to the Cape By the end of the press briefing he was exclaiming how much he was looking forward to making a home for his family here

Foundation admits link with SADF

(254) ST 16/7/95

AN INTERNATIONAL foundation accused of being a front for a Nationalist government-backed anti-ANC campaign had "a relationship" with the SA Defence Force during the total onslaught era, the former executive director has admitted.

But, said Russell Crystal, although the International Freedom Foundation "could" have been paid for specific projects from secret funds, it was neither founded nor financed by Military Intelligence.

Mr Crystal dismissed as "outrageous", suggestions that the 1993 Douglas commission of inquiry into human rights violations in ANC detention camps was ordered by F W de Klerk's government to smear the ANC leadership

The foundation was identified this week by former security policeman Paul Erasmus as the brainchild of Military Intelligence and right-wing political groupings in the US Based in Washington, it was run as a combined operation of Military Intelligence and Strategic Communications (Stratcom), said to be involved in destabilising the NP's opposition before last year's elections

However, Mr Crystal, a former NP member of the President's Council, said the claims were "utter nonsense"

According to him, the foundation was established in 1985 by student activists "holding similar points of view" in South Africa, the US, England and Germany "to promote the international struggle against communism".

OWNING UP .. but Russell Crystal denies claims of SADF funding

By MARLENE BURGER

Funding was obtained via contributions from opponents of communism and through subscriptions to regular newsletters published by the foundation

"Yes, we did undertake certain projects on behalf of the South African government, as we did for various governments

"The ANC was perceived by the foundation as being part of the international communist movement and hence a threat to liberalism, so it was only natural that, where there was a coincidence of interests vis-a-vis the ANC, we made certain proposals to the South African government

"But the government terminated its relationship with the foundation at the end of 1989 and its Johannesburg office closed in April 1993," said Mr Crystal, now one of three partners in Executive Research Associates — a "commercial research organisation".

Mr Crystal would not divulge the nature of projects undertaken on behalf of the South African government but said they had included such tasks as informing the international community of the negative aspects of sanctions and the influence of communism in the ANC.

"As far as we were concerned, our client was the government, though we did have a relationship with the defence force."

Bob Douglas, SC, the Durban advocate whose 64-page report implicated 70 ANC members in "gross" human rights violations, said suggestions that his inquiry was part of an anti-ANC campaign were "total rubbish"

He also rejected the claim that the foundation was funded by Military Intelligence.

went to offer a stranger help.

Aptitude test rumours start MK hunger strike

CP 16/7/95

(264)

By WALLY MBHELE

THE INTEGRATION of former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres into the SA National Defence Force has suffered yet another severe setback.

This week hundreds of MK members began a hunger strike at the Wallmansthal assembly point, outside Pretoria

Their protest action was apparently sparked by rumours – said to have been spread by senior white officers – that hundreds of MK members face compulsory demobilisation after failing aptitude tests to become permanent members of the defence force.

Sources told City Press the defence force did not know where to place those who had failed the tests.

This week City Press was besieged by frantic telephone calls from ex-MK cadres who said they had decided to start the hunger strike because of the manner in which aptitude tests were handled.

They said while they had been tested on their potential, they were never told the results. All they had heard so far were rumours that they were going to be demobilised because they had performed poorly.

"The tests are discriminatory, as they are done only by MK cadres. Why do former SADF members not undergo similar tests?" asked one ex-MK member.

While there were some MK members who had already been sent on various bridging courses, others claimed the integration process was "so slow" they suspected it was designed to deliberately demoralise them.

They told City Press their grievances were known by top army officers.

"But we suspect President Nelson Mandela is not fully briefed about what is really happening in the whole integration process," said one hunger striker.

On Friday a City Press news team was denied access to all the bases where personnel were reportedly on hunger strike

A woman who described herself as "the Brigadier's secretary" at one base said: "MK soldiers cannot under any circumstances be visited for whatever purpose.

"I can only tell you there's a problem," she said.

The media liaison officer at SA Army headquarters, Lieutenant-Colonel Brian du Toit, confirmed that "on the morning of July 11 1995, a hunger strike was started by a group of members at Wallmansthal and was resolved on 13 July 1995."

Du Toit conceded the group had "certain grievances". However, he did not elaborate.

"These grievances centre around their appointments in the SANDF. The group will be kept informed of developments," Du Toit added.

Since last year the integration process has been hit by numerous problems relating to alleged racism in the force, as well as claims of bureaucratic inefficiency.

The SANDF hierarchy has also launched counter-claims of impatience and lack of discipline on the part of ex-MK soldiers.

It took Mandela's personal intervention late last year to resolve the problems temporarily.

Observers have noted the presence at assembly points of many MK members who are too old for integration into the new unified army.

Taxi horror

AT LEAST 17 people, including four children, were killed in a horrific minibus accident near Wepener in the Free State yesterday. – Sapa

Fire Armscor top 3, says judge

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE Cameron commission of inquiry into Armscor's shady arms deals has recommended that the corporation's chief arms trader during the sanctions-busting era, Peet Smith, be fired.

The commission also urged the immediate dismissal of a second top Armscor man and the prosecution of a third

The findings are expected to be officially released by President Nelson Mandela this week, but senior government and arms industry sources confirmed the three Armscor men had been identified as key figures in illicit arms deals

Mr Smith, Brigadier Anthony Savides and Marius Vermaak were involved in transactions with a shadowy Lebanese arms dealer and a Saudi prince — one of them involving the sale of R2,4-million worth of AK-47s to a country recovering from a civil war

Significantly, the commission, chaired by Mr Justice Edwin Cameron, also found that the former government, Armscor and the former defence foreign policy committee were ultimately responsible.

The commission, which was appointed by Mr Mandela in October last year to investigate all Armscor weapons deals since February 1990, successfully countered attempts by the company and the Department of Foreign Affairs to keep sensitive documents secret and to hear certain evidence in camera. It exposed South Africa's arms trade to unprecedented scrutiny during its hearings over the last eight months.

This is the first time Armscor employees have been brought to book by the new government But, before the inquiry ended, all three men had already left their permanent posts with the company.

The commission brought to light Armscor's use of front companies, which were used in forging bills of lading and non-existent controls over huge amounts of

TOUGH TASK ... commission chairman Mr Justice Edwin Cameron

money and sloppy checks on arms transactions which meant that their destination was seldom verified

The inquiry was sparked by an international outcry after it was discovered that a consignment of AK-47s, which Armscor claimed was intended for Lebanon, ended up in Yemen The sale of arms to Yemen is against South Africa's export policy

The commission heard that the sale of AK-47s to Lebanese arms middleman Eli Wazan on behalf of Saudi Prince Anwar Ahl-Shalaan was put together by senior Armscor marketing official Marius Vermaak. Mr Wazan's payment was authorised by Mr Smith and Armscor's senior manager of marketing development, Brigadier Savides.

Armscor claimed it sold two consignments of weapons to Mr Wazan in the belief that the arms were being pur-

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P.T.O.

Call to fire Armscor men

ST 16/7/95 (254)

☐ From Page 1

chased on behalf of Lebanon

But one consignment of arms sold in October 1993 landed up in Jordan, while the second, sent in August last year, went to Yemen

The commission, which presented its findings to Mr Mandela last month, recommended that.

● Armscor general manager import and export control Peet Smith be dismissed immediately.

Mr Smith was one of 23 employees who took up an option of early retirement and was employed as a consultant from February to the end of July this year The commission recommended that Mr Smith should not be employed as a consultant.

● Armscor senior manager of marketing development Brigadier Anthony Savides be dismissed immediately for managerial negligence He resigned from Armscor on June 5 this year for "personal reasons", according to an Armscor spokesman

● Senior Armscor marketing official Marius Vermaak be prosecuted by the attorney general for refusing to give evidence on certain matters before the commission Mr Vermaak retired from Armscor in April this year. Defence force sources said Mr Vermaak was asked to resign. He suffered no financial loss.

● Armscor's arms control mechanisms, organisational culture and policies should be reviewed immediately by the cabinet and Parliament.

● Armscor's board of directors must become more representative of South African society.

However, the commission found that, whatever act of commission or omission on the part of an individual Armscor official gave rise to the Wazan debacle, the main cause was the institutional disregard for where South African weapons ended up.

This disregard was manifest in policy, operational and organisational levels in the previous cabinet, the defence foreign policy committee and Armscor, the commission found

A spokesman from Mr Mandela's office said an announcement on the report would be made this week

Cameron commissioner Laurie Nathan said yesterday "The commission in the course of its inquiry stated repeatedly that it regarded itself accountable to both the executive and the public

"For this reason the commission proceedings were held in the open rather than in camera.

"However, the disclosure of the contents of the report lies with the president and I am therefore not at liberty to comment"

Armscor spokesman Bertus Celliers said on Friday "The Cameron report is not a public document and consequently Armscor cannot comment nor anticipate its findings."

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Forget past, urges defence force chief

(254) Star 17/7/95

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

The South African National Defence Force says activities of the former SA Defence Force should be relegated to the past

SANDF chief General Georg Meiring said in Pretoria at the weekend that prior to February 1990 — when former state president F W de Klerk announced the unbanning of the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party — "the SADF was one of the instruments of the State and was involved in certain officially authorised projects These projects were in line with the circumstances prevailing at the time"

Meiring added that "the former SADF followed these instructions to the letter"

He said that all projects had been evaluated and those which were not in accordance with the function of the SANDF were closed down. Since then, the defence force had not been involved in any such projects

The liberation armies had merged with the SADF to form the SANDF, he said

"These projects belong to a past era. They therefore deserve to be relegated to the past once and for all"

Big Armscor shake-up looms

(254) Star 17/7/95

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Armscor is facing a major shake-up with the release this week of a damning judicial report that cites three top officials and calls for far-reaching organisational and policy changes.

It found that former Armscor manager in charge of export and import control, Peet Smith, "misinformed" Defence Minister Joe Modise that an October 1993 consignment of AK-47s had gone to Lebanon when in fact it had gone to Yemen — prohibited from receiving SA-sourced arms.

The Cameron Commission inquired into all Armscor deals since February 1990.

The report also calls for a wide-ranging cabinet review of controls and policies and a more "representative" Armscor board. A cabinet committee which has been looking into a new arms sales policy for SA has yet to report its own findings.

Taken together with the Cameron findings, they point to a radical shake-up of the arms procurement agency, which operated with impunity during the sanctions era.

Although the report is due to be released officially by President Mandela this week, defence sources said that it called for action against three Armscor officials, all of whom have left Armscor's permanent employ.

The report also names Armscor senior manager of marketing development Brigadier Anthony Savides and senior Armscor marketing official Marius Vermaak. It found that Vermaak was aware that the 1993 consignment of arms was destined for the black market and its illegal shipment to Yemen.

There was "sustained ignorance" from many Armscor officials about the false export permits for the arms. The report calls for Vermaak to be prosecuted for fraud and theft.

It found that Savides was a "weak and ineffectual" manager who exercised only "nominal control" over Vermaak. Both Smit and Savides were negligent in their supervision of Vermaak. It said both Smit and Savides should be fired.

The report found that "punitive action" against the officials was not sufficient and calls for a comprehensive review of the arms trade.

Armscor spokesman Bertus Celliers said Armscor would not comment on the findings because the report had not yet been released.

Yengeni calls for Armscor dismantling

(254) ARG 18/7/95

ARMSCOR'S organisational structure should be dismantled and a new arms procurement agency set up under the direct control of the Defence Ministry, parliamentary defence committee chairman Tony Yengeni has said

Mr Yengeni said in a statement yesterday the new agency should also be accountable to parliament, through the joint committee on defence

The committee would in the meantime study the Cameron Commission's report on Armscor's arms dealings and consider making further recommendations to parliament

The report clearly showed that Armscor had "behaved and conducted itself in a manner inconsistent with the provisions of our new interim constitution", he said

The Cameron report has not yet been made public — Sapa

Defence force to tighten belt

(254) Star 18/7/95

■ **BY NORMAN CHANDLER**
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

The South African National Defence Force is undertaking an in-house belt-tightening exercise in a bid to find money to urgently replace ageing equipment

It follows on acrimonious public debate, inside and out of Parliament, on defence spending, sparked by the navy's need for new ships and claims that large slices of the defence budget should be directed towards the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

The exercise is expected to affect hundreds of people involved in command, administration and training structures, probably leading to rationalisation of many military jobs and activities in order to meet requirements

Details of the exercise have been disclosed in Pretoria by the Chief of the SANDF, General Georg Meiring, who says the military has "reached the end of the line as far as rationalisation of our direct operational elements are concerned"

The SANDF's 1995 planning cycle, to determine the force structure and design, had now been completed and "we now have an idea what the defence force should look like by April 1999"

Meiring added. "We cannot further lose any of our operational capabilities because we are at the desired core force level, if not somewhat below it already."

This meant unavoidable rationalisation and optimisation of support elements — in particular, command and control structures, training, personnel management, logistical support as well as general administration.

Senior officers have sounded warnings for months on the impact budgetary cutbacks could have on the future capability of the army, navy, air force and medical service.

Chief of the Navy, Vice-Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson, went on record two years ago as saying the navy wanted to maintain its operational capability but could not do so because of an ageing fleet

Tenders were called for four corvette-type vessels, but after the tenders had been whittled down to two shipyards — in Spain and Britain — a huge row erupted inside and out of Parliament over the proposed purchase, forcing Defence Minister Joe Modise to back down "for the time being", according to military sources

A similar situation is soon to face the SA Air Force, the second oldest air force in the world and now celebrating its 75th anniversary

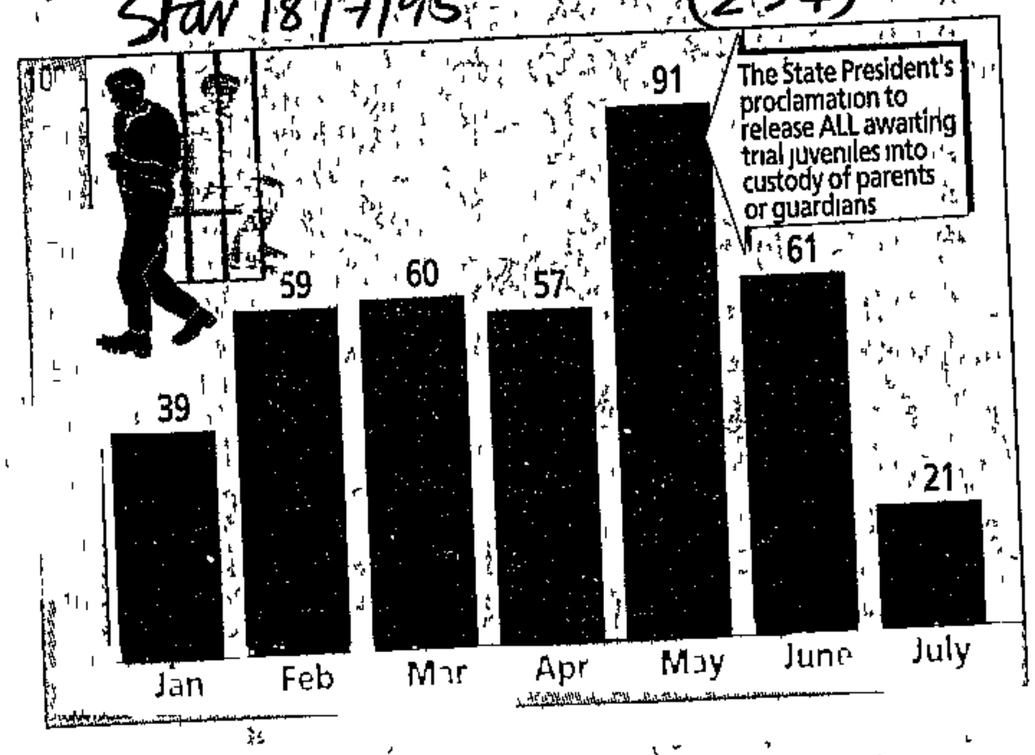
It needs new fighter aircraft and trainers to take over from the ageing Impala Mk1 and Mk2 jet trainers, Mirage jet fighters and their upgrades, the Cheetah.

The air force still flies 54-year-old Dakota aircraft, which were themselves upgraded recently.

Juveniles freed by Mandela do a bunk

Star 18/7/95 (254)

PARENTS and police are worried that children facing trial on serious charges are not turning up to face the music



■ BY HOPEWELL RADEBE

About 200 juveniles released from prison two months ago in terms of a presidential proclamation have failed to turn up to face trial in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court

A court official responsible for juvenile court said that in the past two months there had been an increase of more than 50% in the number of warrants issued for young accused who failed to appear.

Since January, 389 warrants of arrest have been issued by the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court for juveniles Of these, 173 had been issued since May. There was a sudden spate of summonses issued — 91 in all — just after the mass release.

According to court records, a district court specialising in juvenile cases handles between 25 to 30 a day and, each day, at least 30% of the accused do not show up

Juvenile cases constitute at least 35% of the district court's roll of new cases

And yet 700 juveniles were released from police and prison cells on May 8 in terms of an "out-by-midnight" order issued by President Mandela.

This move led to a public outcry because most government departments had not yet set up the infrastructure to deal with those youths who had committed serious offences such as murder, rape and armed robbery.

Police also complained at the time that crime levels would rise because places of safety to keep young serious offenders were inadequate

Jan van Niekerk, senior public prosecutor of the Johannesburg District Court, said last week the wholesale failure of juveniles to appear "has resulted in a huge backup of cases which take longer periods to be finalised".

Van Niekerk said the court had resolved to push hard to finalise juvenile trials as soon as possible in order to avoid losing witnesses who either give up on the case or disappear after changing their residence.

Domestic worker Sylvia M said her job was on the line because of her son's case of housebreaking and theft.

She has asked for many days off to attend the trial and her employer has threated to look for somebody else

When her son failed to show up in court, she feared she would be arrested in his place.

SAPS spokesman Warrant-Officer Andy Pieke said police, who had to execute the warrant of arrest orders, had to rely on information provided by the court to find the accused, who often had no fixed addresses or had disappeared from their original ones. Also, their parents could often not account for their whereabouts.

Pieke said if police could establish that parents have aided their children to escape, depending on the seriousness of the criminal offences they are charged with, the parents could be charged.

He added that places of safety where juveniles were sent while awaiting trial were often far from court and police had to drive long distances to collect the accused and take them back. In addition, security in those places was poor and most youths escaped

Armscor heeds Cameron Commission, looks ahead

Star 18/7/95 (25)

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

Armscor had already terminated the services of three people named by the Cameron Commission and was focusing on the commission's recommendations on future arms-trading policies, a source in the corporation said yesterday.

The full findings of the commission are expected to be released today.

The source said Brigadier Anthony Savides and Marius Vermaak (former employees) had left the organisation, and former chief arms trader Peet Smith was working only as a consultant until the end of July.

Of more importance, he said, was the Cameron Commission's recommendations on future arms-trading policies and the classification of countries to which Armscor could sell arms.

The commission was established by President Nelson Mandela in October to investigate Armscor's weapons deals since February 1990.

Among other things, the commission recommended the dismissal or prosecution of Smith, Savides and Vermaak.

The commission, chaired by Mr Justice Edwin Cameron, said Smith's consultancy services should be terminated and Vermaak should be prosecuted for refusing to give evidence to the commission on certain matters.

The Armscor source said the corporation was more focused on the commisscon's recommendations on the replacement of the "old" defence policy with a new one.

One of the issues of concern was the scrapping of classification of countries to which Armscor may sell different types of armoury.

injury and he returned in 1953 with Maserati for second place in the championship.

In his four successive years as four world titles.

Britain's Stirling Moss was runner-up to Fangio each year from 1955 to 1957. — Sapa-AFP.

IFP targets informants

Star 18/7/95

■ BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

The Inkatha Freedom Party will this weekend "out" white members accused by its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi of leaking confidential documents to the press.

IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said yesterday that unless the members presented themselves to the IFP's ruling national council before the end of the week, their identities would be revealed before delegates at the IFP's annual conference in Ulundi this weekend.

Speculation about the identity of the members concerned has mostly pointed to provincial parliamentarian Arthur Koningkramer and MP Jurie Mentz, both of whom are highly unpopular in IFP ranks. Both have denied leaking documents.

The conference will also formally adopt the IFP's "20-point plan" which is geared at maximising KwaZulu-Natal's autonomy within the parameters of the interim constitution.

Having given up on hopes of international mediation, the IFP is now seeking to achieve autonomy for KwaZulu-Natal on its own. It will this weekend work out practical steps for the provincial government to take towards achieving autonomy.

"The ANC clearly does not want it (mediation) to happen. We'll push ahead and implement our plan for autonomy," said Jiyane.

At this weekend's conference the IFP is also expected to finalise its position on abortion and the death penalty.

IFP Gauteng Youth Brigade secretary Bonginkosi Dlamini said the party would also look at ways of countering what the IFP believes are ANC attempts to destabilise the KwaZulu-Natal government.

"It's clear the ANC wants to destabilise KwaZulu-Natal so as to render a picture that we can't rule the province."

Another family murder

SA rejects R1,2-billion arms deal with Turkey

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

South Africa has turned down an order from Turkey for a R1,2-billion weapons contract, which has been snapped up by major Western arms suppliers

The Turks wanted to buy equipment such as armoured vehicles and small arms.

An Armscor source said South Africa was refusing to sell arms to Turkey because of that country's human rights abuses against Kurdish rebels.

The Turkish military recently launched cross-border raids into neighbouring Iraq, where Kurdish rebels have mobilised.

However, it is believed that the French and US governments are continuing to supply Turkey with arms.

Defence expert Dr Jakkie Celliers said Nato, of which Turkey is an important member, would not easily agree to

▶ To Page 3

(254) Star 19/7/95

No weapons

(254)

◀ From Page 1

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an arms embargo against the country.

"South Africa is probably considered to be out of line in refusing to sell arms to Turkey," Celliers said.

Turkey, in terms of Armscor's arms classification system, is listed as a country to which South Africa is, in fact, prepared to sell arms

However, this system has fallen into disuse while a Cabinet committee reviews South Africa's arms trading policy

This is causing concern in some quarters of the industry because lucrative contracts are possibly being forfeited

Under current Cabinet policy, arms exports by Armscor have to be approved by Defence Minister Joe Modise

Army to expand its role in fighting crime

(The) 254 CT 20/2/95

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: The defence force is to expand its role in helping the police fight crime.

Even though it did not relish the job, from now on it would play a major role in the drive for peace and stability, an army spokesman told businessmen here yesterday.

Major-General Gert Opperman, Chief director: Communication of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF), said at a luncheon that internal security could not be divorced from regional security, and the SANDF planned to help neighbouring countries in joint training exercises, exchange of military students, and peace support operations.

He said the army's co-operation with the police would involve vehicle patrols, establishing road blocks, keeping opposing factions apart and participating in cordon and search operations. It is already involved in border control activities to curb illegal immigration and combat gunrunning, drug smuggling, poaching and cattle theft.

General Opperman said combined police and army operations had already started in Greater Johannesburg and had been successful, particularly in Randburg.

Denel lost millions in aborted Turkish deal

PRETORIA — SA commercial arms supplier Denel had already spent millions on securing a weapons contract with Turkey when its permit for the deal was withdrawn, Denel spokesman Paul Holtzhausen said yesterday.

"We were in the middle of the process when government told us to let everything go. We forfeited a lot of money as a result". (R0 20 A 95)

Holtzhausen was reacting to reports that SA had turned down an order from Turkey for a R1,2bn weapons contract which has since been snapped up by major Western arms suppliers.

Defence Minister Joe Modise last month confirmed that SA had stopped selling arms to Turkey in May last year due to Turkish human rights abuses.

Holtzhausen would not confirm if the amount forfeited was R1,2bn, but said "we had also spent millions in the run-up to the Turkish order". (254)

Turkey used to be listed as a country to which SA was willing to sell arms, as per Armscor's classification system.

This list, however, no longer applies because all arms exports now have to be approved by Modise.

Armscor sources said despite SA's refusal to sell arms to Turkey because of its rights abuses against Kurdish rebels, the US and French governments were continuing arms supplies. — Sapa.

After action ... demobilisation

WM21-27/7/95

M&G reporters

AFTER battling to integrate former enemies into South Africa's National Defence Force, the SANDF is now facing an even bigger challenge, how to demobilise 30 000 soldiers (254)

- Jakkie Cilliers, Director of the Institute of Defence Policy (IDP), says it was a mistake to integrate before demobilising. "Now, after they have decided who joins the military, they have to ask people to leave and readjust to civil society Not only will this cause conflict, but it is an expensive bureaucratic process," said Cilliers.

Major Zanele Vutela, communications Officer of the SANDF's Service Corps, says among the 30 000 personnel to be demobilised will be veterans, the disabled and those with low academic capabilities.

According to Vutela, the future ex-soldiers will enter the Service Corps and go through an 18-month programme which will offer literacy and practical hands-on training as well as a year's employment in a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) related project.

"The Service Corps will be the RDP arm of the Defence Force. The soldiers will not only be demobilised, but demilitarised.

"The Service Corps is voluntary and will be available for those who need help. We envisage 10 000 soldiers joining," she added

Commenting on the SANDF's involvement in the RDP, University of the Witwatersrand Sociology Professor Jackie Cock warned that the role of the military should be strictly limited to territorial defence.

"The military should not be getting involved in reconstruction and development – that is a civilian matter"

SANDF representative, Colonel John Rolt, said that the military's role was set out in the interim constitution and this could be interpreted to include RDP work

Probe into Armscor arms shipments

Commission recommends prosecution of top official for fraud and theft

ARG 21/7/95 (254)

CLIVE SAWYER,
Political Correspondent

THE Cameron commission of inquiry into illegal arms shipments has unleashed a barrage of criticism of Armscor and the previous cabinet.

The commission has recommended the prosecution of a top Armscor official for fraud and theft, and the firing of two other officials.

It said the previous cabinet should take the blame for the corporation's "institutional disregard" for where South African arms exports ended up

The commission was appointed after disclosures in September last year that defence force weapons, supposedly destined for Lebanon, had been sold to Yemen — a prohibited destination for South African arms

One transaction involved about R2,4 million worth of AK-47 semi-automatic rifles

Attempts were made by Armscor and the Department of Foreign Affairs in the course of the commission's work to prevent disclosure of "sensitive" documents relating to the arms trade

In its first report, released today, Mr Justice Edwin Cameron said

- The head of Armscor's marketing section, Marius Vermaak, in all likelihood knew from the start that the weapons were destined for the illegal market

"The deal was launched and implemented behind pretences which at times were paper thin, and it was abetted by a sustained ignorance on the part of many Armscor officials which seems at times to have been calculated"

- Mr Vermaak's immediate superiors, stock sales manager Brigadier Anthony Savides and import and export manager Peet Smith, were negligent in their supervision of Mr Vermaak

"Brigadier Savides was a weak and ineffectual manager who exercised no more than nominal control over Vermaak"

Mr Smith, in a report after the debacle, falsely told Defence Minister Joe Modise that the weapons had gone to Lebanon, although he had known for at least seven months that this was not true

Mr Smith had failed to inform the commission about material evidence of the diversion of previous Armscor shipments to illegal destinations

- In financial dealings related to the controversial shipments, fraud and theft took place in a number of scams
- Mr Vermaak should be prosecuted for fraud and theft
- The debacle was a consequence of Armscor's systematic disregard for arms ended up.
- The commission found a high level of incompetence and negligence in the Armscor section which sells surplus SANDF stock, inadequate control and supervision on the part of management, and a predominant emphasis on marketing and sales

This emphasis on sales had over-ridden the caution needed in a responsible approach to arms exports

"The commission views the institutional disregard (for where exports ended up) in a far more serious light than the negligence or misconduct on the part of individual Armscor employees

"The debacle was not the result of a good system being undermined through carelessness or mischief, but rather the

P. T. O.

Weapons probe blasts Armscor

(From page 1)

consequence of a bad system taking its natural course.

"Accountability for this state of affairs lies chiefly with Armscor's top management and the previous cabinet."

The commission said there should be a comprehensive review of arms trade policy, decision-making procedures, control mechanisms, operational systems and organisational culture and practice. This review should be subject to public and parliamentary scrutiny and debate

Systems devised to evade the arms embargo, like the use of front companies, should be eliminated.

Reliance on foreign intermediaries should be eliminated

There should be "pro-active" verification of end-user certificates and direct dealing with recipient countries.

There should be a representative board of directors for Armscor, appointed by a process with public confidence.

The criteria for which categories of weapons could be exported should be overhauled, the commission said.

"New criteria should be based, above all, on South Africa's commitment to democracy, human rights and international peace and security."

South Africa had a moral responsibility for the use to which its arms exports were put.

It was inappropriate for the same body to have the responsibility to market and sell arms on the one hand, and to control and regulate arms exports on the other

The controlling function should be taken over by another body, and legislation should be amended to provide for this, the commission said.

Arsmcor officials 'lied to Modise'

ARG 22/7/95 (·254)

ESTHER WAUGH and BRONWYN WILKINSON
Political Staff

■ The Cameron Commission report released yesterday amounts to a 200-page window into a world of intrigue, deception and international shenanigans.

TOP Armscor officials deliberately lied to Defence Minister Joe Modise about the sale of a consignment of surplus defence force AK-47 rifles, according to the Cameron Commission.

The commission found that they did not inform Mr Modise in June last year about the seizure of South African arms in Belgium

After the minister asked Armscor for a report on the sale of weapons to Lebanon, senior Armscor official Peet Smith convened a team of marketing and shipping officials over a weekend in September, 1994

The report was submitted to Mr Modise during the following week.

The commission found there was no doubt that it was "inaccurate in a number of respects" The "most significant inaccuracy" was the "false statement" that a 1993 arms shipment ended in Lebanon when it was destined for Yemen — a country South Africa does not trade with in weapons

"Smith had knowledge at his disposal at the time of compiling and signing the report which indicated that this statement was untrue," said the commission's report

Mr Smith had known for "at least seven months" that his statement to Mr Modise was untrue "His repetition of it to the minister, in a crucial report on an incident which had profound implications for Armscor and South Africa's international relations, amounted to serious misconduct"

After the seizure of South African-manufactured grenades and ammunition in Belgium, Mr Smith, responding on behalf of Armscor, confirmed in a letter that the weapons were of South African origin and that they had been shipped to the Lebanese Christian Militia in February 1992

"He added that Armscor was also aware that the militia had given assistance to Croatia at some stage," the commission said Mr Smith did not inform the commission during his evidence in November 1994 or Mr Modise of the link between the Christian Militia and Croatia

In his report, Mr Justice Cameron wrote "In private moments, the commission debated whether the situation most closely resembled Kafka, *Alice In Wonderland* or the *Katzenjammer Kids*"

The commission found that the ANC-led Government of National Unity had been ignorant of the illicit trade in defence force arms to Yemen in 1994, but it blamed the previous government for "the AK-47 debacle"

Eighteen witnesses testified over 58 days to the commission, which took eight months to release its first report

Apart from recommending the dismissal of three Armscor officials (who already have resigned), the commission suggested a total overhaul of regulations governing the trade of arms

The commission was set up to investigate the sale of Ak-47s and G3 rifles to Lebanon last year The arms arrived in Yemen and were turned back to South Africa

The commission found that there had been other shipments of arms, including one that had been off-loaded in Yemen in late 1993

The 1993 shipment was found to be part of the same contract between Armscor marketing official Marius Vermaak and civilian arms dealer Eli Wazan, who evaded all attempts to contact him for testimony

Judge Cameron reported that the relationship between Armscor and Mr Wazan stretched back to 1983

Other shipments preceded that in 1993 In 1991, reports Judge Cameron, a cargo of goods was freighted aboard the ship Anke and another on the Skybird in 1992 Both were ostensibly destined for the Lebanese Christian Militia, but it later emerged the arms had ended up in Croatia, one of the republics that formerly constituted Yugoslavia This was in contravention of a United Nations arms embargo

A shipment officially meant for Lebanon in 1993 was rejected there and eventually distributed in Jordan and sold to private armies

When a consignment of South African grenades and ammunition was intercepted in Belgium in June 1994, Armscor official Peet Smith did not inform Defence Minister Joe Modise of the confiscation, the report states

"It seems obvious that an incident of this nature, involving a foreign government, should have been brought to the minister's attention," remarks the judge

The commission concluded with a recommendation for an urgent and thorough review of Armscor's operational systems and organisational structure

■ The cabinet soon will discuss the first report of the Cameron Commission of Inquiry into alleged arms deals between Armscor and Middle East dealer Eli Wazan, reports Clive Sawyer

The report has been studied by President Mandela and its public release has been welcomed by Mr Modise

The president took note of the first report of the Cameron Commission, according to a statement issued by Mr Mandela's office

"The cabinet will consider the report in due course, together with the responses to it by Armscor and the Department of Defence respectively," it said

"The Government of National Unity has itself commenced a comprehensive policy review on all aspects of the arms industry and arms trade

"The cabinet had earlier this year created a Committee of Ministers to formulate a policy in regard to the above.

"The country's involvement in the arms industry and trade must be guided by the foreign policy objectives of the government to promote democracy, human rights and international peace and security

Armscor official lied to Joe Modise about guns to Yemen, and SA armed Lebanon, Cameron finds

(254) Star 22/7/95

By BRONWYN WILKINSON and ESTHER WAUGH

Armscor official Peet Smith lied to Defence Minister Joe Modise about a 1993 arms shipment that had been distributed in war-torn Yemen, the Cameron Commission reported yesterday

Smith also neglected to take the "obvious" step of informing Modise that a shipment of South African-manufactured grenades and ammunition had been intercepted by Belgian authorities

These grenades had been sold to the Lebanese Christian Militia in 1992 and may have been destined for Croatia – under UN arms embargo

The report also found that the former government effectively supported both sides in the Lebanese civil war by sending arms to the Christian Militia and the Lebanese government

Arms had also been sent to the republics making up the former Yugoslavia and to Yemen – both hit by civil strife

The report provides a 200-page window into a world of intrigue, deception and international duplicity

In reflective moments, the commission debated whether the situation most closely resembled Kafka, *Alice in Wonderland* or the *Katzenjammer Kids*, wrote its chairman, Mr Justice Edwin Cameron



Judge Edwin Cameron

The commission found that the ANC-led Government of National Unity had been ignorant of the illicit trade in defence force arms to Yemen in 1994

The report blamed the former government for what the commission refers to as the "AK-47 debacle"

Eighteen witnesses testified over 58 days

Apart from recommending the dismissal of three Armscor officials (who have already resigned or retied from the organisation), Judge Cameron's commission suggested a total overhaul of regulations governing the trade of arms

The commission was set up to investigate the sale of AK-47's and G3 rifles to Lebanon last year The arms arrived in Yemen and were turned back to South Africa

After their digging started, the commission found that there had been other shipments of arms, including one that had been off-loaded in Yemen in late 1993

Smith had made an "untrue" statement to Modise about this shipment, said the judge

The 1993 shipment was found to be part of the same contract between Armscor marketing official Marius Vermaak and civilian arms dealer Eli Wazan, who evaded all attempts to contact him for testimony

Cameron reported that the relationship between Armscor and Wazan stretched back to 1983

Report tells of intrigue, deception and duplicity

Other shipments preceded that in 1993 In 1991, reports Judge Cameron, a cargo of goods was freighted aboard the ship Anke and another on the Skybird in 1992

Both were ostensibly destined for the Lebanese Christian Militia, but it later emerged that the arms had ended up in Croatia.

A shipment officially meant for Lebanon in 1993 was rejected there and was eventually distributed in Jordan and sold to private armies

Urgent review

When a consignment of South African grenades and ammunition was intercepted in Belgium in June 1994, Armscor official Peet Smith did not inform Defence Minister Joe Modise of the confiscation, the report states

"It seems obvious that an incident of this nature involving a foreign government should have been brought to the minister's attention," remarks the judge.

The commission concluded with the recommendation for an urgent and thorough review of Armscor's operational systems and organisational structure

■ See Page 7

SA gave guns to both sides in Lebanese war, Cameron inquiry reveals

By ESTHER WAUGH

The previous government supplied arms to the Christian Militia and the Lebanese government during that country's civil war, the Cameron Commission of Inquiry has found.

In its first report, released yesterday, the commission said. "The South African government was prepared to supply missiles, missile launchers, anti-personnel mines, AK-47s and other weapons to parties engaged in a bloody civil war."

The damning report found Armscor continued selling arms to the Christian Militia four years after the civil war had ended. It said the classification in 1985 of the Christian Militia as a legitimate recipient of SA arms — and the classification of AK-47s as "non-sensitive" — were "wholly inconsistent with a responsible arms trade policy"

It noted the Christian Militia had "an appalling human rights record" while the Lebanese forces had massacred hundreds of Palestinians in 1982.

"The Cabinet's willingness simultaneously to arm both the Christian Militia and the Lebanese government suggests that the country classification of these parties were based on commercial rather than political or strategic considerations."

06The commission said Armscor's support for the Christian Militia was motivated by commercial factors at the expense of South Africa's international image and respect for human rights.

In 1989 when the former State Security Council was considering excluding groups, such as the militia, a top Armscor official argued that the militia should retain its status.

Chief manager of marketing PAR Erasmus argued that Armscor was doing good business with the militia and a contract of R150-million was in the offing.

The Lebanese government put two queries to the commission the report said. It wanted to know what Armscor's objective was in selling arms to an illegal military party (the militia) which was banned in Lebanon, a country with which South Africa had friendly relations.

The Lebanese government also asked where these weapons destined for the militia had gone in the past five years. The report said the question of where Armscor sales had ended up could not be answered by Peet Smith, Armscor's general manager for import and export control and the most senior executive official with direct line responsibility for SANDF stock sales

"Smith replied he could not be certain. He conceded it was possible the weapons had gone to a prohibited country. The commission subsequently learnt the arms had gone to Yemen and the former Yugoslavia."

The report added Smith had told the commission he knew "nothing about the militia or political developments in Lebanon". Further, the commission said the Department of Foreign Affairs had submitted a report in which it said "there is no militia in Lebanon that bears the official title of the Lebanese Christian Militia".

The commission said the statement was "incomprehensible". The Department of Foreign Affairs had since 1991 been involved in reviewing the list of countries South Africa could trade arms with.



JUDGE CAMERON: Sat through six months of gruelling evidence

Smith's "professed ignorance" of the Christian Militia did not tally with a report he had prepared for Armscor management in 1989. "The report reveals that Smith knew the militia had little international credibility. It also indicates his willingness to sell arms to the militia on the black market."

The commission noted with "no small irony" that the previous government "publicly regarded AK-47s as a symbol of 'communist terrorism".

The commission could not confirm speculation that an arms consignment which ended up in Yemen was destined for Unita rebels in Angola.

This could constitute a focus of future investigation.

Star 22/7/95 (254)

Saturday Star
July 22 1995

Armscor lied to Modise about rifles deal – report

Star 22/7/95

(254)

By ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Top Armscor officials deliberately lied to Defence Minister Joe Modise about the sale of a consignment of surplus defence force AK-47 rifles.

The Cameron Commission found that they did not inform Modise in June last year about the seizure of South African arms in Belgium.

After the minister asked Armscor for a report on the sale of weapons to Lebanon, senior Armscor official Peet Smith convened a team of marketing and shipping officials over a weekend in September last year.

The report was submitted to Modise during the following week.

The commission found there was no doubt that it was "inaccurate in a number of respects". The "most significant inaccuracy" was the "false statement" that a 1993 arms shipment arrived in Lebanon when it was destined for Yemen — a country with which South Africa does not trade weapons.



MISLED: Defence Minister Joe Modise

"Smith had knowledge at his disposal at the time of compiling and signing the report, which indicated that this statement was untrue," the commission's report, released this week, said.

Smith had known for "at least seven months" that his statement to Modise was untrue. "His repetition of it to the minister, in a crucial report on an incident which had profound implications for Armscor and South Africa's international relations, amounted to serious misconduct."

After the seizure of South African-manufactured grenades and ammunition in Belgium, Smith, responding on behalf of Armscor, confirmed in a letter that the weapons were of South African origin and that they had been shipped to the Lebanese Christian Militia in February 1992.

"He added that Armscor was also aware that the militia had at some stage given assistance to Croatia," the commission said. Smith did not inform the commission during his evidence in November last year or Modise of the link between the Christian Militia and Croatia.

Two shipments to prohibited destinations 'nub' of probe

(254) Star 22/7/95

By BRONWYN WILKINSON

The Cameron Commission was faced with a tale concerning two consignments of SADF arms freighted in 1993 and 1994 to Yemen, a prohibited destination for South African arms.

These two shipments formed what commission chairman Mr Justice Edwin Cameron refers to in his report as "the nub" of the inquiry.

The first consigment — of AK-47 rifles — went aboard the ship Vinland Saga and landed at its destination without incident. The consignments were the result of a contract signed on September 20 1993 between Armscor's manager of SADF stock sales Marius Vermaak and the corporation's associate Elias Wazan. The guns were officially sent to the Lebanese Christian Militia.

But, according to the Cameron report, the real purchaser of the consignment was Prince Anwar F Al-Shalaan, who had already on-sold the arms to South Yemen.

The bill of lading for the goods, which were to be freighted from Port Elizabeth on the Vinland Saga, clearly specified Mokha — a port in Yemen — as the destination. The arms arrived in Yemen in late 1993.

Yemen was classified as a category 3 country and not allowed to receive arms from South Africa. Armscor internal practice in 1993 required the issue of an export permit in the case of even SADF stock sales, though this was not required by law, states Judge Cameron.

He says: "Had the true destination of (this) shipment been known, it is plain that no export permit would have been granted." The shipment would not even have taken place.

The second shipment caused the trouble for Armscor.

Exactly a year after the Vinland Saga consignment, another was shipped according to the original contract. This time the shipment included G3 rifles.

This consignment left Port Elizabeth aboard the Arktis Pioneer in September 1994 and the ostensible buyer was the Lebanese government.

On September 18 1994 a newspaper reported that a secret consignment of South African weapons was actually destined for another — illicit — destination in the Middle East.

The arms were meant for the Yemen port of Hodeidah. Yemen was in the grip of a civil war.

"On this occasion, however, the goods did not reach their intended destination," Judge Cameron writes in his report. "They were rejected by the Yemeni authorities and eventually returned to South Africa."

By now, SADF sales were no longer exempt from export permit requirements and, without a permit, this shipment would have been illegal. "No permit would have been granted if the true destination had been known," he states.

Arms deals resemble Kafka

POLITICAL STAFF

(254) CT24/7/95

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Report recommends changing Armscor Act

(254)
BD 24/7/95

Stephane Bothma

PRETORIA — The Armscor Act should be changed to separate the obvious, inappropriate responsibilities of Armscor to market arms on the one hand and to control and regulate arms exports on the other

At administrative level the control function should reside in a body other than Armscor, the first Cameron commission report into SA's armaments procurement company, published on Friday, recommended

The report was released on Friday and will be submitted to the Cabinet

It focused mainly on what the commission termed the "Eli Wazan debacle" — last year's incident where a consignment of mainly AK-47 rifles and ammunition, supposedly destined for Lebanon, ended up in Yemen, a prohibited destination for SA arms

The AK-47s were surplus SA Defence Force stock

The committee, under the chairmanship of Judge Edwin Cameron, found that then Armscor marketing chief Marius Vermaak in all likelihood knew from the outset that the consignment was destined for the black market.

"The deal was launched and implemented behind pretences which at times were paper thin, and it was abetted by a sustained ignorance on the part of many Armscor officials which seems at times to have been calculated," the commission found

The commission recommended that Vermaak, who has since left Armscor's employ, be prosecuted on charges of fraud and theft.

The debacle was not an unfortunate incident but rather the consequence of Armscor's systematic disregard for where its arms exports ended up, the report stated.

However, the emphasis on marketing and sales was perhaps the most serious problem in Armsor's organisational culture becuase it spawned a disregard for critical operating procedures and overrode the caution required by a responsible approach to arms exports, Cameron found.

The report states that the preoccupation with marketing had its roots in a fatal flaw in the Armscor Act (the Armaments Development and Production Act of 1968) On the one hand the Act conferred on Armscor the power to develop, acquire, market and sell arms, and on the other hand it made Armscor responsible for controlling and regulating arms exports.

"When put together, the evidence (before the commission) presents a conclusive and dismal picture of irresponsibility at policy, operational and organisational levels on the part of the previous Cabinet, the defence and foreign policy committee and Armscor," the report states.

Cameron found that punitive action against Armscor employees would not be sufficient, but that a comprehensive review of arms trade policy, control mechanisms and organisational culture and practice was required

The committee pointed out that last year Armsor had formulated proposals for new arms export procedures and policy Among others, the proposals recommended to the Cabinet the establishment of a government interdepartmental subcommittee on export control

By agreement, the Cameron commission did not review the Armscor proposals during its investigation into the Wazan deal. They would instead be considered in the next leg of the commission's inquiry

A special Cabinet committee has in the meantime been established to investigate procedure and policy of SA's defence industry.

Cameron found that the bodies which comprised the defence foreign policy committee (which in the past made decisions about SA's arms exports) had not demonstrated the required degree of responsibility in the past. These bodies included the SA Defence Force, Armscor and the foreign affairs department.

The report recommended that government play a more active role, at ministerial level, in considering and approving applications to market or sell SA arms abroad.

"At ministerial level it would similarly be inappropriate for the controlling authority to have an immediate and direct interest in promoting arms sales," the report states.

Other recommendations by the commission on the Wazan deal included terminating the employment of two other senior Armscor marketing officials, Brig A Savides and Peet Smith Both men had already left Armscor's employ.

● Comment: Page 4

Fears that Armscor probe may have thrown out baby with the bathwater

Star 25/7/95 (254)

THE story of skulduggery that unfolds in the Cameron Commission report about the South African arms trade is by no means over. Helen Grange reports

A host of arms dealers whose pockets have become bulky from the duplicitous and lucrative deals of the past have a lot to lose with a clean-up of the kind recommended by the Cameron Commission in its first report released last week

And while Armscor has gone some way to shake itself out organisationally, it is no secret that there are a number of top officials who are deeply unhappy with the changes on the horizon and anxious about the consequences of a severely culled arms industry

Thus unhappiness was starkly revealed with the recently aborted R1,2-billion weapons deal with Turkey – the financial fallout of which was devastating to a number of subsidiaries of arms manufacturer Denel as well as the middlemen who stood to make handsome commissions

There is also a strong sentiment among some influencial military experts that the Cameron Commission and the Cabinet Committee appointed to formulate a comprehensive strategy for the industry are overkeen to rush in with the moral scalpel – without fully appreciating its complexities and importance to the economy

Although the Cameron Commission was asked only to comment on arms trade policy, practices and decision-making processes at the time of its appointment, it made some stirring suggestions and recommendations on this front

One of the more contentious revolves around the question of confidentiality in arms trading

The internationally accepted reasons for withholding information about weapons deals is because of commercial considerations and, more importantly, because publication of such information could expose the country concerned to potential diplomatic crises

For example, should a certain country be classified as one which South Africa will not sell arms to, publication of this would adversely affect diplomatic relations with that country

The Commission took a hard line on these considerations, however

Citing the Constitution, it says the public, whose money is being spent, has the right to know whether South Africa is selling arms for the purpose of self-defence, external aggression or for internal repression by the recipient state

The Commission was persuaded that commercial requirements for confidentiality might sometimes be a legitimate consideration in withholding facts and identities from disclosure

But it found that these could not be paramount in determining applications for secrecy and had to be weighed against ethical, legal and public policy considerations

"It is precisely secrecy that creates the conditions for sub-terfuge, duplicity, abuse of power, corruption, malpractice and irresponsibility," it argued

It was recommended that the Government be the ultimate decision maker in the secrecy dilemma, and that the public be allowed participate in the debate as to how it should proceed in the task

The introduction of wider accountability will not eliminate illicit arms trading

However, the Cameron Commission report shows that Armscor's top marketing officials were not even following internal accountability procedures, and became adept at collusion and deception

The South African arms trade to date has been characterised by dealers finding ingenious ways around rules, which was why Armscor so successfully traded in the international market regardless of the US arms embargo

The imperative now is to formulate a tight system of control which will net Armscor's big fish and furthermore, be a strong deterrent to the smaller fish who will try to operate deeper into the weapons underworld

If this is accomplished, the insidious world of arms trading will at least be far better contained The Cameron Commission has suggested that the arms policy review should

1 Identify and eliminate all systems and methods designed to evade the arms embargo (eg, the use of front companies)

2 Identify and eliminate all systems and methods which undermine control over the end destination of arms exports (eg, the reliance on foreign intermediaries and free-on-board shipments)

3 Identify and introduce means of ensuring that arms exports end up at the authorised destination (eg, pro-active verification of end-user certificates and direct dealing with recipient countries)

4 Identify and address any aspect of Armscor's management and organisational practice and culture which encourages or tolerates a disregard for the destination of arms exports

5 Make recommendations on the appointment of a representative Board of Directors for Armscor through a process which enjoys public confidence

The six member Cabinet committee reviewing arms policy is expected to finalise its recommendations before the end of the year

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Defence firms vie for foreign contract

Star 26/4/95

■ BY ALAN ROBINSON

London — Two South African defence equipment companies are bidding for a multi-million-rand contract to supply infantry mobility vehicles to the Australian army

Reumech OMC and TFM have entered into partnerships with Australian companies to secure the lucrative deal, code-named Project Bushranger

Reports say the list of 17 bidders has been whittled down to five — and both SA-Australian combines have survived.

Reumech OMC has linked up with ANI to offer a vehicle based on a Unimog chassis and provisionally named the Taipan, better known in SA as the Mamba 4x4 TFM and its partner, Westrac, are offering a vehicle based on the RG-31 Nyala mine-protected personnel carrier.

Value

The other three manufacturers still in the hunt are from Ireland, the UK and Germany

The Australian army wants up to 400 infantry mobility vehicles, with first deliveries in 1997 The total value of the order is believed to be about R900-million

According to Jane's Defence Contracts, an authoritative weekly magazine specialising in defence sales and orders, the vehicles must be equipped to carry a nine-man section with weaponry and up to three days' supply of equipment, have a minimum range of 600km, good speed on cross-country surfaces and a maximum road speed of 90km/h

Brazil, China, Indonesia, Tai- on the list provide the best po- representatives of the coun- business expertise — Sapa.

Two SA companies bidding for R900-m Australian army deal

ARLT 27/7/95 (254)

ALAN ROBINSON

LONDON. — Two South African defence equipment companies are bidding for a multi-million rand contract to supply the Australian army with infantry mobility vehicles (IMVs).

Both Reumech OMC and TFM have entered into partnerships with Australian companies in the race to secure the lucrative deal, codenamed Project Bushranger.

Reports in London say the original list of 17 bidders has been whittled down to just five. Both South African-Australian combines have survived against stiff international competition.

Reumech OMC has linked up with ANI to offer a vehicle based on a Unimog chassis and provisionally named the Taipan, although better known in South Africa as the Mamba 4 x 4.

TFM has gone into partnership with Australian firm Westrac to offer a vehicle which is a development of the RG-31 Nyala mine-protected vehicle.

The three other manufacturers still in the hunt are from Ireland, Britain and Germany and all have formed partnerships with Australian concerns in the hope of securing the business.

The Australian army wants up to 400 IMVs with the first deliveries in 1997. The total value of the order is believed to be about R900 million.

Jane's Defence Contracts, an authoritative weekly magazine specialising in defence sales and orders, says the Bushrangers must be equipped to carry a nine-man section with weaponry and up to three days' supply of equipment, must have a minimun range of 600 km, good speed on cross-country surfaces and a maximum road speed of 90 km/h.

Armour protection must withstand 7,62 mm and 5,56 mm ball and preferably similar calibre of armour-piercing rounds. Protection is also needed against anti-personnel and anti-tank mines.



Seven into one

Problems of promotion, language and discipline but defence

will go

31/7/95 Argus

force integration is on track

Integration in the defence force has given seniO
reports Argus Correspondent NORMAN CHANDI



Pictures BRENTON GEACH, The Argus

NEW ORDER: Members of the former Umkhonto we Sizwe, who have been integrated into the South African National Defence Force, at their passing-out parade at 9 South African Infantry Battalion in Eerste River.

OF all the changes which have taken place in South Africa over the past 17 months there is perhaps none more complex than the integration of the military into a cohesive, non-racial force in keeping with the government's democratic principles

It is an exercise which has been fraught with problems, not only for the foot soldiers of the old SA Defence Force (SADF), Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and Apla but also for senior officers who served the previous, apartheid-style, governments and liberation movements, fighting each other on the battlefields and through a propaganda war across the subcontinent for so many years

To try to keep up the standards expected of them has been a thankless task for the senior command structure of the new South African National Defence Force (SANDF) which has found out that the old adage of every step forward being followed by two steps backwards is actually true They now know that people simply do not appear to understand how the integration exercise is being handled and have become exasperated by perceived footdragging on what is a long, long road

The Joint Military Co-ordinating Council (JMCC) set up during the time of the Transitional Executive Council — forerunner of the present government — was the architect of an integration process to fine-tune a new defence force equal to the best in the world

There have been many teething problems, as is readily admitted by the SANDF, but they believe strongly that the process will be over on schedule in September next year

"Everyone knows that there were initial teething troubles when the integration process started in April 1994," said a spokesman for the SANDF

"This was to be expected, bearing in mind that this process is a world first due to the fact that seven armed forces are being integrated into a single entity"

The seven are the SADF, MK, Apla, and the armies of the former Venda, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Transkei homelands

"As a result of these early problems, a number of steps were taken to resolve problem areas The process is proceeding smoothly with very few hiccups This does not mean that there will not be problems in the future but these should be minimal and minor although, for the individuals concerned, they might be disconcerting," says the SANDF

Many problems which have cropped up have been successfully handled by integration work groups (IWG), which regularly visit individual bridging training units established to ease integration IWGs operate under the Integration Committee, which is chaired by Lieutenant-General Siphiwe Nyanda, acting chief of Defence Force Staff.

The IWGs have the best interests of all the forces at heart and try to ensure that these interests are fully served, says the SANDF

One of the most tangible effects of integration in general has been the promotion of officers who served with the so-called "non-statutory forces" — MK and Apla

When integration began in April last year, there were rumblings from officers and men of these two armies that

officers grey hairs but it is slowly coming right,
it

(254)
ARG 31/7/95



TOP BRASS: Colonel E M Yonana, a former Apla brigadier and now a staff officer at 9 SA Infantry Battalion

they were being overlooked, or ignored, in the process Accusations were made that former SADF personnel were getting the best posts.

However, as in the case of General Nyanda, it has become evident that promotion is within the grasp of these, or any, officers A year or so down the track, there are now black general officers commanding in various part of the country, chiefs of staff of these commands, as well as senior ranks in every facet of the army, air force and navy

And it has not been done willy-nilly.

The government took an inspired decision early on to invite the British Department of Defence to assist in the process, with the result that a British military advisory and training team (known as BMatt) is active in the placement of senior officers

BMatt representatives sit on the SANDF Placement Board, which reviews ranks of all integrating members Now, in accordance with laid down criteria such as academic qualifications, previous military experience and courses, leadership qualities, age and length of service, the country's new military officers are being given the rank they deserve

Now the priority is on placing former MK and Apla candidates, but over the next few months, all members of the integrating forces will be placed The initial emphasis, it has been admitted by the SANDF, has been on MK and Apla because, unless their officers are placed in military service, they cannot draw a salary

Integration comes with myriad problems — not least the question of language

Anyone who served in the South African military in pre-integration days would know that the predominant language of the parade ground was Afrikaans This is being tackled with some vigour because many of the people coming into the new military establishment do not speak or understand Afrikaans — and even if they did they refuse to acknowledge it except as it being what they call "the language of the oppressor"

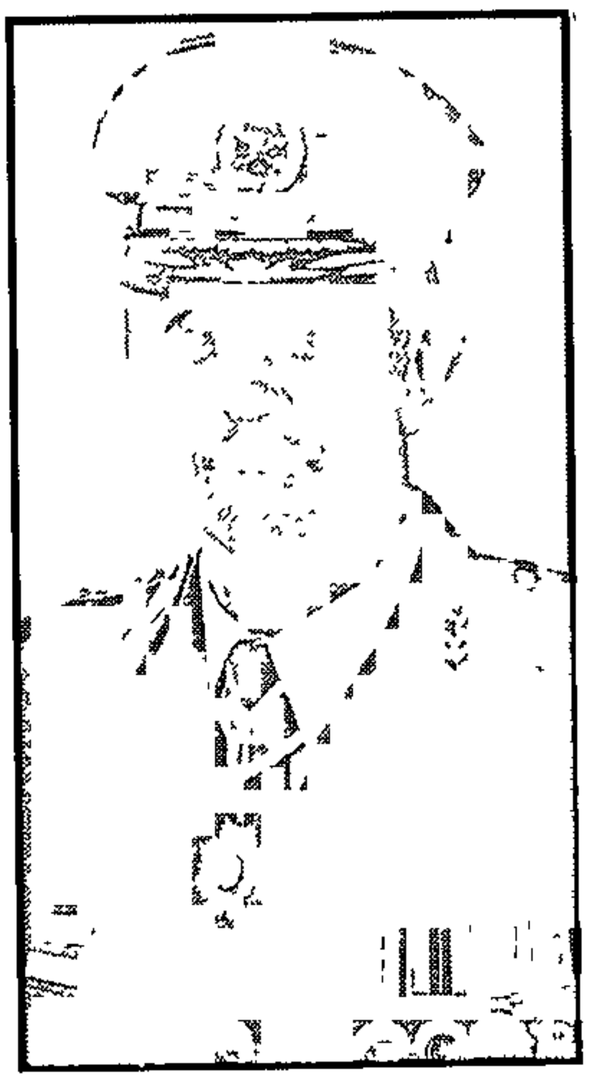
Says the SANDF "The problem of the dominance of Afrikaans is in the process of being resolved, but will obviously take time

"Handbooks cannot be translated into English overnight and furthermore it is SANDF policy that members receive instruction in a language they can understand. For this reason, all bridging training is done in English

"It should also be appreciated that due to the dominance of Afrikaans in the past, many of the instructors themselves are having to adapt to using what is in effect their second language."

Another problem which has come to the fore is that of discipline

Addressing a recent Unitas Medal parade at the Army College, General Georg Meiring, Chief of the SANDF, laid it on the line for ill-disciplined troops



GENERAL GEORG MEIRING
"If you allow a culture of poor discipline to take root, it is very difficult to change later on"

He said that if the defence force was to make a success of transformation, a cornerstone would have to be "good and strict discipline," and added that it took a long time to establish a sound culture of discipline in any defence force

"If you allow a culture of poor discipline to take root, it is very difficult to change later on We have to start now," he said.

General Meiring was referring to missing equipment, accident-prone rookies and others, loss of equipment, vehicle accidents and the like, all of which are costing the South African taxpayer millions of rands a year

Discipline is also being brought to bear on individuals who have in recent weeks been writing letters to the media and airing their grievances.

"To accuse superiors, including politicians of not playing their part is defini unmilitary and therefore unacceptable and will not be tolerated," says the SANDF

THE CAPE

Army takes stock of shift in command

(254)
ARG 31/4/95

☐ *Second W Cape unit to go*

Staff Reporter

THE geography of the new South Africa is making itself felt in the shape of the defence force.

One of the first shifts in command took place at Beaufort West yesterday when the army's Western Province Command handed Group 5, based in this town, over to Northern Cape Command.

The town's Royal Hotel played host to an unusual parade at which the officer commanding Western Province Command, Dan Lamprecht, officially signed over the group to the second-in-command of Northern Cape, Mos Grobler

The South African National Defence Force had to wait for the politicians to decide how the force was to be re-organised, and then had to tackle the task of transferring logistics and administration, an army spokesman said.

In the process, Group 5 had to shed a portion of the area it had under its jurisdiction The group's headquarters will be moved to De Aar at the end of this year

Victoria West Commando, Middle Karoo Commando and South Western Karoo Commando, the latter without its Laingsburg District, will stay under the jurisdiction of Group 5 Laingsburg District will in future fall under Worcester Commando, and Karoo Commando will be handed over to Group 4 at Oudtshoorn.

In his speech, General Lamprecht said Group 5 had played a valuable role over the years and would be missed by Western Province Command



Picture HENRI DU PLESSIS, The Argus

SIGNED: With Dan Lamprecht, left, looking on, Mos Grobler signs the documents which place his Northern Cape Command in charge of Group 5.

"Today we know the future looks good, the part-time forces are assured of a place in the new dispensation," he said

General Lamprecht also used the occasion to award medals — including the new Unitas medal — to long-serving members of Group 5 The medal recognised the difficult times the part-time forces had gone through, he said.

"At the top of the medal is a seven-point star which symbolises the seven forces which have combined to form the new SANDF, and in the middle of the star is an alpha symbol which reflects the new beginning we have made"

Group 5 is the second unit Western Province Command has had to hand over to the Northern Cape. Last month, the commandos of Calvinia, Alexander Bay and Springbok were also placed under the orders of Northern Cape Command

Wringing the dirt from murky past

2b (254) Star 2/8/95

IN AN effort to be squeaky clean, policy decisons surrounding Armscor/Denel may cost SA many millions in lost contracts

Wringing the dirt from the rags of South Africa's past was never going to be easy Armscor, the state-owned weapons maker, was always one of the murkier areas of white rule So it was perhaps no surprise to learn that in 1992 its weaponry turned up, despite a government ban, in the former Yugoslavia

But South Africans have learned worse than that from a judicial commission set up by President Mandela to investigate a shipment of rifles that reached Yemen, another banned destination, via a Lebanese arms dealer last September That was some five months after the democratic elections that brought Mandela to power - and Armscor, it turns out, had been cheerfully lying to its new masters to fulfil its contract

Judge Edwin Cameron's report minces no words He calls one Armscar executive "a modern-day buccaneer and a rogue" the Lebanese dealer is "a crook"

The commission recommended that one Armscor man be prosecuted for fraud and theft, and two others be fired All had resigned by the time the report was published

But that does not end the affair For a new South Africa eager to look squeaky-clean, its arms industry, built up during years of isolation and under a 1977 United Nations arms embargo, poses a problem

In 1963 the country imported nearly three-quarters of its weapons from abroad, mostly from Britain Twenty years later it was making almost all itself The industry is big, its products are good and its voice is loud

When the UN lifted the arms embargo in 1994, many people expected that Mandela would try to curb arms sales Instead, off he went to open the new South Africa's first international military trade show Armscor was delighted, and the industry has mounted a loud campaign to prove its value to the country

Crucially it employs at least 50 000 people and its exports earned R850-million last year

Armscor has hived off production to Denel, an industrial company But it still markets weapons and licenses exports It aims to boost exports to R1-billion rand a year It has opened new offices in Malaysia and Abu Dhabi, and had high hopes of sales in Malaysia and India These ambitions, however, conflict with those of foreign policy

"The problem", comments one Armscor man, "is that South Africa now has a moral stand, which curtails our sales pitch "

Already, to Denel's fury, the Government has – for the sake of the Kurds claims Ankara – just cancelled a deal with Turkey – a deal worth all of R1,2-billion

Denel says the Americans and the French are now happily going for the business – The Economist

New training for police, SANDF

ET. 3/8/95 (251) (254)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: The South African National Defence Force and the SA Police Services yesterday took further steps toward community policing with the start of training programmes in humanitarian law and community-oriented field training.

The SANDF's General Gert Opperman said in Pretoria that the first training seminar in International Humanitarian Law had taken place and would soon become a compulsory subject for all military courses.

The Australian army and the International Committee of the Red Cross in South Africa are co-ordinating the programmes.

The head of the police's human resources division said in Pretoria that an upgraded field officer training programme for new police recruits was a culmination of work started in 1993 by international and local experts, and was part of the transformation of the SAPS.

Revealed: where South Africa can sell arms

WM 28/7 - 3/8/95 (254)

Until now a secret, SA's classification of potential arms-buying countries reveals 30 blacklisted countries, reports
Stefaans Brümmer

NIGERIA, Libya, Sudan, Iraq, Yemen . These are some of the 30-odd countries blacklisted by South Africa's new human rights-leaning classification of arms client countries The secret list is published by the *Mail & Guardian* today

The classification is a substantial review of earlier versions and appears designed to clear South Africa's reputation as an international arms-dealing skunk The change from an apartheid-era version revealed by the *M&G* last December — and in Armscor's attitude to publication of the leaked document — is marked

When we published the first list, Armscor's initial reaction was to consider interdicting the *M&G* But this week, confronted with news that the latest version had been leaked, an Armscor spokesman's only reaction was that publishing it "may contribute to debate"

Armscor, it can be argued, has come a long way in a year of gruelling public exposure by the Cameron Commission, and some soul-searching of its own

But its ready acceptance of the publication of a document that is supposed to be secret — the "diplomatically embarrassing" classification of which countries may and which may not receive South African arms — also reflects that this time, in human rights terms, there is much less to hide.

The *M&G* first published the 1989 version of *Log 17 Pamphlet 19* as it was known, last December, in spite of desperate attempts by Armscor and the National Defence Force to keep it under wraps When Defence Minister Joe Modise heard of the impending publication, he wanted to interdict the paper on Armscor's behalf, but was persuaded not to

Modise's decision not to act meant a later comprehensive version, compiled in 1993, could be released by the Cameron Commission in its investigation into Armscor abuses While that list reflected greater sensitivity to human rights than the 1989 one, it still had no problems in principle with arms to countries like Sri Lanka, Burundi, Nigeria and Morocco, all embroiled in internal conflict, and to the Christian Militia in strife-torn Lebanon.

In the latest classification published today, apart from the complete ban on 31 countries where instability or human rights abuse means arms may be put to illegitimate use, another nine countries may now receive only "non-lethal" equipment. Lighter restrictions have also been placed on 15 more countries

Some signs of confusion remain over where democratic South Africa's foreign policy interests lie, yet the new classification contrasts sharply with control arrangements in the final years of apartheid, when a motley assortment of dictators, aggressors and civil warriors were welcome to "buy South African"

The Mail & Guardian has published the full text of SA's classification of client countries for arms sales on the Internet It can be found at our World Wide Web site http //www is co za/services/wmail/

Judge Edwin Cameron recommended in his interim report this month that country criteria be "thoroughly overhauled", that the criteria "should be based, above all, on South Africa's commitment to democracy, human rights and international peace and security", and that they prevent "the export of arms to repressive and authoritarian regimes"

That overhaul, it appears from the new classification, is already well under way. While the latest classification, a Department of Foreign Affairs rework of the earlier *Log 17*, has no final status, it is already in use pending Cabinet's finalisation of an arms industry control regime In "borderline" cases, Modise is consulted by Armscor, the agency statutorily charged with regulating exports, otherwise the document stands.

The new classification was proposed to Cabinet at the end of last year. Apart from reservations about the list's green light for trade with Turkey, Sri Lanka and Indonesia — all three embroiled in armed internal resistance campaigns — consensus was reached that the rest could be implemented in the interim The three countries remained "on hold"

In March, Cabinet appointed a committee of ministers and deputy ministers, including the ANC's Modise, Ronnie Kasrils, Mac Maharaj, Kader Asmal and Aziz Pahad, the National Party's Chris Fismer and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Joe Matthews, to develop a new policy for the defence industry A final classification of countries, and criteria for classification, will have to wait until the committee completes its work, which may take months still

But an indication of the direction Cabinet is taking is the recent example of its pro-human rights stance on weapons to Turkey When the industry increased pressure for the final approval of export contracts with Turkey for bombs and ammunition worth tens of millions of rands, the decision was taken to put Turkey in Category IV — no sales at all

Companies like Denel, South Africa's main weapons manufacturing group, complained bitterly of money lost and a figure of R2,1-billion was bandied. It is understood, however, that that figure was based on a potential contract for the G-5 long-range artillery system, not on an actual contract that had to be cancelled

But where Denel may have a point is that millions had been spent promoting the G-5 in Turkey. Had there been certainty at the time about Turkey's classification, there would have been no loss Said Jakkie Celliers of the Institute for Defence Policy "The lack of clarity and finality, and the related uncertainty, are doing the industry great harm . We are destroying it by default."

Dr Martin Navias of the King's College Department of War Studies in London, an expert on the South African defence industry, this week said it appeared "the issue of human rights is high on the agenda. (The new classification) is very strict, stricter than that of the the United Kingdom "

■ To PAGE 10

P.T.O

Where we sell guns

■ From PAGE 6

He said it was clear Western concerns — and American demands — had been addressed and that Armscor was "reining in its actions"

Armscor spokesman Krish Naidoo commented. "All parties are working towards a more responsible arms export policy In keeping with the spirit of consultation, democracy and transparency, at some stage the public should have the opportunity to have an input into this process Now that you do have the document, its publication may contribute to the debate "

The new classification includes

● American concerns were an important factor in the complete ban on arms exports to Iran, Libya, Syria, Iraq, Sudan and Cuba The Foreign Affairs recommendations made it clear South African-American relations could suffer if arms were exported to them The bans go against South African diplomatic rapprochement with Cuba and Iran since the elections

● There is a new openness towards stable African countries compared to the 1993 list Botswana, Mauritania, the Seychelles and Zimbabwe, all partly or completely restricted in 1993, are now unrestricted

● In spite of South Africa's new diplomatic emphasis on Africa, countries on the continent tinged by war, insurrection or human rights abuse are blacklisted: The Angolan government, in spite of its good historic relations with the ANC, may receive only non-lethal equipment; Lesotho is barred completely "due to the fact that the government of Lesotho has no control over the Royal Lesotho Defence Force", and Mozambique, another ANC ally, can get only non-lethal weaponry

Nigeria, formerly approved for South African sales but still a military dictatorship, is banned completely, in spite of South Africa's "constructive" policy towards a settlement in that country; Gambia gets a complete ban because of its military coup last July; and Burundi and Rwanda, still ethnically explosive, are also completely off-limits Kenya gets limited restriction status because "there is no press freedom and ongoing ethnic suppression"

● Both Morocco and the Saharaoui Arab Democratic Republic, opponents in the fight for Western Sahara, are classified with no restrictions — but pending a successful outcome to the referendum on the future of the contested land It appears to be an imaginative solution, where South Africa wants to offend neither human rights sentiments, nor Morocco, which the old government had good relations with and the new one has been careful not to alienate, nor the Saharaoui, who have historical ties with the ANC

● In the Middle East, restrictions are imposed neither on Israel nor on many Arab states It seems to reflect a search for new markets, while the old are not alienated It may be asked whether good foreign policy does not demand a choice between potential enemies The same can be asked about India and Pakistan — both of which are classified with the same Category II level of restriction — in the light of the ongoing Kashmir dispute between the two countries The government is clearly not ready to alienate either

● In South and Central America, only Cuba and Haiti are completely restricted The little interest the policy makers seem to have accorded this part of the world may relate to the low level of arms trade between it and South Africa

How the countries rate

CATEGORY I (no arms restrictions)
Mi
bia Malawi Tanzania M
Benin Cape Verde S
Guinea Guinea Bissau Ghan
Gabon Eritrea Rwa
Kuwait
Arab D
Chad Sahara
Oman
Emirates
Cambo
Lac
Zealand Pacific Oc
Guinea F
Lar but since put on hold Ber
Thailand Vietnam Unifec
Canada Ven
Guyana Brazil, Paragu
Chile Bolivia Peru, Ecuador
Costa Rica Nicaragu
Bahami
Repu ala
Rico, Trinidad and Tobago, Dominica Germany,
Austria Switzerland
Denmark Iceland, Lit

CATEGORY II (some arms restrictions)
Czech Re
Mad
Slovak Republic

CATEGORY III (non lethal equipment only)
Algeria Belarus, Moldova

CATEGORY IV (no arms sales)
Liberia Nigeria Sierra Leone Gambia
Iran, Iraq Lebanese
Libya, Sudan Syria
Croatia Slovenia Republic of Yugoslavia
Bosnia Herzegovina Armenia, Azerbaijan Geor

Prior to the commencement of the final Industrial Court hearing on 25 March 1991 the parties entered into settlement discussions The matter was eventually settled on the basis that

(a) The employee withdraw his claim in terms of section 46(9) of the Labour Relations Act for permanent re-instatement in his post,

(b) Eskom withdraw its review application in respect of the section 43 ruling,

(c) He retain all benefits which he received from Eskom during this temporary re-instatement,

(d) He obtain a letter of recommendation from two Eskom managers, Messrs Webb and Britten, and

(e) The settlement constitutes a final settlement of all his claims against Eskom

During all the relevant times, he was represented by an attorney

Audits of all Eskom's assets

379 Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister for Public Enterprises

(1) Whether Eskom conducts audits of all assets owned by the corporation, if so, (a) how often and (b) by whom are such audits conducted

(2) whether these audits have shown any losses, if so, what was the extent of the loss (a) in respect of each audit conducted in each year from 1984 up to the latest specified year for which information is available and (b) in total during this period,

(3) whether any investigations have been conducted into missing stock during this period, if not, why not, if so, (a) how many, (b) who conducted the investigations in each case and (c) what were the findings of these investigations in each case,

(4) whether any disciplinary action has been taken against any persons in connection with missing stock during this period, if not, why not, if so, what action in each case,

(5) whether any cases of theft of stock were reported to Eskom by employees during this period, if so, (a) how many, (b) what was the total value of thefts so reported and (c) what action was taken as a result in each case?

N779E

The MINISTER FOR PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

(1) (a) and (b) Eskom conducts audits of all its assets For the last five years the following audit timetable was followed

	Assets	*Stores*	*Cash*	*Total*
1990	24	28	24	76
1991	28	28	28	84
1992	15	12	18	45
1993	19	19	15	53
1994	20	20	12	52
	106	107	97	310

The audits are conducted by Internal Corporate Audit and the External Auditors viz KPMG Aitken and Peat and Deloitte & Touché

(2) The undermentioned table highlights the number and value of major investigations conducted internal on Eskom's staff and against external persons

	1990	*1991*	*1992*	*1993*	*1994*
Number of Fraud & Theft incidents investigated by Confidential Investigations	67	60	72	79	109
Value of Fraud & Theft incidents investigated by Confidential Investigations	R1 686 025	R1 709 280	R10 698 620	R25 987 795	R10 756 623

The organisation maintains records in respect of irregularities for five years and only in exceptional circumstances are older records maintained This is per the retention of records as outlined by the Companies Act

As stated above the threats against the organisation could be from external, internal or a collusion of the two In all cases, confidentiality and anonymity of persons reporting the cases is maintained The details of persons are never divulged Cases are not differentiated by the source of information

(3) Yes A total amount of 310 Suspected losses and irregularities of a serious nature are reported to the Confidential Investigations Department for further investigation The less serious issues are reported to the Protective Services Department for further investigation

Threats against the organisation are also reported from employees or external persons All investigations are logged, investigated and feedback given to Management whose responsibility it is to take appropriate action It is Eskom's policy to refer all irregularities of a criminal nature to the relevant authorities

The audits highlight shortcomings in controls which could lead to possible financial loss to the organisation The shortcomings are reported to Management who take corrective measures Shortcomings not corrected are reported to the Management Board and to the Audit and Financial Committee of the Electricity Council

(4) The following disciplinary action cases were decided

Actions	*1989*	*1990*	*1991*	*1992*	*1993*	*1994*	*1995*
Suspended	15	8	10	12	15	12	2
Dismissed	10	12	18	22	27	44	12
Demoted	3	2	10	2		1	1
Resigned	9	7	8	11	4	5	1
Warned	21	22	34	38	64	17	31

Management are on an ongoing basis endeavouring to improve the control systems An environment of control is being established by virtue of the conduct of the directors

(5) Please refer to (2) above (253)

Children detained in places of safety

383 Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister for Welfare and Population Development

(1) (a) How many children (i) are currently being detained in places of safety and (ii) were detained in such places of safety prior to 4 May 1995 and (b) what is the maximum number of children that can currently be accommodated in places of safety,

(2) whether his Department has determined whether existing facilities are adequate, if not, why not, if so,

(3) whether these facilities have been found to be adequate, if so, what are the relevant details, if not,

(4) whether it is the intention to (a) build any new facilities and/or (b) make existing facilities available as places of safety, if not, why not, if so, in each case, (i) when, (ii) how many and (iii) how many children will such facilities be able to accommodate?

Hansard 8/8/95 N783E

The MINISTER FOR WELFARE AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT

(1) (a) (i) 2 200 and

(ii) 2 122 and

(b) 2 572,

(2) yes,

(3) no,

(4) (a) yes, according to the provinces specific needs and

(b) yes, according to the needs as identified by the various provinces—

(i) when funds are available,

(ii) the number is unknown at present and

(iii) the number is unknown at present

Children escaping from places of safety

384 Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister for Welfare and Population Development

Anglo American Farms Ltd	7,4
Kynoch Fertilizer Ltd	7,3
Sea Harvest Corporation Ltd	7,2
Aeci Ltd	6,3
Consani Engineering (Pty) Ltd	6,3
Appletiser SA (Pty) Ltd	6,1
Hulett Aluminium Rolled Products (Pty) Ltd	5,9
Sanachem (Pty) Ltd	5,9

Period 1 April 1993 to 31 March 1994	*R (million)*
Iscor Ltd	164,0
Trencor Services (Pty) Ltd	76,3
Denel (Pty) Ltd	58,1
Unifruco	57,4
Mondi Paper Company Ltd	45,4
Langeberg Foods Ltd	44,3
Highveld Steel and Vanadium Corporation (Pty) Ltd	27,8
Scaw Metals Ltd	23,0
SA Preserving Co (Pty) Ltd	22,9
The South African Breweries Ltd	22,4
Klein Karoo Co-operative Ltd	13,9
Telkor (Pty) Ltd	13,4
Techserve CC	10,0
Siemens Ltd	10,7
Foskor Ltd	10,5
Beacon Sweets and Chocolates (Pty) Ltd	9,8
Distcor Yacht Exports	9,8
Kooperatieve Wijnbouwers Vereniging (K W V)	9,4
Nampak Products Ltd	9,1
Bell Equipment Co SA (Pty) Ltd	7,6
Ashton Canning Company (Pty) Ltd	6,6
Naschem—A Division of Denel (Pty) Ltd	6,6
Moxwood (Pty) Ltd	6,2
Sasol Chemical Industries (Pty) Ltd	6,1
Tosa Exports—Division of Dorbyl Ltd	5,7
Hulett Aluminium Rolled Products (Pty) Ltd	5,5
Sulzer South Africa (Pty) Ltd	5,5
Bateman Project Holdings Ltd	5,1
Lennings Manganese (Pty) Ltd	5,0
Rex Trueform Clothing Ltd	5,0

Period 1 April 1994 to 31 March 1995	*R (million)*
Iscor Ltd	120,6
Sappi Saiccor (Pty) Ltd	56,2
Trencor Services (Pty) Ltd	46,2
Langeberg Foods Ltd	46,2
Unifruco	27,6
Columbus Stainless	22,6
Mondi Paper Company Ltd	22,2
Ngodwana Mill Ltd	19,3
Naschem—A Division of Denel (Pty) Ltd	19,2
Sanachem (Pty) Ltd	18,4
Amalgamated Beverage Canners (Pty) Ltd	17,2
Highveld Steel and Vanadium Corporation (Pty) Ltd	17,0
Ashton Canning Company (Pty) Ltd	16,1
Sappi Manufacturing (Pty) Ltd	15,8
Indian Ocean Fertilizer (Pty) Ltd	15,0
Grinaker Electronics Ltd	12,4
Klein Karoo Co-operative Ltd	11,5
Sea Harvest Corporation Ltd	11,2
Bell Equipment Co SA (Pty) Ltd	9,8
Sasol Oil (Pty) Ltd	9,8
Kentron—A Division of Denel (Pty) Ltd	8,8
Somchem—A Division of Denel (Pty) Ltd	8,3
The South African Breweries Ltd	8,3
Hulett Aluminium Rolled Products (Pty) Ltd	8,0
IPX International (Pty) Ltd	8,0
Cape Gate (Pty) Ltd	7,4
Haggie Rand Ltd	7,0
Welfit Oddy (Pty) Ltd	6,9

(3) Yes

(4) Yes Benefit levels under the revised GEIS are being scaled down systematically, particulars of which have been published and circularised to all registered active GEIS claimants during September 1994 The Scheme terminates on 31 December 1997

Houses built with aid of State funds

369 Mr J T ALBERTYN asked the Minister of Housing †

(a) How many houses were built with the aid of State funds in the (i) 1992-93, (ii) 1993-94 and (iii) 1994-95 financial years, (b) what was the total amount of such State aid in each of these financial years and (c) how many of these houses were built in the metropolitan area of (i) Cape Town, (ii) Port Elizabeth, (iii) Durban, (iv) Johannesburg and (v) Pretoria?

N769E

The MINISTER OF HOUSING

(a) and (b)

Year	*Units*	*Erven*	*Funds expended R'million*
1992/93	20 677	84 063	1 168
1993/94	20 069	103 169	2 197
1994/95	10 736	±70 000	1 428

The abovementioned funds include expenditure in respect of the First-Time Home Buyers Subsidy Scheme, Home-Owners Saving Scheme and Relief Measures for Mortgagors

(c) (i) 3 174

(ii) 968

(iii) 3 486

(iv) 2 162

(v) 1 731

Certain person employed by Eskom

376 Mr A J LEON asked the Minister for Public Enterprises

(1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to her Department for the purpose of her reply, was previously employed by Eskom, if so, (a) when did this person join Eskom and (b) in what capacity was the said person employed,

(2) whether this person's employment was terminated, if so, (a) when and (b) what were the circumstances surrounding the termination of this person's employment,

(3) whether an Industrial Court hearing was held on the question of whether this person had been unfairly dismissed, if so, what was the outcome of the (a) first and (b) final hearing? N776E

The MINISTER FOR PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

(1) (a) and (b) He was employed by Eskom He was appointed as a technician on 10 September 1975, he became Engineer on 1 August 1976 and he became Senior Engineer on 1 October 1982

(2) (a) and (b) Yes, his employment was terminated on 14 May 1990

Certain management short-comings were identified regarding the employee and, although attempts were made by his Manager to improve his management style, this proved to be unsuccessful It was then decided, during January 1990, to transfer him to another post on the same level (with the same benefits) where he could utilise his technical skills but would have limited, if any, managerial responsibilities He initially accepted this transfer but a few days later he was dissatisfied therewith and he employed an attorney to advise him Eskom met with his attorney to discuss the matter in an attempt to resolve it

It was agreed that he could return to his previous position provided that he undergo a performance enhancement exercise to improve his managerial short-comings Certain alternatives were also discussed

Numerous attempts by Eskom to obtain a final response regarding his future from either himself or his attorney proved to be fruitless During this time it had become impossible to manage him On 11 May 1990 he was given an ultimatum to indicate which option he wanted to choose by 14 May 1990 On the last-mentioned date he met with his manager but refused to discuss the matter However, he made it clear that he would not accept either of the two posts in question His manager indicated that by refusing to do so he was repudiating his employment contract He agreed that that was indeed the case His manager accepted the repudiation and his employment was terminated

(3) (a) and (b) On 7 September 1990 the Industrial Court considered an application by the employee in terms of section 43 of the Labour Relations Act for his reinstatement He was temporarily re-instated on 20 September 1990, pending the final resolution of the dispute in terms of section 46(9) of the Labour Relations Act

Eskom initiated review proceedings in the Supreme Court with a view to overturning the section 43 ruling on the basis that the presiding officer erred in his application of the Labour Relations Act in a number of respects The employee was cited as second respondent, the first respondent being the presiding officer He opposed the review application

SANDF denies mismanaging govt buildings

(254) (KE)

JOHANNESBURG: The Defence Force has defended itself against criticism by the Public Works department that it has mismanaged government buildings.

The claims were made last week by Public Works director-general Mr Sipho Shezi. He said the defence force and the police rented office accommodation and then vacated the facilities before leases had expired, without advising Public Works, and leaving the taxpayer to meet their obligations.

Spokesman Major-General Gert Opperman said yesterday the SANDF placed "a high premium on the effective use of facilities .. regardless of whether they are government or hired property".

CT 8/8/95

Register

"We have a computerised facilities register which provides details of all the buildings and land under our control".

He added that the defence force was aware that taxpayers' money was used to provide facilities for the SANDF and that there was full co-operation with Public Works.

"In the light of a shrinking Defence budget allocation, it happens on occasion that the SANDF is forced to vacate facilities which may then stand empty while the new users prepare to occupy them," Gen Opperman said — Sapa, Special Correspondent

SANDF denies mismanagement claim

(254)

BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

The defence force yesterday denied claims by the Public Works Department (PWD) that it has mismanaged Government buildings.

Major-General Gert Opperman, chief director, communication, of the SANDF, said the army placed "a high premium on the effective use of facilities, both land and buildings, regardless of whether they are Government or hired property".

PWD director-general Sipho Shezi claimed last week that the defence force had vacated rented office accomodation without advising the PWD, leaving the taxpayer to meet their obligations

Opperman said the SANDF was aware that taxpayers' money was being used to provide facilities for the defence force, but added that "it happens on occasion that the SANDF is forced to vacate facilities which may then stand empty while the new users prepare to occupy them".

He said there was full cooperation with the PWD.

Star 8/8/95

32 soldiers fined R350 for mutiny

(254) 11/8/95 CT

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG Thirty-two soldiers under the control of Witwatersrand Command were found guilty of mutiny and each fined R350 at a court martial here yesterday.

They were given 60 days to pay

The soldiers, from 21 Infantry Battalion stationed at Lenz military base, were detained in March after demonstrating at the Union Buildings against the termination of their short-term service contracts

The court martial was presided over by Colonel Desmond Snyders

Pleading in mitigation Mr Al Venter said virtually all the men were educated to Std 9 or Std 10, most had been unemployed since leaving the SANDF and most had families to support

In sentencing the men, Col Snyders said mutiny in any form could not be condoned in an essential service that could be hampered in executing its duties if staff were on strike

The [illegible], another eight on the same charges will be heard next month

The SA National Defence Union gave notice of its intention to lodge an appeal with the review board

LABOUR BRIEFS

Defence signs union pact

CT 11/8/95 (254)

PRETORIA: The Department of Defence signed an agreement yesterday allowing non-military staff to join the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu).

"The objective of the recognition agreement is to regulate the relationship between the department and Nehawu to promote industrial peace and stability," the department bulletin said.

SANDF mutineers fined R350 each

(254)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — History was made at a court martial in Johannesburg when 32 former soldiers under the control of Witwatersrand Command were found guilty of mutiny and sentenced to fines of R350 each, payable over 60 days.

Defence attorney At Venter could find no precedent for sentencing the 21 Infantry Battalion troops stationed at Lenz military base, who were detained in March after demonstrating at the Union Buildings against the termination of their short-term service contracts on March 31.

Both sides differed in their definition of "mutiny", which is last believed to have surfaced in the armed forces in 1914.

At stake in the marathon military hearing, presided over by Colonel Desmond Snyders, was far more than the fate of the men, originally 40 soldiers out of a batch of 300, who protested when their contracts in the army were not renewed.

For the defence force whose case was presented by Lieutenant-Colonel Hennie Luus, the test case was focused on the broader principle of enforcing army discipline.

For the fledgling SA National Defence Union (Sandu) headed by Cor van Niekerk, the issue was the right of military personnel to strike, and the possibility of establishing a recognised trade union within the SANDF.

Earlier the soldiers' case had been thrown out with costs by the Supreme Court.

The case concerning the remaining eight accused will be heard next month.

SA heads anti-chemical arms body

Linda Ensor (254) BD 11/8/95

LONDON — SA's ambassador in The Hague, Zach de Beer, this week became chairman of a body aimed at banning the production and use of chemical weapons.

For the next six months during which he holds the revolving post, De Beer will actively be lobbying for countries to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention.

A South African was chosen by African representatives in The Hague to become chairman when it was the region's turn to vote one into office. The choice is seen as a reflection of the important leadership role SA is playing on the continent.

Coming soon after the significant part SA played in finalising a renewal of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, it places SA in a prominent position in the global disarmament effort.

"It is good for SA to be seen to be playing a leading role in world affairs," De Beer said in an interview yesterday.

De Beer will be responsible for setting up the organisation and getting the 159 signatories to the convention to ratify it. So far 32 states have ratified the treaty, and SA is expected to do so before the end of the year.

The big stumbling block so far has been the failure of the US and the Russian Federation to ratify the treaty and getting them to do so will be high on De Beer's agenda. Some countries such as Egypt and Libya did not even sign the convention in its initial stages.

The convention is a global disarmament agreement which, when it comes into effect, will ban the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons. All existing chemical weapons and factories will have to be destroyed within a specific time frame.

Job fears in SANDF as rationalisation looms

(254) Star 11/8/95

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

Many defence force employees are concerned about looming rationalisation in the military integration process, the SA National Defence Force revealed yesterday

The process will culminate in the next three years with a substantial cutback in personnel and operations due to major cuts in the defence budget

Integration began last year, when Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and the SA Defence Force (SADF) integrated into the SANDF To give everyone a fair chance to remain in service, the SANDF is providing bridging training to maintain standards

According to the SANDF, MK and Apla soldiers — all of whom, as with former SADF members, are on short term system (STS) contracts — say integration is more like absorption

"It is not a question of absorption but integration according to international standards," said SANDF spokesmen

"All members of the SANDF, except General Georg Meiring (the Chief of the SANDF) and others specifically appointed by the Minister of Defence, are employed temporarily in their posts"

But new permanent contracts will be offered later as part of rationalisation

Asset

The SANDF adds that "members will be given time to prove their worth and no one will be rationalised for not being adequately qualified or without having a fair chance to complete the necessary courses"

But, the two-year STS contracts will be renewed "for people who are an asset to the SANDF" Bad service records will count against members Recently hundreds of troops dissatisfied with salary matters went AWOL from SANDF assembly points such as Wallmannstal and De Brug

MK and Apla members have taken issue with the military's security clearance procedures, after having originally been cleared by MK and Apla

The SANDF has told them that it is standard international practice for security clearances to be given to soldiers and that this had been agreed to by all parties

The SANDF said yesterday it found itself in "the unenviable position of having to inform a number of STS members that their service contracts cannot be extended"

It feared the decision would be questioned by individuals who did not have a clear understanding of the nature of STS contracts

Spokesman Major-General Gert Opperman said that the SANDF had been trying to contact private companies to arrange employment for those affected

NEWS

First since 1914 in SANDF

Mutiny finding for 32 soldiers

(254)

Star 11/8/95

■ BY SHIRLEY WOODGATE

History was made at a court martial in Johannesburg yesterday when 32 former soldiers under the control of Witwatersrand Command were found guilty of mutiny and sentenced to fines of R350 each, payable over 60 days

Defence attorney At Venter could find no precedent for sentencing the 21 Infantry Battalion troops stationed at Lenz military base, who were detained in March after demonstrating at the Union Buildings against the termination of their short-term service contracts on March 31

Both sides differed in their definition of "mutiny", which is last believed to have surfaced in the armed forces in 1914

But at stake in the marathon hearing, presided over by Colonel Desmond Snyders, was far more than the fate of the 32 men, originally part of a group of 40 soldiers who protested after their contracts in the army were not renewed

For the SA National Defence Force, represented by Lieutenant-Colonel Hennie Luus, the test case was focused on the broader principle of enforcing army discipline

For the fledgling SA National Defence Union (Sandu), headed by Cor van Niekerk, the issue was the right of military personnel to strike, and the possibility of establishing a recognised trade union within the SANDF

Earlier, the soldiers' case had been thrown out with costs by the Supreme Court

Pleading in mitigation, Venter said virtually all the men were educated to standards nine or ten, most had been unemployed since leaving the SANDF, and most had families to support

He appealed to the court to consider the soldiers' personal circumstances, the severity of the crime and its public impact

Handing down sentence to the offenders, Snyders said "The message must go out and justice must be seen to be done" Mutiny could not be condoned in any form in an essential service in SA, which could be hampered in the execution of its duties if staff were out on "strike"

Van Niekerk gave notice that an appeal would be lodged with the Review Board If this failed, mechanisms were in place to take the matter to the Constitutional Court which granted individuals the right to strike and to protest, he said

Non-military defence staff may unionise

(254)
SAN 11/8/95

A milestone deal signed in Pretoria yesterday will allow Department of Defence non-military employees to unionise

The agreement between the department and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union would promote industrial peace and stability, a defence force bulletin said

Nehawu's Neal Thobejane said the agreement would "kick-start the new labour debate" on unionisation of the uniformed and armed forces

— Staff Reporter

Generals seek halt to crime probes

(254) ST 13/8/95

By JOHN LIEBENBERG and MARLENE BURGER

SIX retired police and defence force generals who met President Nelson Mandela this week are seeking a moratorium on investigations into alleged crimes by security force members before December 8 1992.

Failing that, they want police probes into acts of terrorism by members of the ANC and PAC before the cut-off date for indemnity reopened.

The request by four former police commissioners — generals Mike Geldenhuys, Johan Coetzee, Hennie de Witt and Johan van der Merwe — and two former defence force chiefs, generals Constand Viljoen and Jannie Geldenhuys, was put to Mr Mandela and members of his cabinet at a meeting on Thursday.

But at a press conference afterwards, Justice Minister Dullah Omar indicated that investigations in progress — which focus on alleged third-force activity and the use of hit squads in Natal — would take their course, and that where evidence was found to justify prosecutions, attorneys general would be "bound by law" to bring charges.

None of the generals who attended the meeting would comment on what was discussed.

However, sources close to them said they had asked for the meeting "in their capacity as heads of the security forces during the total onslaught era" and that there was "nothing political or sinister" in their approach.

A source said: "The feeling among the generals is that on the eve of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission starting its work, criminal investigations of matters that logically fall within the commission's ambit should be halted.

"While the generals are willing to co-operate with the commission, there is concern at all levels of the former security forces that this is not going to be an even-handed process."

The generals are particularly concerned about the extension of temporary indemnity for senior members of anti-apartheid forces implicated in some of the most serious terror attacks on civilians during the same time-frame as alleged human rights violations by members of the police and defence force.

Members of the government of national unity, and Mr Mandela in particular, have been at pains to reassure former security force members that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission will not be one-sided, but recent statements by Mr Omar and other ANC members have made it clear that the deeds of those who shored up apartheid are not viewed in the same light as actions taken by those who fought for its demise.

Mutineers convicted – and fined

(254)
BY JEFFERSON LENGANE
CP 13/8/95

THIRTY-ONE black soldiers who were serving in the army on short-term contracts were found guilty of mutiny and sentenced on Thursday by a Court Martial of the new South African National Defence Force

The conviction and sentence is the first of its kind since the country became a republic in 1961.

The charges against the soldiers, known as the "1992s" – the year they were contracted – arose from their protest action earlier this year after they were told their short-term contracts would not be renewed

They staged a protest sit-in at the Lenz 21 Battalion, a sit-in at the Gauteng legislature offices and a protest march to the Union Buildings and went absent without leave from March 3-6.

Forty of the protest marchers to the Union Buildings were arrested and detained at the Boksburg Barracks Eight of the forty absconded before their trial and warrants for their arrest have been issued. They will stand trial separately. One member of the group was stabbed to death before the trial's conclusion.

Part of the mutiny charge related to their refusal, while at Boksburg, to obey army instructions to stand for inspection, eat, clean their cells and bathrooms and make their beds

The Court Martial sentenced the 31 soldiers to a R350 fine each or 30 days in jail.

The conviction and sentence was condemned by the chief executive officer of the South African National Defence Force Union, Cor van Niekerk

He said "According to the Interim Constitution this was a pure labour matter and the constitution protects the right to strike What this Court has proven is that the constitution the soldiers must protect cannot protect them"

Shortly after their sentence the convicted soldiers filed out of the court and collected their licenced firearms from the foyer to start a new life – for the time being, without jobs



ARMED AND UNEMPLOYED . . . A convicted mutineer leaves the historic court martial, sentenced to a fine or 30 days in jail■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

Ex-navy staff waiting for pay

(254)

CT 14/8/95

THE race is on to finalise outstanding retrenchment packages for more than 900 former navy personnel – who have waited more than five years for their money — before Parliament closes.

The final parliamentary session for this year will meet for four weeks from tomorrow.

The ex-naval personnel have been waiting since they were retrenched in April 1990 for backdated retrenchment payments and pension adjustments

Their fight for those benefits made little progress until earlier this year when the ombudsman ruled in their favour.

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise told Parliament in June that an actuary had been appointed to calculate the individual payout packages. This would take about six weeks, after which the payouts would have to be approved by Parliament

But last week several ex-navy members told the Cape Times they had still heard nothing.

Navy spokesman Commander Stan Slogrove said the actuary had only just started calculating the payouts, as it had taken three people until now to get the relevant information from the records.

It would therefore be "two to three weeks" before the packages could be submitted first to the Defence Command Council and then to Parliament for approval

The navy would do what it could to ensure that the payouts were made as soon as possible, said Commander Slogrove

Defence Ministry spokesman Dr D A S Herbst promised that the matter would not be held over until next year — Staff Reporter

'SA will not sell arms to Cuba, Lesotho'

(254) CT 14/8/95

OWN CORRESPONDENT

LONDON: South Africa's updated list of defence sales client countries is "generally in line" with the views — and influence — of the United States and Western Europe, the journal, Jane's Defence Weekly, reported at the weekend

Countries categorised as "no sales" areas significantly include Cuba which was one of the ANC's closest military and political supporters during the years of isolation Sales to some of South Africa's neighbours are also limited

The ban on defence sales of any kind to Cuba clearly pays heed to pressure from the United States

South Africa's new Category 1, for unrestricted defence sales, covers most nations in Europe, the Americas, Asia and the Middle East

Category 4, enforcing the no sales ban, covers: Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Cuba, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Gambia, Kyrghystan, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Nigeria, North Korea, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Slovenia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tajikstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Yemen.

South Africa had defence sales of R519m in 1994-95.

'SA's strategic minerals stockpile not important'

210 254 Star 14/8/95

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

A United States government official has burst the bubble on the importance of South Africa's strategic minerals — for years claimed as one of the main reasons why the West needed to keep open the Cape sea route in the event of war.

Joseph Nye, Assistant Secretary of State for Defence (international security affairs), said in Pretoria that the US had a "stockpile of strategic minerals left over from the Cold War" and therefore did not place much importance on South Africa's strategic production

The abundance of South Africa's strategic minerals has in the past been said by local and foreign politicians and military experts to be of vital importance to the West, particularly to Nato

During the Cold War, it was claimed that the route round the Cape had to be kept open in order to prevent the flow of South Africa's strategic minerals, as well as Middle East oil, from being interrupted

The Cold War, which grew out of distrust between the Western allies and the former USSR, ended with the fall of the USSR in 1989.

Nye, former chairman of the US National Intelligence Council, said during a lecture arranged by the Institute for Defence Policy that American strategic interest in sub-Saharan Africa in general was essentially in humanitarian assistance and how the country could provide help to the region.

"We have no strategic (military) interest in Africa."

"We don't see Africa as being of strategic importance, but at the same time we take cognisance of the humanitarian side, such as in Somalia and Rwanda," Nye said.

"In a sense, the United States cannot turn its back on Africa as the unpredictable can surprise," he added.

However, the US would support a regional defence strategy Such a strategy would be bolstered because South Africa possesses the most professional military machine in sub-Saharan Africa.

ANC objects to 900 navy payout delays

(254)

Sowetan 15/8/95

AFRICAN National Congress MPs have objected to apparent Defence Ministry delays in finalising payouts for more than 900 former navy personnel who were retrenched five years ago

Defence committee chairman Mr Tony Yengeni, supported by ANC MP Mr Ian Phillips, yesterday questioned SA National Defence Force Finance Chief of Staff General Ben Raubenheimer about the delays

Raubenheimer was appearing before the Finance Committee for hearings on a R700 million increase in the defence budget

He said an actuary had been appointed to calculate the individual payouts and once this had been completed, "we will approach Parliament through the treasury for an *ex gratia* payment"

The payout had not been provided for in this year's budget

Phillips said that on June 21 Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils had informed Parliament the process would take six weeks to finalise

Defence spokesman told *Sapa* everything possible would be done to ensure that the retrenchment payments and pension adjustments would be finalised as soon as possible

Top gun quits 'to boost Armscor'

(254) CT 16/8/95

PRETORIA. Mr Tielman de Waal has quit as managing director of Armscor to improve the agency's image

He was appointed chief executive in 1992 and oversaw efforts to reduce the secrecy that surrounded Armscor

"He has expressed his disappointment that the changes undertaken have not gained Armscor the public confidence hoped for," the board of directors said in a statement yesterday "He has indicated the only other step he can take is relinquishing his position at Armscor "

Armscor chief resigns

(254) ARG 16/8/95

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — South Africa's top armaments expert has resigned unexpectedly.

Tielman de Waal, managing-director of Armscor, tendered his resignation to the board of the Armaments Acquisition Company "to obtain greater legitimacy for Armscor".

Erich Esterhuyse, aeronautics and maritime general-manager, would act as chief executive until a new appointment was made, the board said.

He was one of the key figures in the management of the dismantling of the country's nuclear capability, announced by former President F W de Klerk in 1992.

The decision by Mr De Waal to quit is believed to have been partly a result of the Cameron judicial commission of inquiry, which was appointed last year to look into the purchase of large numbers of AK-47 rifles destined for Lebanon — but which were diverted to Yemen and then returned to South Africa.

South Africans in favour of local arms industry

BD 16/8/95 (254)

Bonile Ngqiyaza

THE majority of South Africans were in favour of maintaining and even increasing SA's weapons manufacturing capacity, according to a joint survey by the Human Sciences Research Council and the Institute for Defence Policy (IDP).

The survey, conducted in June, found strong support for the arms industry especially among whites, but also among blacks and coloureds, and to a lesser extent, Asian respondents

There was a strong inclination to opt for self-reliance in the provision of weapons among respondents, with 70% of them indicating that SA should produce enough weapons for its own use as well as to compete for sales internationally.

The survey found that it was those with a higher education and those who foresaw a rise in their standard of living under the government of national unity who were "especially inclined" to support the defence industry.

The largest proportion of residents (43%) — black, white and coloured respondents — were in favour of increasing SA's weapons manufacturing capacity Only Asian respondents expressed a dissenting view

The findings followed the massive decline of 45% in the SA defence budget in the past four years, resulting in turnover going down 60% and the loss of thousands of jobs in the public and private sector.

Local production of defence equipment declined by 22% from R4 826m to R3 773m in the past three years.

Despite the cuts, SA'sarms industry consists of about 700 companies employing close to 50 000 people in the public and private sectors.

SA arms exports earned R854m in foreign currency — exceeding imports by R335m — during 1994/95.

Altogether 43% of respondents were in favour of SA "significantly increasing" its weapons manufacturing capacity. Only 18% dissented.

The largest proportion of three of the four population groups — black (42%), coloureds (29%) and whites (50%) — were in favour of SA's weapons manufacturing capacity increasing. Of Asian respondents, 36% were in favour of a decrease while 28% of them disagreed.

According to the survey, all the main political parties, particularly the right-wing parties, were in favour of SA's weapons manufacturing capacity increasing, although the responses also indicated a high level of "uncertain" responses

The universe of the sample was designed for all members of the SA population of 18 and above, and was stratified according to the nine provinces and economic classifications.

Armscor's De Waal quits

Business Day Reporter

(254) BD 16/8/95

ARMSCOR MD Tielman de Waal would leave his post at the end of this month to boost confidence in the arms procurement agency, Armscor's board of directors said yesterday.

De Waal, who was with Armscor for 19 years, said his reason for leaving was "to obtain greater legitimacy for Armscor"

The board said it had no reason to doubt his sincerity.

"He has expressed his disappointment that the changes undertaken have not gained Armscor the public confidence hoped for. He has indicated that the only other step he can take is relinquish his position at Armscor"

Aeronautics and maritime GM Erich Esterhuyse would act as CE from August 31 until the appointment of a successor to De Waal, who resigned on August 1.

Armscor spokesman Abba Omar last night said neither the criticism contained in the recently released Cameron commission inquiry report into arms deals nor Armscor's R57m payout in admission of guilt fines and civil penalties to settle a dispute with the US over sanctions busting were behind the move.

Continued on Page 2

Armscor (254) BD 16/8/95

Continued from Page 1

He said it was too soon to speculate on a successor. The post would be advertised.

The board said De Waal had led the organisation through a fundamental transformation and after sanctions were lifted in May 1994, he had committed it to a policy of "complete transparency and accountability". He had welcomed the Cameron commission inquiry and committed Armscor to fully collaborating with it.

The commission's report, released last month, recommended the dismissal of two Armscor officials — not De Waal — and recommended that the board be made more representative.

Among his achievements were presiding over the removal of secrecy surrounding Armscor contracts, ending the use of front companies and pursuing a countertrade policy for all overseas purchases.

"Mr de Waal's personal efforts contributed to SA's share of the arms marked increasing from about R200m in 1990 to R854m in 1994."

The resignation came at a time when the National Conventional Arms Control Committee was looking at a new policy to control arms exports, the board said.

(254)

Keep up arms industry – poll

STOW 16/8/95

The public favoured SA maintaining and even expanding its arms industry, the Human Sciences Research Council and the Institute for Defence Policy said yesterday

They said a survey revealed particularly strong support from whites for maintaining the country's weapons industry, but support had also been evident among blacks and coloureds and to a lesser extent among Asians

The joint survey, conducted in June, showed 70% of the respondents thought SA should be self-reliant in respect of arms and able to compete on the international market

More than 40% wanted SA to increase its weapons production – Sapa

Armscor MD drops bombshell

Star 16/8/95 (254)

■ **BY NORMAN CHANDLER**
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

South Africa's top armaments expert resigned unexpectedly last night

Tielman de Waal, managing director of Armscor, resigned in order "to obtain greater legitimacy for Armscor" Erich Esterhuyse, general manager aeronautics and maritime, will act as chief executive, until a new appointment is made, the Armscor board said.

De Waal had been associated with Armscor for 19 years and was a key figure in dismantling the country's nuclear capability, announced by former president F W de Klerk in 1992

When sanctions were finally lifted, De Waal committed the organisation to a policy of "complete transparency and accountability", and SA's share of the world's arms market increased from R200-million in 1990 to R854-million in 1994

He committed Armscor to full collaboration with the Cameron Judicial Commission of Inquiry appointed last year to look into the diversion to Yemen of large numbers of AK-47 rifles destined for Lebanon.

He also personally authorised the end of all arms exports to Rwanda and Sudan long before international sanctions on those countries, the statement said

Public wants arms industry — survey

CT 19/8/95 (254)

PRETORIA: The public was in favour of South Africa maintaining and even expanding its arms industry, the Human Sciences Research Council and the Institute for Defence Policy have claimed

They said a survey revealed particularly strong support from whites for maintaining the country's weapons industry, but support had also been evident among blacks and coloureds and to a lesser extent Asians.

The survey, conducted in June, showed 70% of the respondents thought SA should be self-reliant in arms and able to compete internationally More than 40% were in favour of increasing arms production

The statement said a 45% decline in local defence spending over the past four years and the simultaneous 60% drop in the arms industry's turnover had caused the loss of tens of thousands of jobs

However, SA still had a formidable arms industry consisting of about 700 companies representing four per cent of manufacturing output and 1,1% of gross domestic product —Sapa

We may still buy those naval corvettes – Kasrils

(254)
ARG 17/8/95

SOUTH AFRICA might revive a shelved R1,6 billion ($460 million) programme to buy four naval corvettes before the end of the financial year, Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils has told parliament

Defence Minister Joe Modise said in June that the controversial acquisition programme, then limited to bids by British and Spanish shipyards, had been shelved

The project, expected to cost about R3 billion, ran into opposition from the ANC which wants available funds devoted to the redress of apartheid backlogs

Mr Kasrils, a member of the ANC's Communist wing, said the R133 million budgeted for the acquisition programme in the financial year to February 1996 had not been re-allocated

"We haven't scrapped the project We hope that perhaps before this budget year is through, we might be able to revisit it"

An ANC source said the British, Danish, Spanish and German shipyards which originally tendered for the contract were maintaining contact with members of parliament who could influence a decision.

"The Germans are lobbying very actively the others have certainly not given up, although some of them are starting to warn that their prices could go up," the source said

A senior navy officer said advocates of the corvette deal were continuing to lobby and to refine their arguments in favour of buying the ships, which are equivalent to European light frigates.

Speaking during a debate on a supplementary allocation of R700 million to the defence budget, Mr Kasrils said parliament would soon have to address a looming crisis in the navy

"With the navy we are facing a really critical situation given that the navy's equipment and its vessels are becoming really obsolete

"Certainly, we cannot do the job properly if we are talking about adequate protection for our extended economic zone 200 miles offshore right around South Africa"

Cabinet approves defence force Bill

(254)

BD 17/8/95

Adrian Hadland

CAPE TOWN — Draft legislation establishing civilian control over the SA National Defence Force was approved by the Cabinet yesterday.

Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel told a news briefing the Defence Act Amendment Bill would be submitted to Parliament's joint standing committee on defence for consideration in the near future.

The Bill created a defence secretariat which would provide civilian control over the defence force, Gerwel said.

Legislation providing for civilian control of the police was recently tabled in Parliament.

Gerwel said the constitution, which includes no reference to a civilian secretariat, would have to be amended to allow for the change.

Cabinet had also agreed that SA would continue to participate in the UN's peacekeeping effort to stabilise Angola, Gerwel said.

The provision of equipment and other forms of aid to the UN force in Angola would be finalised following discussions between the departments of foreign affairs, defence and finance.

On a further UN-related issue, the Cabinet decided SA would accede to the UN's International Fund for Agricultural Development as well as the World Heritage Convention. The former would cost SA about R2m while the latter would allow the declaration of world heritage sites in SA.

Other matters considered by the Cabinet included the approval of appointments to the boards of the Industrial Development Corporation, the Financial Services Board and the Deciduous Fruit Board.

These appointments, which would be announced in the near future by the bodies concerned, formed part of government's ongoing commitment to transform the boards of parastatals, Gerwel said.

The Cabinet approved the appointment of Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma to lead SA's delegation to the international conference on women in Beijing later this year. It also agreed SA should sign the UN convention on women which would be submitted to Parliament for ratification.

Kriel govt fight postponed

Consensus sought on corvettes for navy

(254)
CT 18/8/96

JOHANNESBURG: The Department of Defence is seeking consensus from political and other interest groups before it is finally decided whether or not to buy four corvette light frigates for the navy.

Ministerial spokesman Mr Das Herbst said yesterday Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise had not closed the door on the R1,6-billion purchase.

"The issue has been deferred and not shelved. The minister made this clear during the Defence budget debate in Parliament this year. It was felt at that time that there was insufficient consensus.

"It was also stated a final decision could be reached by the end of the year or early next year."

He was commenting after a statement on the corvettes by deputy Defence Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils in Parliament this week that "perhaps before this budget year is through, we might be able to revisit it" — Special Correspondent

SA public voices support for demobilised soldiers

BD 18/8/95 (264)

Bonile Ngqiyaza

THE SA public was in favour of providing assistance to demobilised soldiers — both those who fought against and for apartheid — who the SANDF could no longer accommodate, according to a countrywide survey conducted jointly this year by the Institute for Defence Policy and the Human Sciences Research Council.

Project researchers said demobilisation had become a "necessary step" in downsizing the SANDF to an "affordable economic level", from approximately 130 000 to an estimated 90 000 soldiers.

Unlike their counterparts in the statutory forces — the former SADF and TBVC armies — MK and Apla veterans had no pension fund nor social security backup, and would have to "virtually" start new lives "from nothing".

Broken down according to population, language, socioeconomic and political party categories, the results of the survey showed no difference of opinion, nor did perceptions of the legitimacy of the government of national unity influence the result.

However, the response — in relation to whether it should be only those who fought against apartheid or not — differed, with 6% of the respondents feeling that only those who fought for apartheid needed to be assisted. A greater proportion (17%) expressed a dissenting view.

Indications were that population group proved to be a "significant" factor in deciding whether help should be provided for demobilised soldiers or not with black (57%), coloured (58%), Asian (59%) and white (3%) respondents more inclined to support this.

A breakdown of the respondents into language groups showed that most African language speakers were "more likely" than other groups to be in favour of help for the demobilised, while Afrikaans speakers were "least likely" to hold that view.

In socioeconomic terms, residents of informal settlements, rural and black townships were the "most likely" to be in favour of help to demobilised soldiers.

According to the survey, NP supporters (46%) felt that all those who were soldiers and were being demobilised should be helped while right-wing parties on the whole (54%), were of the opinion that nobody needed assistance with social integration. The finding was consistent with the majority finding for the rest of the white population (43%).

Respondents who belonged to political parties which had a majority of black support were more in favour of help for the demobilised to be socially integrated.

In relation to who should be the first to leave when the armed forces retrenched people, respondents indicated that the "last in first out" principle — common in the labour relations field — should apply.

Another category (13%) was, however, of the opinion that those "least trained" should leave first.

Assistance to the demobilised was also linked to the legitimacy of the government.

Those who perceived government to be legitimate felt some kind of assistance for the demobilised — even if they were among the first to join the forces — was needed, while those who regarded the government as illegitimate disagreed

The universe of the sample was designed for all members of the SA population of age 18 and above, and was stratified according to the nine provinces as well as socioeconomic classifications.

Mine management 'needs to be reviewed'

SA's management contract systems at gold mines were "quaint and anachronistic" and needed to be reviewed, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs Pik Botha said yesterday. (254)

"I know this is controversial. But in the age of democracy, decentralisation, individual entrepreneurship and autonomy, the management contract system seems quaint and anachronistic when weighed up against modern values," Botha said in response to questions in Parliament. BD 18/8/95

"It seems to me that management needs to change, to rid itself of possibly archaic practices, rigid structures and blinkered thinking.

"Management must take the lead, encouraging productivity by its attitude toward and treatment of the workforce." He said industry should carefully examine management contracts whereby founding houses "tie mines to their apron strings".

"Most of SA's mining houses are more than a century old, settled in ways for use in a different era," he said.

In response to questions by PAC MP Patricia de Lille about whether any mines were to close, Botha said: "Unlike love, no mine lasts forever. All mines must die sooner or later."

He said labour attitudes, development of new mining and refining techniques and the gold price were among the factors influencing mines and that one of the greatest threats to the industry was the steadily escalating unit working costs.

"The tendency is to blame labour for the problem and to cut costs by retrenchments. Agreed, it is undeniable that workers have negotiated significant pay and conditions improvements without corresponding productivity gains." Botha said 11 of SA's 45 gold mines were marginal — where costs represent 94% of total income — at end 1994, and these mines employed 57 600 workers. — Reuter.

Consensus sought on whether to purchase corvettes

(254) Star 18/8/95

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

The Defence Department is seeking consensus across a broad spectrum of political and other interest groups before a final decision is taken on whether to purchase four corvette light frigates for the South African Navy

Ministerial spokesman Das Herbst said yesterday that Defence Minister Joe Modise had not closed the door on the R1,6-billion purchase

"The issue has been deferred and not shelved," he told The Star. "The minister made this clear during the defence budget debate in Parliament earlier this year. The principle at that time was that insufficient consensus had been obtained and it was also stated that by the end of the year, or in early 1996, a final decision could be reached."

Herbst was commenting following a statement on the corvettes made by deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils in Parliament on Wednesday that "perhaps before this budget year is through, we might be able to revisit it"

According to sources, one of the key factors is obtaining consensus on not only the naval ships but also for other important defence acquisitions. This was one of the recommendations made in the defence draft white paper, published in June

The document specifically states that broad policy and strategy formulation would involve parliamentarians. Consensus was wanted on what the country's defence requirements were in the light of changing global and regional tendencies and the development of defence capabilities

Making the point that defence policy was no longer the "preserve of an elite group of securocrats", the White Paper says policy regarding long range planning force design, force levels, armaments, equipment and funding would be presented to Parliament by April next year

Spanish and British shipyards are vying for the contract to build the corvettes while the Danes and Germans are also in the running

It is understood that Russian shipbuilders have also shown interest, and that the Russian navy is also prepared to provide ready-built ships, similar to a frigate, at far less cost than it would take to build a new vessel

This is significant because South Africa and Russia recently signed two military co-operation agreements — the second of which is specifically aimed at defence technology exchange

The navy and air force are the two arms of service which face difficulties in the future if new acquisitions are not made within the decade

The navy also requires submarines and coastal defence craft while the air force is seeking replacements for its Cheetah and Mirage jet squadrons

Orders have to be placed years in advance for most military acquisitions. In the case of the corvettes, if building is started next year, it will take another three to four years before delivery to the navy — which will then install South African-made weaponry before full use can be made of the ships

Kasrils' ships still on horizon

(254) CP 20/8/95

THE proposed R1,5-billion deal by the South African Navy to buy four deep-sea patrol corvettes has not been scrapped, says Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils

Kasrils this week said although the cabinet had shelved the deal earlier this year, it might be revided before the end of the current financial year.

■ Ever since it was made known last year that Armscor and the SA Navy had narrowed down to two a total number of 42 international tenders received, the corvette debate has been raging in the ANC ranks – and in parliament

The proposed purchase of the helicopter-equipped corvettes – either from Britain or Spain – has all the trappings of a classic "guns-vs-butter" debate – particularly in view of the political sensitivity around the RDP.

The butter lobby argues that cancelling the corvette transaction would make available R1,5-billion for the RDP They say South Africa does not need to upgrade the navy at a time of peace and stability.

But according to those who support buying the corvettes – including Defence Minister Joe Modise and Kasrils – the transaction is not a simple decision between fewer guns and more butter.

Economic zone

South Africa has a 370 km Exclusive Economic Zone, stretching from the Orange River on the west coast to the Mozambican border on the east coast – over 1-million square kilometres

The navy relies on nine Israeli-type missile-carrying strike craft which lack endurance and anti-submarine capability and are expected to be in service until 2000.

The pro-corvette lobby says cancelling the corvette programme would rob the RDP of R4-billion in foreign investments linked to the deal

Army, business plan citizen force

(254) BD 21/8/95

Alan Fine

THE SANDF has begun discussions with top SA business executives aimed at gaining business's co-operation in the development of an effective voluntary part-time, or citizen, force.

This was confirmed yesterday by JSE president and citizen force Brig Roy Andersen who, because of his "two hats", is co-ordinating the process.

It kicked off with a meeting earlier this month. Participants included SANDF chief Gen Georg Meiring and a group of his senior officers, Anglo American chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson, his Barlows and Telkom counterparts Warren Clewlow and Dikgang Moseneke, Business SA president David Brink and Sentrachem's John Job, an SANDF Lt-Col and Part Time Forces Council member. It is understood that Anglovaal head Basil Hersov was also invited to attend the meeting.

Andersen yesterday confirmed the talks, saying the purpose was to establish whether business would be willing to back voluntary system upgrading, required now that conscription no longer exists.

Brink said although there were adequate numbers of lower level volunteers, the focus would be on bringing in people with potential leadership, professional and technical skills.

Andersen said the key was for each of three parties involved — the volunteers, their employers and the defence force — to be convinced that service would be beneficial for them.

The advantages for business would be a lower tax burden, because it would be possible to maintain a smaller full-time professional defence force; and the development employees would experience in voluntary part-time force service in terms of staff development. Employees would gain management and leadership skills.

Questions over how much time volunteers would have to devote to the force, and who would pay them — the SANDF or their employers — were among the items still being discussed.

Andersen said the interaction was in line with the consultative approach which was becoming the SA norm. "It was nice to see both sides in such constructive discussions," he said. Both the SANDF leadership and the business leaders are to consider matters raised at the meeting and discuss them further.

Andersen's SANDF function is director, part-time forces liaison, which entails liaising between part-time forces and the general staff.

The volunteer part-time force is intended to act as a back up to the envisaged 90 000-strong full-time professional force. It consists of the mobile citizen force, and the equivalent of the old commando units. The theory, said Andersen, is that it would negate need for a larger full-time force.

Armscor 'owes' R43m to US

(254) CT 22/8/95

PRETORIA: A demand by American prosecutors that Armscor pay a R43-million fine was among the remaining hurdles in talks between South Africa and the US to settle a sanctions-busting court case, sources said yesterday.

Officials close to the negotiations said in Pretoria the amount of the fine had not yet been agreed upon, adding: "We are trying to bring it down."

Armscor, its then affiliate Kentron and seven South Africans were indicted in 1991 by a Philadelphia grand jury for breaking US arms export regulations.

The transgression prompted the US to maintain weapons trade restrictions against SA even after the lifting of the international arms embargo last year. — Sapa

SANDF to cut its ranks by up to 45 000

(254)

☐ *Cash offer to ex-MK, Apla members*

ARG 22/8/95

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has begun the mammoth task of slashing its ranks by up to 45 000 personnel.

The first phase of its vast rationalisation programme — aimed at streamlining the organisation by the year 2000 — was announced yesterday by Defence Minister Joe Modise at SANDF headquarters in Erasmusrand

Mr Modise announced that the SANDF would be cutting its manpower by nearly a third from the present force level of more than 120 000 to 75 000 in the next four years.

At the same time a R225 million carrot — sliced from the defence budget — has been dangled in front of former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and Apla members in the hope that up to 10 000 of them will opt for a golden handshake rather than integration

The money would be paid to former non-statutory force (NSF) members who were integrated into the SANDF but who did not wish to serve in the full-time force, Mr Modise said

Members who do not meet the minimum requirements for service could also take the voluntary demobilisation packages.

The initiative, due to be completed by the end of this financial year, is part of the SANDF's rationalisation programme which will see the size of the SANDF, estimated in the region of 120 000 full-time personnel, to be streamlined to an affordable 70 000 to 75 000 active members

Should the estimated number of 10 000 NSF members be achieved, the SANDF would then be in a position to begin the more daunting task of rationalising more than 35 000 permanent members from next year.

The target date for the overall completion of the streamlined SANDF has been set for 1999

Mr Modise said it was important to note that eligibility for demobilisation was confined to those NSF members who were not already bound to a service contract with the SANDF before the cabinet decision was taken last week

According to Mr Modise, demobilisation will consist of two phases — the gratuity payout and a training contract with a vocationally orientated service corps to help them with their return to civilian society

The five categories and approved gratuities vary according to cabinet-approved scales of financial compensation, which relate to the duration of certified service rendered in the NSF

The gratuities range from R12 734 for an NSF member who joined MK or Apla between January 1990 and March 1994 to R42 058 for a member who joined between January 1961 and December 1972

482 instructors quit army

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

INSTRUCTORS are leaving the army in droves, the defence force disclosed today.

Since January, 482 instructors have resigned, an average of 20 a unit.

In a briefing document tabled at a meeting of the parliamentary joint standing committee on defence, defence force chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda said: "The problem is acute."

Instructors from non-statutory forces would be available only by the end of the year.

The high rate of resignations in the army was being investigated by the defence force.

The phenomenon was listed among major challenges facing the process of integrating former statutory and non-statutory armed forces

Only 66 percent of those called up for integration were reporting.

"This could delay the end date for non-statutory force integration and seriously disrupt bridging training."

Some trainees were illiterate.

At this point eight undergoing integration were totally illiterate, while another 185 were literate to a degree in their home languages but not in English.

Of the R594-million budget for integration, R283-m had been spent so far.

By this month, 16 450 members of non-statutory forces had been assembled for integration.

Of these, 1 334 had been "lost" because of recruitment by the police, appointment in the service corps, resignations, arrests for serious crimes, deaths, discharges with ministerial approval or desertion

A report by the British military training monitoring group on the bridging training had been "generally favourable".

Four "potential or real" problems had been identified These were language of instruction, lack of instructors, ill-discipline of students and inability of some students to master intricate subjects.

Yesterday Defence Minister Joe Modise unveiled plans to allow voluntarily demobilisation to slim down the defence force

It is estimated the programme will cost about R225-m.

tion Bill.

Some 60 000 must leave by 1999 to achieve 'affordable levels'

(254) Star 22/8/95

Huge SANDF cutbacks

BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

The Cabinet has given the green light for an immediate demobilisation of more than 10 000 soldiers integrated into the SA National Defence Force from Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army and has agreed that 50 000 more personnel will be released by 1999

Defence Minister Joe Modise said yesterday the exercise would affect every SANDF member and cut back the military from its present strength of 135 000 to 75 000

It is the most drastic pruning of the army, air force and navy since demobilisation at the end of World War 2 and will cost about R225-million Millions more will be spent in salaries, gratuities, pensions, special pensions and other payments

The long-awaited move will have widespread economic and social implications, and the defence force is embarking on a "re-entry into civil society" programme A Service Corps will upgrade "the educational and vocational skills" of ex-soldiers over 18 months after their release

Alternatively, "those who already possess certain basic qualifications may choose to attend a refresher course" to help them "meet the needs of the market place"

The Sub-Council on Defence and the Joint Military Co-ordinating Council last year agreed to an integrated military force of 91 000 The cutback to 75 000 indicates that the controversial reduction of the defence budget has been far more devastating to the SANDF than previously realised.

The Cabinet go-ahead on demobilisation, given at its meeting last week, confines demob to non-statutory force members, like those from MK and Apla, who were not under contract to the SANDF before August 16

MOST dramatic pruning since end of World War 2 will cost millions in pensions and gratuities

Describing it as a "topical and sensitive issue", Modise said demob was necessary because integration of the former SA Defence Force, MK, Apla, and the armies of Bophuthatswana, Venda, Transkei and Ciskei meant SA currently had a force "well in excess of defence needs and a cost factor that we cannot afford"

He added: "This demands a process of rationalisation to bring the force strength down to an affordable level."

Demob is to consist of two phases — physical demob with a gratuity, and preparation for reintegration into civil society.

The first MK and Apla members to go are those at Wallmannstal who have declined full-time service in the SANDF or are unable to serve due to age, ill health or lack of minimum standards. Also included are veterans who have been sent on leave pending demob, and 291 members of regional service corps units serving at various regional commands.

A second group will be demobilised on a regional basis from January and the process should be over by the end of the current financial year

The Government is offering financial compensation based on duration of certified service in the forces involved.

There are five categories These are for those who entered the non-statutory service between January 1 1961 and December 31 1972 (gratuity of R42 058, taxable after R30 000), January 1 1973 to December 31 1976 (R34 313, taxable after R30 000), January 1 1977 to December 31 1982 (R28 721), January 1 1983 to December 31 1989 (R20 201), and January 1 1990 to March 26 1994 (R12 734)

They will also be eligible for special pension benefits.

As part of the reintegration into society programme, personnel will be able to opt for a service corps contract for 18 months, during which time they will receive a monthly allowance plus free board and accommodation.

Those getting a gratuity will not be able to combine their service years to qualify for a large amount. MPs, provincial legislative assembly members and senators who also served in MK and Apla forces are not eligible for compensation.

CF unit recruits its own troopies

(254) CT 23/8/95

WILLEM STEENKAMP

FIFTEEN young men are making military history at a training camp in the Peninsula — they are the first recruits to undergo basic training specifically for a Citizen Force unit.

The men, who were directly recruited by the Cape Town Highlanders, are trailblazers in the coming transformation of the Citizen Force, which until recent years relied solely on regular intakes of conscripts

With the scrapping of national service, Citizen Force units now have to seek other avenues for recruitment

The Highlanders' regimental sergeant-major, WO1 Charles de Cruz, said yesterday that as far as he knew the recruits' training specifically for a CF regiment was a first "in the history of the Defence Force", and had "tremendous implications" for other CF units

WO1 De Cruz and Major Jakkie Joubert of 9 Division said the men were progressing well and their spirit was "tremendous" Three of the 15 trainees were recruited after they saw a group of uniformed Highlanders attending a special showing of the Mel Gibson movie Braveheart

SANDF cut-back details 'not final'

CT 23/8/95 (254)

PRETORIA: Details of how the South African National Defence Force would be cut back were still being discussed, an SANDF spokeswoman said yesterday.

"Various aspects still have to be finalised and inquiries at this stage are extremely premature," she said.

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise on Monday said the demobilisation and rationalisation of the defence force would be completed by 1999.

SANDF chief General Georg Meiring said full-time uniformed members would be reduced to between 70 000 and 75 000. At present there were about 135 000 members.

Mr Modise said the first phase in the reduction would be the demobilisation of former members of political armies. The government had allocated R225 million for gratuities to those opting for demobilisation.

It was estimated 10 000 soldiers would volunteer.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said voluntary members of the old defence force who had since retired should be eligible for the same gratuities as those granted to non-statutory force members.

The AWB objected to people being "compensated for placing bombs in Wimpy bars, laying landmines on farm roads which killed innocent women and children, and other savage deeds".

The NP welcomed the process of voluntary demobilisation, saying it supported the principle of giving aid to non-statutory force members.

"We trust that these members will make use of the offer to acquire skills in the Service Corps."

The PAC was opposed to the demobilisation of former cadres because this would leave the SANDF as "a predominantly white force with white commanders", PAC secretary-general Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said. — Sapa

Yengeni upset as demob deal cuts out MPs

CT 23/8/96

THE chairman of the joint standing committee on defence, Mr Tony Yengeni, has objected to the exclusion of MPs from financial packages for demobilised soldiers

Defence Chief of Staff General Siphiwe Nyanda has disclosed that MPs have been removed from a staff roll because the constitution does not allow members of the military to hold political office.

"We can't endorse this. We don't accept it," Mr Yengeni said yesterday "We are not a rubber stamp If we feel certain decisions are to be rescinded, then we've got that right" (254)

The National Party welcomed plans for the immediate demobilisation of more than 10 000 uMKhonto weSizwe and Apla soldiers and eventual rationalisation of 50 000 defence force members

The NP spokesman on Defence, Senator Gerhard Koornhof, said the voluntary mobilisation was in line with a decision to cut defence force numbers to an affordable

Most believe in voluntary army

ET 25/8/95 (254)

JOHANNESBURG: Most South Africans believe military service should be entirely voluntary, a national survey shows

"An overwhelming majority of 87% of the respondents" believed that military service should be entirely voluntary, the independent Institute for Defence Policy and the Human Sciences Research Council said in a joint statement

The results were obtained from a sampling of 2 229 South Africans

"This very strong preference for voluntary rather than compulsory military service, is probably related to association of compulsory military service with the old SADF" the statement said

"Afrikaans-speakers were the least likely to indicate that military service should be entirely voluntary, while English- and black-language speakers were all more likely to say it should be voluntary"

Asked what type of military force should defend South Africa, 60% of those surveyed said they wanted the country to be protected by full-time, professional volunteer soldiers.

DENEL INFORMATICS

Muscling in on the private sector

R54) FM 25/8/95

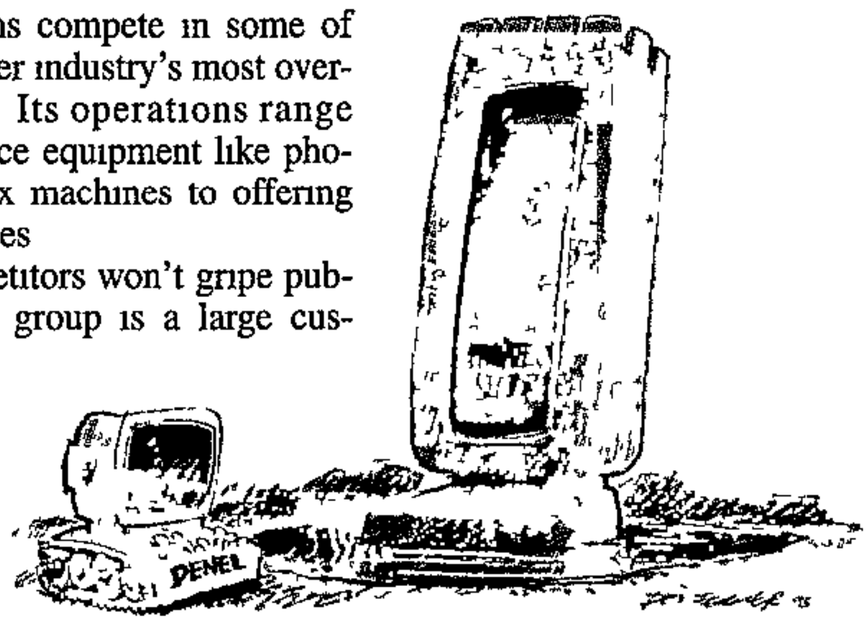
With global military spending in decline, arms manufacturers face the choice of elbowing their way into the commercial sector or going out of business

Locally, Armscor's commercial offshoot Denel has reduced its dependence on SA security forces from 63% at its inception in 1992 to 48% of last year's R3bn turnover This has been achieved by expanding both exports and sales to local commerce by 25% each

Sales to local commerce contributed about R480m, of which more than 60% came from its information technology business Denel Informatics

With a staff of 1 500, Denel Informatics claims to be SA's largest computer company Measured on turnover (estimated at R300m), however, it is smaller than most JSE-listed IT vendors

Its 10 divisions compete in some of the local computer industry's most overtraded markets Its operations range from selling office equipment like photocopiers and fax machines to offering consulting services



Though competitors won't gripe publicly (the Denel group is a large customer), many feel a wholly State-owned player in the market constitutes unfair competition

Denel Informatics was cleared of allegations that it is government funded, but there is muttering that it got a sweet deal when the State sold public assets to its own subsidiary "It got a head start as it did not have to borrow money for its property and equipment initially," claims an IT executive

At least one leading businessman says he would have put in a bid for government's computer interests if given the option "How do we know the price was fair? The State never held a public auction"

Though part of an arms manufacturing group, Denel Informatics competes only in the commercial sector Armscor's traditional computing business — managing the defence force's mainframes on a bureau basis — is handled by sister company Infoplan

The company's frontal assault on the market has caused at least one casualty — Cordata The Unidata subsidiary was put out of business after Denel Informatics wrestled away local distribution for Mitac's range of PCs It also distributes notebook PCs and other office automation products made by Toshiba and Twinhead, Motorola modems, Next's operating system, Fore's networking products, and several others

Denel Informatics has strengthened its string of agencies through an aggressive series of acquisitions and joint ventures After winning a R14m contract to supply temporary voter identification cards in the April 1994 general election, it bought 51% of Information Database Technologies

The Twinhead distributorship was gained by buying A Z Computers Buying locally developed graphics information system Regis recently secured it a contract from the Surveyor General

The rights to distribution it has from Next (a company formed by Apple founder Steve Jobs) and other US companies are controversial because its holding company Denel is still blacklisted by the US

Denel chairman John Maree says "Within weeks of the arms embargo being lifted, the US imposed new trade restrictions on Denel as a result of an unresolved court case against the SA government These restrictions not only deny Denel the opportunity to either export or import from the US, but also negatively affect Denel's trade with other countries Despite tireless efforts by our government, this matter remains unresolved"

Like most local computer companies, Denel Informatics eyes government's new emphasis on improving social services as a key market It has divisions targeting computing for health care, education, and the police It recently created a business offering pension payment systems to regional government (a market hotly contested by FNB and other banks)

It is also targeting neighbouring countries Divisional GM Jan van Zyl says "Valuable assistance can be given in terms of issues such as population and voter registration, driver's licences, passport and visa control, spatial and development planning, as well as IT training"

Computer companies tend to speak the same language, and nearly all the markets Denel Informatics has identified are already crowded by multinational competitors One MD dismisses Denel Informatics as a serious threat, saying it has entered the market too late

However, nobody denies the State company has managed to grow from nowhere to a being significant competitor ■

GREEN PAPER FM 25/8/95

MinZPallo on the rack

A town hall meeting held in cyberspace last week by Posts, Telecommunications & Broadcasting Minister Pallo Jordan to discuss the telecommunications Green Paper turned chaotic

Chairmen BeamJack and Gaspode did their best to keep order but the on-line community overloaded the Internet Relay Chat session with quickfire questions, comments and the occasional obscenity Nicknamed MinZPallo, Jordan defended Telkom's monopoly for more than two hours About 140 people joined the fray, causing scrambled messages to scroll across computer terminals faster than they could be read

The Internet is clearly the right venue for a debate on telecommunications policy But a different Internet technology, perhaps a Usenet newsgroup, would give Jordan and other participants more time to formulate thoughts.

The following is an edited extract from BeamJack's "log" of the debate, which can be downloaded from the same computer as the Green Paper, ftp polity org za

Bogen: What is the standpoint about Telkom's sole market share if a major multinational could provide its RDP commitment at a lower cost?

MinZPallo: Telkom is an SA company Part of the RDP is to give SA citizens jobs A multinational will take away SA jobs

Virgin: I take issue with that It wouldn't pay a multinational to bring in people to do the work

MinZPallo: Telkom is SA taxpayers' largest investment in high technology It is in the national interest to protect it

Gandalf: What about splitting Telkom into smaller firms as was done in the US?

MinZPallo: The US is a mature market SA is an extremely underdeveloped market.

Jhudsy: If Telkom is split, enough competition will be created to self-regulate



THE MOMENT OF TRUTH: Like their fellow comrades, former Apla solders of Whisky Company are told how they will be demobilised PHOTOGRAPHS ANTON HAMMERL



ON PARADE: Former guerilla fighters take the salute at Wallmannstal

Marching orders for 'unprocessable' former guerillas

(254) Star 26/8/95

By CHRISTINA STUCKY

Shiso nervously fiddles with his identification badge His eyes, shielded by a khaki army-issue cap, dart helplessly towards his comrade Zolile 'She wants to know how you feel about not being a soldier anymore," Zolile translates

As he answers the question, Shiso casts his eyes downward He says he feels so bad," Zolile translates again "He says he is so very disappointed "

Zolile and Shiso are former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers They had hoped to become permanent members of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) Now they are among about 60 000 soldiers and army personnel who are to be demobilised and retrenched in the next four years

At Wallmannstal alone, where many former MK and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) soldiers are based, more than 600 of the 1 800 soldiers will be demobilised They are, according to army jargon, "not processable"

When 45 000 MK and Apla freedom fighters were integrated into the new defence force last year, the SANDF swelled to a 135 000-strong, barely manageable mammoth

Sensitive

The rationalisation process, launched on Monday with an announcement by Defence Minister Joe Modise, will see the immediate demobilisation of more than 10 000 MK and Apla soldiers and the cutting back of 50 000 army personnel before the end of 1999

Modise, himself a former MK commander, described the issue as "topical and sensitive"

It is particularly sensitive for the former guerilla fighters who had hoped for a future in the SANDF. Their careers as professional soldiers have ground to a halt because they have not met minimum standards set by the Joint Military Co-operative Committee, a substructure of the now defunct Transitional Executive Committee

As a minimum, SANDF soldiers are required to have a Standard 8 certificate

As many of the former guerillas, forced into exile during the apartheid years, were unable to pursue a formal education, a "potential" test was developed with the assistance of a British military advisory and training team

The test is designed to assess a soldier's potential for obtaining a Standard 8 certificate and for being a productive member of the armed forces, says Colonel Connie van Rensburg, spokesman for the Wallmannstal assembly area

So far about 600 men and women have failed the test – or cannot remain in the force for medical reasons – and are now classified as "unprocessables", he says Like Shiso, many lack a sound knowledge of English, the new lingua franca of the armed forces



BROOM DUTY: Soldiers sweep the base as they mark time before being demobilised

For those who do not meet the minimum requirements, a number of options are available None, however, includes a career as an SANDF soldier They can take the package, a one-time gratuity with a possibility of a future pension, and go home, or accept the package and enroll in a basic skills training course administered by the service corps The third option is refusing to do either and staying at Wallmannstal "until a decision on them has been made", Van Rensburg says

The soldiers who choose the third option cannot be discharged, he explains, "because all former MK and Apla members were immediately considered members of the new defence force last year"

He believes it is unlikely any of the "unprocessables" will choose to stay at Wallmannstal, biding their time until yet another decision has been made by the Cabinet Many have spent up to 18 months at the assembly area, drilling in the sun and daily sweeping the dust of the arid plain out of their tents If they stay, they will have to continue the regimented lifestyle into an uncertain future

As far as the army is concerned, "we would like to get them out as soon as possible," Van Rensburg says

Sergeant Abida Khuzwayo says "We will face lots of problems " She fears "chaos" may be caused by the "unprocessables", should they feel that they are not being treated fairly

Morale among this so-called "roll-over group" is low When Khuzwayo tried to find them for interviews, they were nowhere to be found The sergeant shrugged "They're demoralised, so most of the time they don't participate in our activities "

Potential

Van Rensburg concedes there has been some tension at the assembly area, particularly among those who have spent a year at the base, only to find out that they are not eligible to join the permanent force Many of the "unprocessables" are dissatisfied with the gratuity, which is determined by the date they joined MK or Apla

Those who joined between January 1 1990 and March 26 1994 are eligible for R12 734.

Ida (23), a former Apla member, scared about taking the "potential" test, echoes the feelings of many comrades, processable and unprocessable "I want to stay with the SANDF I want to be with my people

"That package is small After the R12 000 is gone, what happens?" she asked

And yet, considering the extent of the task of creating a manageable army that can still fulfil its function as a defence force, the process is running relatively smoothly

Says Van Rooyen, who has 34 years of professional soldiering to look back on "The most important task is to communicate with the people in a way that they understand what is

(254) Sowetan 28/8/95

SANDF not sure who will 'resign'

Soldiers offered packages of between R12 000 and R42 000

By Glenn McKenzie

THE SOUTH African National Defence Force had "no idea" how many soldiers from the former liberation movements would accept their plan to release more than 10 000 soldiers, the army said in a military Press bulletin on Friday

Defence Minister Joe Modise announced last week that the SANDF would be demobilising more than 10 000 soldiers in the near future Another 50 000 personnel could be released by 1999

But on Friday, the SANDF said it had no idea how many soldiers would accept their demobilisation package

Each soldier who takes part in the demobilisation has been offered between R12 000 and R42 000 varying according to the length of service in the former liberation movements

This exercise was expected to cost approximately R226 million, the Defence Force said

Approximately 15 000 former MK and Apla soldiers have signed service contracts with the Defence Force. Another 19 000 former liberation army soldiers are eligible for demobilisation

In an attempt to calm fears that the process of demobilisation could add to South Africa's already high unemployment rate the Defence Force said on Friday that most of the demobilised soldiers – the majority of whom were veterans – were already "part of the community at large" It was not known how many were "meaningfully" employed in other sectors

Kunene brothers in arms

(254) wm (BM) 28/7-3/8/95

The Kunene Brothers are branching out into military hardware. Jim Caredig reports

BLACK business is poised to penetrate the military bastion of the old South Africa. The *Mail & Guardian* has learnt that Kunene Finance Company (KFC) is to buy a 10 percent stake next week in Grinaker Electronics Limited (GEL)

KFC is a wholly owned subsidiary of Kunene Brothers Holdings (KBH), more usually known for bottling and distributing cold drinks

While they also have spaza shops and hamburger franchises, the brothers have been rapidly broadening their investment base, this month taking on a 30 percent stake in nationwide cleaning company Supercare, with the option to expand later to 51 percent. Supercare is valued at R20-million. GEL's asset value is some R70-million.

Although the move to military electronics seems a big change in direction, one of the five brothers, Zoli Kunene, has represented France Telecom in South Africa for some time and has widespread connections in the telecommunications field.

The addition of a black partner will vastly improve GEL's and Northern Telecommunications' (Nortel) joint submission for a slice of the R6,6-billion cake on offer from Telkom.

GEL products include silvered, radar-reflective balloons to deceive, harass and confuse air defence systems and long-range, anti-radar drones rocket-launched from trucks or ships, to track targets and dive on to them to detonate a 20-kilogram warhead. GEL calls its products "defence" yet many are essential to efficient attack.



Cleaning up: Zoli (left) and Keith Kunene with Rodney Fulton, chief executive of nationwide cleaning company Supercare, in which the Kunene brothers have taken a 30 percent stake.

There are a multitude of laser and radar warning devices, guidance systems and measuring equipment to determine the velocity of bullets and bigger projectiles.

Some systems also have important peaceful uses, such as microwave television communications and antennae for rural telephones; portable X-Ray machines; voice-mail systems and call analysers; and flight computers.

It is the peaceful variants of GEL's technology that will prove most useful in the Telkom bid, as local content and the extent to which local contractors and labour would be used during the project will be taken into account. GEL has already worked with Vodao, M-Tel, Dimension Data, Plessey Tellumat and Alcatel to provide telecommunications for the 1994 general election, but now they are rivals.

The Kunenes will set up a subsidiary to handle the Grinaker stake, which is 80 percent-owned by KFC and 20 percent-owned by its bankers, First Corp Merchant Bank. Their joint venture will continue to acquire segments of Grinaker Electronics until the 30 percent stake opportunity has been taken in full.

Grinaker Electronics is 90,2 percent-owned by Grintek Limited, which comes under Grinaker Holdings, in turn owned by Anglovaal Industries.

Last year GEL increased its earnings by 33 percent to R10,6-million. It is unlisted and describes itself as engaged in the design, manufacture, distribution and logistic support of electronic products and systems in the fields of radio, voice and data communications, electronic defence and security, satellite communication, industrial and mining instrumentation and control, radio trunking, fleet management, surveillance systems, and air traffic control

GEL contains Grinel, Grinel Natal, Grinaker Electronics Manufacturing Services, GEMS Surface Mount Technology (50 percent); Avitronics, Delgi Electronics; Grinaker Electronics Systems, Grinaker System Technologies; and Fleetcall (33 percent).

GEL makes real-life war games, with one product allowing a geographical display of the electronic order of battle, digitally recording intercepted messages and jamming up to 10 prioritised target frequencies

It seems a far cry from the milk and liquor deals done so many years before by Zoli, Keith, Zanosi, Dudu and Menzi Kunene While their qualifications range from medicine to the law, arguably their greatest asset is recently employed new "brother" Graham Royston. His wide experience with Price Waterhouse, Barlow Rand, the UAL Merchant Bank, Hill Samuel & Co and Ernst & Young, shows through in the shape of the Grinaker deal, the Supercare share and the likely strategy of the Kunenes.

Defence talks 'off' after ANC, NP row

(254) ARG 30/8/95

PARLIAMENT'S Joint Standing Committee on Defence abandoned a discussion on military demobilisation today after a row between the African National Congress and the National Party (NP) over the scheduling of meetings

NP Senator Gerhard Koornhof and two colleagues left the meeting after he had made an angry complaint against scheduling that forced minority party members to choose between important committee meetings taking place simultaneously

"We strongly object to the way the committee system is working in parliament At the end of the day, it boils down to the majority party pushing through legislation that is not acceptable," he said

Committee chairman Tony Yengeni ruled that, even with only two senators and three NP members present, the committee could discuss the demobilisation issue

"I don't think anybody should read any political agenda into this We have no choice but to continue," he said

Mr Yengeni said it was important to discuss the government's plan for the demobilisation of up to 10 000 Umkhonto we Sizwe veterans at a total cost of up to R225 million before it was put into effect, possibly within weeks

Mr Koornhof acknowledged the importance of the issue, but insisted he had to attend a meeting on the proposed Police Act and left with his NP colleagues, leaving Mr Yengeni with 12 ANC members, the minimum number required to hold a meeting

"This affects the working of parliament and the whole system of democratic government and I lodge on behalf of my party the strongest opposition to what is going on," said Mr Koornhof

Mr Yengeni accused the NP of political point-scoring and said the committee would have been within its right to continue the meeting, but said he would adjourn the discussion

He would meet opposition party leaders and parliamentary officials to try to avoid scheduling clashes, but said he would not adjourn future meetings under similar circumstances

"Their (NP) action gives the impression that there is a lack of seriousness on the part of certain members There was no reason that the NP should have left this meeting," he said — Reuter.

Don't kill Armscor, ex-chairman tells Govt

(254) Star 30/8/95

Cape Town – The Government must not kill off State weapons procurer Armscor, outgoing chairman Johan Moolman urged yesterday

"You have an organisation that handles billions of rands. Don't kill it until you know what has to go into its place," Moolman told the joint defence standing committee during discussions on restructuring Armscor

His statements followed calls by committee chairman Tony Yengeni for Armscor's management and directors to resign en bloc and be replaced by a caretaker body.

The Government should assist Armscor's transformation rather than destroy the organisation, Moolman said.

"We are pleading with you to help us to determine what policy and strategy should be. Then we can assist in the implementation and defence of that policy."

Moolman leaves Armscor at the end of this month after three years as chairman. He is to be replaced by an acting chairman, Ron Haywood.



Johan Moolman ... Armscor outgoing chairman.

Most recommendations of the recent Cameron Commission were supported by Armscor and had already been implemented, senior corporate planning manager Andre Buys told the committee.

Many of the proposed changes had been made before the commission completed its probe into an arms deals that went awry in the Middle East.

The corporation now insisted on end-user certificates for arms sales and tried to deal only with governments and not agents.

Armscor was in the process of closing down the last two of the 130 front companies used to circumvent the UN arms embargo against South Africa, Buys said.

All systems used to get around the embargo were now being eliminated.

Armscor was trying to change into an organisation which traded arms in a transparent and accountable way, Buys said.

Weapons export criteria had been overhauled. All the managers implicated by the Cameron Commission had resigned or retired.

When Buys complained that the commission had criticized some Armscor activities it had not investigated, several members of the committee disagreed.

Admitting certain things had gone wrong, he said the commission had not looked at Armscor's good side.

"I am deeply disappointed you are not ready to accept something is very wrong with the culture at Armscor How will you transform if you don't accept something is wrong," Yengeni asked.

Buys assured the committee that Armscor fully supported transformation. The 1968 Armscor Act did not, however, require many changes

A secrecy clause classifying all information about arms deals unless the defence minister authorised its release should be changed, Buys said.

This should be changed to make all information freely available unless classified by the minister – Sapa.

THURSDAY
AUGUST 31, 1995 ★

Row halts military meeting

(254)

CT 31/8/95

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"We strongly object to the way the committee system is working in Parliament It boils down to the majority party pushing through legislation that is not acceptable."

Committee chairman Mr Tony Yengeni said it was important to discuss the government's plan for the demobilisation of up to 10 000 uMkhonto weSizwe veterans at a total cost of up to R225 million before it was put into effect

Mr Koornhof acknowledged the importance of the issue, but insisted he had to attend a meeting on the proposed Police Act

Mr Yengeni accused the NP of political point-scoring and said the committee would have been within its right to continue. — Reuter

About-turn for arms industry

ARG 31/8/95 (254)

Political Staff

A POWERFUL new cabinet committee has outlawed South Africa's export of landmines, and stepped in to replace Armscor's regulatory role in the country's arms trade

The committee has promised to place the sanctity of human life above that of arms contracts

More than two-million landmines were planted in neighbouring countries by South African forces during the "total onslaught" era

Yesterday's cabinet meeting approved the appointment of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, chaired by Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal

Professor Asmal said while the committee did not intend making South Africa the moral and ethical watchdog of the world, considerations such as the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in client countries would come under severe scrutiny by the new committee

The committee has been exercising its brief unofficially for five months, and has turned down arms deals with two countries Professor Asmal declined to name

The committee is to take over Armscor's control and regulation of arms deals, as it believes it is inappropriate for an organisation marketing and selling arms to also control these policy functions

The ministry of defence will now share decision-making with other ministries with an interest in conventional arms deals.

The committee includes the ministers of defence, trade and industry, foreign affairs, safety and security, general services, arts, culture science and technology, and several deputy ministers.

New body to decide on sales

Armscor stripped of powers

(254)

Star 31/8/95

■ **BY PATRICK BULGER**
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Cabinet yesterday agreed on a new weapons control body to make decisions on SA arms sales based on strict human rights criteria

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal was appointed chairman of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC)

Armscor would no longer have any say over which countries were entitled to purchase South African weapons

The old system, which classified countries in terms of whether they were friendly to South Africa, would be scrapped

In future, the NCACC would decide whether to sell arms on the basis of objective criteria such as the would-be buyer country's record on human rights and that country's compliance with international arms control agreements

The NCACC would comprise the ministers of defence, trade and industry, foreign affairs, safety and security, general services, and arts, culture, science and technology, the deputy ministers of defence, foreign affairs, intelligence services, and safety and security

Each weapons sale would be made subject to the issuing of an export permit issued by the NCACC, and an independent inspectorate would be established The NCACC will report to Parliament's joint standing committee on defence and the UN Register on Conventional Arms.

Only national interest criteria and confidential bilateral agreements would limit openness and transparency Existing contracts would be honoured

The Cabinet also decided that the Government would support export initiatives of the defence industry by permitting the industry to contract and honour obligations which had been approved by the NCACC.

"The SA Government shall, however, reserve the right to prohibit or withdraw such support should it be in conflict with international or national interests at any given time"

Transfers and trade would be avoided where weapons were likely to be used for the violation or suppression of human rights

CLIENTS' HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS CHECKED

Armscor loses control over foreign sales

(254) CT 31/8/95

COUNTRIES wanting to buy arms from South Africa in future will first have their human rights record checked by a new cabinet committee. **BARRY STREEK** reports.

CONTROL over the export of South African arms has been removed from Armscor and placed under a cabinet committee, the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, the cabinet announced yesterday.

Armscor would no longer be involved in controlling, regulating or supervising arms sales, the new committee's chairperson, Mr Kader Asmal, said

Mr Asmal, the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, said the committee had met informally over the past four to five months and had blocked the sale of arms to two countries

The export of arms would now involve an initial permit application , a multi-departmental review and recommendation process, a scrutiny and recommendation by the directors-general of three departments and a control, policy and decision-making authority in the arms control committee.

"Responsibility for decisions will remain with the arms committee, which will be chaired by a minister who does not have a line-function interest in the arms trade," the cabinet said

The arms committee would include among others Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise, Trade and Industry Minister Mr Trevor Manuel, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo, and Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi.

The cabinet had also approved the principle of an independent inspectorate to ensure all levels of the process were subject to independent scrutiny

The government would support export initiatives of the defence industry but would reserve the right to withdraw its support if the proposed export conflicted with international and national interests at any given time

It would be guided by principles such as respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms in the recipient country and South Africa's interests



ARMS WATCHDOG: Mr Kader Asmal, who heads a committee that will oversee arms sales.

'We don't want Piet Skiets'

Commandos get thumbs down from ANC caucus

Star 1/9/95 (254)

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ARMY units are 'equivalent of township self-defence units which are also being phased out'

Cape Town — The South African Army commando system which arms members of about 200 voluntary commando units in rural areas should be scrapped, the ANC's parliamentary caucus said yesterday

The chairman of the joint standing committee on defence, Tony Yengeni, told the caucus that the Defence Amendment Bill provided for the commandos to make use of certain Air Force facilities

ANC MP Dirk du Toit had told the caucus that the commandos were a boer (farmer) version of the township self-defence units which are also being phased out, ANC Chief Whip Arnold Stofile told a media briefing

In an apparent reference to the once-renegade rightwinger "Piet Skiet" Rudolph, who was associated with the commandos, Stofile said "We are of the view that we don't want Piet Skiets here."

No details were finalised, but the caucus decided against commandos

Army spokesman Major Merle Meyer said there were about 200 commando units, mainly in rural areas.

Members were issued with R1 or R4 rifles or 9mm sub-machine guns which were authorised by permits that were renewed on an annual basis

The commando issue arose during a briefing by portfolio committee chairmen on major legislation due to come before Parliament before the September 15 recess.

In another briefing, safety and security portfolio committee chairman Rich Mti said a concern had been raised about that section of the Police Services Bill which allows police to mount roadblocks and to search occupants of vehicles

The concern was whether this was in line with the constitutional guarantee of freedom of movement.

The caucus decided this was a technical point which needed to be ironed out with legal advisers

Other legislative issues raised were the Citizenship Bill and the Aliens Control Amendment Bill

The caucus decided that there needed to be more discussion on dual citizenship

It felt that, in principle, dual citizenship should be allowed but that the reasons for citizens wanting other citizenships should be examined

The caucus also heard that some illegal aliens who were jailed at the time of the last election, and who had been in jail since then, should benefit from an amnesty until the Bill was finalised and their status decided.

Sting removed from the tail of Armscor

(254)
CP 3/9/95



BIG BROTHER . . . Minister Kader Asmal heads committee to oversee arms deals.

By RAFIQ ROHAN

THE STING has been effectively removed from the tail of Armscor after the Cabinet stripped it of its powers to export arms

A Cabinet committee, headed by the Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal and including the ministers of Defence, Joe Modise, Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi, Trade and Industry, Trevor Manuel, and Foreign Affairs, Alfred Nzo, will oversee future arms deals.

At a press conference at Tuynhuys this week Asmal confirmed that Armscor had no further control over arms deals.

Human rights

In future, arms sales to foreign countries will be based on the human rights record of the countries concerned. The committee has been functioning informally since August last year and had already turned down deals with two countries. Asmal would not say which countries these were

The government would be breaking with the past where countries were arbitrarily blacklisted. Deals would be looked at "country by country", Asmal said

In addition to not doing deals with countries that violate or suppress human rights, no deals will be done with countries that.

- Contravene South Africa's international commitments, such as its obligations under arms embargoes adopted by the UN Security Council;
- Endanger peace and destabilise regions;
- Divert arms to countries that South Africa disqualifies;
- Support or encourage terrorism; and
- Contribute to regional conflicts.

Another break with the past is that SA will no longer be involved in the exporting of land mines.

The process to export arms now involves applying for a permit The permit will be scrutinised in a multi-departmental review. Directors general will then scrutinise the application and, if they approve, recommend it to the Cabinet-appointed National Conventional Arms Control Committee.

The Cabinet also approved the principle of an independent inspectorate. "Such an inspectorate will ensure that all levels of the process are subjected to independent scrutiny strictly in accordance with the guidelines of the committee The inspectorate will make periodic reports to the appropriate parties and standing parliamentary committees on Defence," Asmal said

Commando system 'entrenched'

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — The existence, role and functions of the SA National Defence Force's commando system were entrenched in the Defence Act and could not be abolished without changing legislation, SANDF chief Gen George Meiring said at the weekend (254)

In addition, the continued functioning of commandos was fully discussed during the negotiation process which led to the formation of the SANDF and was endorsed by the sub-council on defence.

BD 4/9/95

Reacting to last week's ANC caucus decision to call for the abolition of the commando system, Meiring in an internal SANDF communication document urged commando members not to upset themselves about the caucus decision

He said commandos had played a key role in supporting police in protecting communities

"Commandos provide a relatively cheap source of expert manpower If not for them, the more costly full-time component of the SANDF would have to be increased significantly to ensure that the SANDF can perform its constitutional duty — including the support of the police in combating crime," Meiring said

In terms of the constitution, a full-time and a part-time force were essential pillars of the SANDF.

But some changes could be made to the commandos such as making them more representative of the population This was also necessitated by the fact that commandos could no longer depend on compulsory military service to sustain numbers. Instead commandos now had to rely on volunteers

"The support role of commandos in the coming local elections is of the utmost importance and demands sufficient numbers of trained and motivated members capable of assisting the police during this period," Meiring said.

The ANC caucus decision was also slated by the NP, the DP, the CP, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging

NP security spokesman and former Justice Minister Danie Schutte said the ANC caucus action raised serious doubts about the ANC's commitment to stamp out crime

The DP said commandos were a first defence against crime and violence



No getting rid of the bomb

(254) Sowetan 4/9/95

Prospects for a nuclear-free world appear dim. Only three months after a conference to tighten the provisions of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, China is exploding bombs. **Tseme Motumi** explains

By Tsepe Motumi

SOUTH AFRICA PLAYED A LEADING role in what some called a "diplomatic coup" at the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Review and Extension Conference in May 1995

This entailed tightening the provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and included requirements for continuous monitoring and review of the treaty

Coming after dismantling its own nuclear programme, the conference was a cherry on the cake for South Africa

But barely a week after the conclusion of the summit, China carried out an underground nuclear test at Lop Nor, in stark contradiction to the letter and spirit of the review conference, which had ended a few days earlier

The voices of protest were muffled at the time but when France announced its decision to start tests on the Mururoa Atoll, world opinion was galvanised against the French decision

Only three months after the conclusion of the conference and China has conducting more tests

Given these violations by China, what is to be the future of the non-proliferation treaty, when the ink on the paper on which the amendments were made has barely dried?

Worse still, should France decide to go ahead with its tests despite world opinion to the contrary, it would cast even further doubts on the NPT's credibility

Ultimate goal

In the Statement of Principles and Objectives for Non-Proliferation and Disarmament which was adopted at the conference, the nuclear powers pledged to reduce and ultimately move towards eliminating their nuclear arms

The statement called for "the determined pursuit by nuclear weapons states of systematic and progressive efforts to reduce nuclear weapons globally, with the ultimate goal of eliminating these weapons"

The developing states, mainly those in the Non-Aligned Movement, raised concerns that the treaty – before and after the review conference in May – still did not guarantee its initial commitment, which was a nuclear-free world

Ironically, since the NPT was signed in 1969, twice as many countries as the original five – United States, Russia (then the Soviet Union), United Kingdom, China and France – have nuclear weapons or aspire to possess them

Among these are Israel, Iraq, India and Pakistan. South Africa also fell into this category but has since dismantled its nuclear arsenal – the only country in the world ever to have done so



Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo ... South Africa has committed itself to a nuclear weapon-free zone in Africa.

The reaction by the US to these developments has been laudable, but falls short of even stronger measures against China and France to persuade them to stop their tests

Continued violations by China, and France's decision to carry out tests, cast doubts on the NPT's effectiveness. In addition, it further removes the possibility of the successful conclusion of negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in 1996

The CTBT would place a permanent ban on all nuclear tests. The US has already indicated its stance on the matter, with President Bill Clinton stating an end to all nuclear explosions as its aim in the CTBT talks

France suggested it would support a CTBT, but seeks "to complete a series of eight tests in the South Pacific this year and early in 1996"

Should France heed international opinion by stopping its planned tests and follow the lead set by its allies, the US and Britain, it could go a long way to showing commitment to the eventual elimination of all nuclear weapons

The world does not belong to France alone, nor to China. It is in this regard that all of humanity should support calls by the governments of New Zealand (near whose territory the French tests will occur) and Japan (which is in the same region as China)

The two governments have threatened action against China and France. For its part, Japan has threatened to restrict aid to China

Australia has also condemned the decision and will be sending a parliamentary delegation on an eight-nation European tour to pressure France to halt the planned nuclear tests, which start this month

Will diplomatic and other pressure drive the point home, that the world belongs to all of us?

A recent report by the environmental organisation Greenpeace revealed evidence of the damage that already exists in the Mururoa Atoll, declaring it a nuclear waste dump containing several thousand Chernobyls worth of radio-active material

The tests by France would therefore add to that dump, most of which was in any event created by them since 1972

There is no such thing as "safe nuclear testing"! Evidence to the contrary exists where such tests have been carried out

A common world

While issues of nuclear testing may seem remote to most South Africans, we share a common world and environment with the inhabitants of the atolls

By taking a stand, we would also be making a statement about issues such as the dumping of toxic and other waste on our shores. Furthermore, South Africa has committed itself to a nuclear weapon-free zone in Africa

The world cannot be held to ransom by France. Former French President Francois Mitterand had imposed a ban on nuclear tests in 1992, but newly elected President Jacques Chirac plans to resume tests

All South Africans should join other nations of the world in condemning the planned tests by France, as well as condemning continued tests by China

All nuclear and non-nuclear weapons states must commit themselves to the CTBT from 1996

(The writer is a researcher at the Institute for Defence Policy. The views expressed do not necessarily represent those of the IDP.)

Armscor charges are an adverse legacy to 'successor' Denel

SIMON BARBER in Washington

(254) BD 5/9/95

THE 1991 arms smuggling case, US vs Armscor et al, is becoming an ever more relentless cancer to relations between Washington and Pretoria It is fuelling paranoia and resentment on both sides. Can it be settled?

A month ago resolution seemed in sight Armscor and its subsidiary, Kentron, would plead guilty to violating US export controls, pay about R48m in criminal fines and cooperate in the prosecution of the last important American defendant, Robert Ivy The seven South Africans individually indicted would get themselves off the hook by testifying against Ivy

Fuchs Electronics, a Barlows unit at the time of the alleged offences, since folded into Reunert, would have to make its own peace with the prosecutors on about 21 counts of supplying Iraq's Saddam Hussein with US-origin proximity fuses for his artillery. It was understood that Barlows, itself facing indictment, had agreed to make available R70m to pay Fuchs's fines.

A draft plea agreement covering Armscor, Kentron and the individuals, and negotiated on Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's orders by Philip Hare, Washington counsel for the foreign affairs department, was presented to ambassador Franklin Sonn and the government in July It was rejected and Hare, according to officials, has been taken off the case

The size of the proposed fines, to which Pretoria had earlier seemed to agree, was suddenly unacceptable There were also problems with the terms of co-operation against Ivy The prosecutors were unable to give an undertaking that they would not bring further charges if, during testimony, evidence emerged of export violations and other crimes beyond the scope of the original indictment Another difficulty concerned the confidentiality of information made available against Ivy would the US court respect SA's official secrets?

All these issues pale, however, next to those raised by the consequences of Armscor pleading guilty Once a party has been convicted of violating the Arms Export Control Act, it may not be granted licences to export items on the munitions list for three years

To regain its export privileges once the period of "debarment" has expired, it must submit to a "compliance programme" that includes on-site inspections by the state department' s defence trade controls office.

This might be of little importance to Armscor, which is in the process of being dissolved, but it is hugely significant to Denel, which the state department has formally designated a successor entity, and which would therefore be subject to debarment and inspection Denel is already under US embargo as a result of the unanswered indictment. It sorely needs to get out from under the cloud, not only to obtain US technology but to reassure potential partners who might otherwise be leery of doing business with it.

At the core of the problem is a clash of sovereignties The US asserts a sovereign right to keep tabs on goods it has licensed for export and on whether those exports have gone to the end-user stated on the licence Accordingly, the state department says it must be allowed to sniff around Denel and its subsidiaries to see if they possess things they have not been licensed to possess The difficulty is that such items will surely be found, further delaying the day Denel will be granted a clean bill of health

On the other hand, if Denel refuses to co-operate, its debarment could become indefinite.

Pretoria, meanwhile, is claiming inspections would violate its own sovereignty. The government asserts the exclusive right and responsibility to police activities on its soil. To meet US concerns, it has offered to appoint an ombudsman who would report directly to the Cabinet but in whose selection the US would have a say The ombudsman would presumably referee US claims. Meanwhile, legislation is being drafted that would make it an offence to violate the export controls of other countries.

Finally, Denel has made it clear it will have no objection to standard end-user checks on all licences it might receive in future.

The state department is not satisfied. It insists that if Denel is to be given access to munitions list goods, the US has a right to know whether the SA arms industry has been receiving such items illegally, at least since the indictment was handed down in November 1991.

Armscor is now re-exploring the possibility, rejected four years ago, of cutting this Gordian knot by pleading sovereign immunity That means convincing a US judge that Armscor should not have been indicted in the first place because it is the organ of a foreign government and thus not subject to criminal prosecution in the US

Such an approach finds support in a February 25 1991 memo drawn up by the treasury department on the question of prosecuting Iraq's central bank with a view to seizing its assets in the US treasury. Lawyers argued strenuously that this could and should not be done: there was no precedent in US law for pressing criminal charges against foreign states and to create one — assuming it stood the test of international law — would only encourage like actions against the US The advice was heeded

If successful, a sovereign immunity claim would invalidate the charges against Armscor, Kentron and, possibly, their agents, removing the technical grounds for the current embargo on Denel and for post-conviction administrative penalties and inspections. If unsuccessful, any slack on fines and other issues the prosecutors have hitherto been willing to offer the defendants would be reeled in fast.

It should also be noted that dismissal of the case against Armscor would not guarantee that Denel would receive licences.

These are issued on a case-by-case basis. But at least the matter would be a largely political one rather than legal one

Sovereign immunity would not protect Fuchs Even attempting to plead it might easily persuade the prosecutors to unload on Barlows, Reunert, and top Reutech executives Tony Ellingford and Leonard Swann, all of whom are sitting under a Damocles sword of indictment in the case

To be sure, there is a certain hypocrisy about the US going after Fuchs Recently declassified documents show the US government was fully aware American technology was making it through to Saddam's war machine in the late 1980s via unauthorised third parties whose identity was known Though such diversions were officially frowned on, blind eyes were turned because the Reagan and Bush administrations did not want Iraq to lose the war with Iran.

Unhappily, this will not do Barlows and others much good in the event that they are indicted. Their US export privileges will automatically be suspended, not only for items on the munitions list, but also for dual use on goods on the commerce department's commodity control list. That is the law.

There may, however, be another solution to the conundrum In 1983, Carlos Cardoen of Chile's Cardoen Industries and an employee were nabbed in Miami as they were about to fly home with five sets of night vision goggles — items very much on the munitions list — for which they had no export licence.

Cardoen immediately agreed to pay a $100 000 fine in return for the criminal complaint against him being dismissed

In other words, he was not officially convicted, so the issue of administrative penalties did not arise. That is food for thought

Security ministers fail to attend hearing

CT 5/9/96

THE national assembly's justice committee yesterday abandoned its first day of public hearings on proposed new bail laws, after the country's nine ministers for safety and security failed to turn up.

Committee chairman Mr Johnny de Lange said yesterday had been set aside to hear evidence from the ministers on the Criminal Procedure Second Amendment Bill. The bill includes proposals to bring the law on bail into line with the constitution.

"Not a single one of them wanted to enlighten us with the problems they are having on the ground," Mr De Lange said.

However, he admitted that invitations to the ministers had been sent out at short notice and that time pressure had probably been one of the reasons for their non-appearance.

Today has been set aside to hear submissions from attorneys-general, police, magistrates and Lawyers for Human Rights.

The committee has approved the Investigation of Serious Economic Offences Amendment Bill, with the recommendation that Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar reconsider provisions dealing with the admissibility of self-incriminating evidence.

The committee said this should be done to ensure that criminals guilty of serious economic offences were dealt with as firmly as the Bill of Rights would allow.

It might not be necessary to make all self-incriminating evidence inadmissible, the committee said. — Sapa

(254)

Thumbs up for SA arms industry

(254) Star 8/9/95

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

South Africa's armaments industry has been given a new lease of life as a result of a Cabinet decision taken yesterday

After months of controversy, the Government has decided that arms manufacturing and exporting can continue, but under strict conditions

The R4-billion industry will now come under the scrutiny of the newly established National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC)

The decision ends the monopoly held by the State-owned Armscor organisation for the granting of permits for armaments, a situation which was expected following a recent statement made by Defence Minister Joe Modise that "sensitive requests" were being vetted by himself and Deputy Minister Ronnie Kasrils

Decisions on what weapons will be available for sale or not will be based on product classification, such as sensitive equipment, major equipment, sensitive significant equipment, non-sensitive equipment, non-lethal equipment and equipment not for sale

The NCACC is to be a three-tier organisation headed by Defence Secretary Pierre Steyn, said committee chairman Asmal Kader, who is also Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry

Kader said in Pretoria that the ministers of Foreign Affairs, Safety and Security, Defence, Transport, Intelligence Services, Trade and Industry, and Arts, Culture, Science and Technology would have permanent status on a departmental review structure, with additional ministeries co-opted "by the nature and impact of specific permit applications"

A third level will involve the ministries of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Trade and Industry, which will scrutinise applications under the chairmanship of Steyn

In addition, a special inspectorate is being established which will report to Parliament

According to information disclosed by Kader's office yesterday, the new dispensation would allow the national defence force to meet its constitutional obligations "To permit cost-effective performance by the defence industry and reduce unit costs of production of items required by the SA National Defence Force, the defence industry must have access to international markets," the statement said

"Not all defence equipment required by the SANDF can or should be procured from local industry Many complex systems cannot be produced cost-effectively by local firms"

Restrictions on South African products sold overseas will be strictly applied

These include weapons for armed conflict, regional conflict, human rights abuses, or a build-up of arms which could pose a threat to national, regional or international peace and security

MAIL & GUARDIAN
September 8 to 14 1995



Brigadier Roland de Vries and Colonel Solly Mollo in

THE M&G PROFILE

SANDF's new brothers in arms

WM 8-14/9/95 (254)

COLONEL Rocky Williams, an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander now at the defence secretariat, remembers how officers from MK and the South African Defence Force bonded, courtesy of Charles Glass, round the braaivleis fire An MK guy would look at his watch and say, "My God! It's 23h00! I better get moving — my wife's gonna *moer* me!" It would be a revelation, says Williams, for the SADF officers· "Wow! These *ouens* have wives too and they also need to get home! Forget ideology! Bury the past! A soldier is a soldier; a man is a man, the hearth is the hearth and we'd better get back to it or we're all gonna be in bigtime *kak*!"

It happened in the army workgroup of the Joint Military Co-ordinating Council, responsible for planning integration and the new defence force last year. That April — just days before the election — group leaders Roland de Vries (an SADF brigadier) and Solly Mollo (an MK instructor, now a colonel), succumbed to one of those Roelf-and-Cyril moments in Plettenberg Bay, where De Vries had commandeered the troops for some R&R and a sail on his Hobie Cat.

As I sit with them over beers at Voortrekkerhoogte's Army College, De Vries tells the story· "The locals said there had not been wind for a month But God smiled on us. The wind blew! The guys from Robben Island were terrified of the seas I took them all out, one by one, out past Robberg — I counted 40 sharks there once in half an hour — and when I was with Solly, he slipped and the boat capsized. Rough seas, that day. Me and Solly were talking so much! It was while we were sailing that we decided that 'Unity is Strength' is nonsense and that the new



sity is Strengt ıl'"

I have this ımage of two men, both highly-respected military commanders, bobbing around ın the rough seas off Robberg, surrounded by 40 sharks, brainstormıng a new motto for the South African National Defence Force Although Mollo was studying to become a lawyer when he was called in to negotiate for MK last year, both men believe in the brightness of the SANDF's future with such fervour that they are sometımes quite blindıng Perhaps because they found each other, white and black South African, throtigh ıt.

De Vries was, until recently, officer commandıng the vast Seventh Divısion, responsible for 50 000 citizen force troops Now the SANDF's Director of Transformatıon, he is one of the army's authorıtes on mobile warfare, and he commanded a mechanised infantry brigade durıng the SADF's ıncursıon ınto south-east Angola ın 1987 Mollo was recruited by De Vries last year to be the Senıor Staff Officer (Personnel) of 7 Dıv Both are headed — at one another's sıde — for very high places ındeed

They have become colleagues and frıends the famılies holiday together where, whıle Oom Roland makes a potjıe, Oom Solly and hıs mother, a matron at the Dennılton Hospıtal, sıng Afrikaans hymns Says Mollo "I am an African child *("Ek ook!"* interjects his boisterous frıend) He is my brigadier. To me he's my father A revelatıon to me At first I said to myself, 'I don't understand thıs one ' You wouldn't believe he's a *boereseun."*

Sure, there's rank — even at the bar, De Vries calls Mollo "Solly" whıle Mollo calls him "Brıgadıer" — but they most certaınly don't behave the way I expect soldiers to I dodged the draft, bùt not, at first, for polıtical reasons· I was just too damn terrified As a white boy in Total Onslaught South Afrıca, the army told me what ıt was to be a man. men kılled, men protected. Men were strong, sılent and sure Women exısted so that men could have somethıng to protect, something to kill other men over The army was the place that broke your spırıt: ıt shaved your hair off and kicked the shit out of you. It was certainly no place to be if you were a Jew, a klutz, a four-eyes and a moffie (I only learned later, from frıends, how wrong I was on that last score)

I could only lısten with wonder, then, as De Vnes — sentimental and psychopop in equal measure — told me how he and Mollo got people talkıng in the army workgroup· "We had what I call 'tribal stories', sittıng around the fire and telling each other our most intımate things I get goosebumps thinkıng about ıt. If you have trust, you have a hıgh level of interaction based on the wın-wın sıtuation "

Forget the Truth and Reconcılıation Commissıon Brıgadier Roland de Vnes has another idea. "We want to arrange campfire evenıngs where we get a whole lot of cıvılıans together sharıng tribal stories " I have absolutely no doubt that, after a campfire evening with De Vnes, the Azanian Students' Movement heavıes would be embracing their white teachers and calling them "Ma".

Sure, there's rank — even at the bar, De Vries calls Mollo 'Solly' while Mollo calls him 'Brigadier' — but they most certainly don't behave the way I expect soldiers to

Now he wants to take an ıntegrated team off to see the battlefields of Angola so that, De Vries says, "we can appreciate each other's tactics" This is one reason why he, the military theorıst, ıs so thrılled by integration. he has long urged the army to merge guerrılla tactıcs with conventional methods· "Integration is a great opportunity to put thıs ınto practice and learn from each other!"

He loves Shaka, Rommel, Napoleon, Mao, De La Rey, Giap — not because of what they individually fought for, but because they were such brılhant proponents of mobile warfare What makes him unique as an SADF-trained theorist, says Mollo, ıs that he will look at Shaka or Mao at all

When asked about his ıdeology, De Vnes answers, "I am a Christian", and, cryptically, tells a story about how he would never stay put in his church's Sunday school as a child, but rather ran "all around Vanderbijlpark visitıng all the other Sunday schools" The message is clear, and underscores what people involved ın the military transformation process have told me he ıs an experımenter, a maverick who has risen in the ranks because, despite the fact that he goes hıs own way, he ıs an inspırational commander and strategist.

But he begins his book on mobile warfare, published ın 1987, with the statement that "there is no doubt about the profane aims of the RSA's communist-ınspıred enemies". He would say that he is a military professional, servırg the needs of whichever government was in power, I tend to agree with General Colin Powell, however, when he says there ıs no such thing as an "apolitical" militaty commander.

My guess ıs this that De Vnes, like many other Afrikaners, has undergone not so much a Damascene conversion as an awakenıng he says, quite frankly, that those times with the army sub-group were "the best times of my life", he ıs one of those Afrikaners who love the new South Africa for the freedom it has brought them from narrow-minded control

He tells the story of how he refused to allow a Rhodesian task force to work out of hıs base in that country in 1979 because they were gunnıng down children But still, he was a Brigadier in the SADF in the Total Onslaught days He fought in Angola and he killed Then again, so did Mollo. Perhaps, the ex-MK ınstructor ventures, that's why some soldiers from MK and the SADF have found it easy to connect "When you talk about the defence communıty, you talk about people who know what life is and know what death is We know what it means to build trust We all have the same kind of tribal stones."

Williams claims that no part of South African society has transformed as rapidly as the military, and says that part of this is due to "the myth that we're a unique breed, perpetuated through ritual, with all its paraphernalia and mystique Although the ideologies might be different for MK or the SADF, the mystique is the same " But there's also a reality, he adds· "that very pragmatic side to soldiering — about getting a job done in relation to a certain order "

But Mollo is the first to say that "not everyone will be like Solly Mollo and land up in 7 Dıv working under Brigadier de Vnes You have MK officers in many units sitting around doing nothing, because their commanders are ignorıng them or feel threatened by them." And there is still much racism: Mollo tells the story of a group of former MK officers who went on a training course a rifleman, a little boy, called them *kaffirkoppe* to their faces.

And these are officers' ıssues; for ordinary soldiers thıngs are much tougher The mutiny at Wallmanstal last year — for which both SADF and MK are to blame — shows that, while De Vries and Mollo might be models for integration, they are certainly not archetypal

Now integration has swollen the SANDF to such an extent that 40 000 troops are going to lose their commıssions over the next four years

Then there is that word, "integration" Spend an evenıng with de Vnes and Mollo at Voortrekkerhoogte and it's clear, from the very outset, that the culture they share is not one that integrates MK and the SADF. Solly Mollo — like the MK he comes from — has been absorbed, rather than ıntegrated, ınto a phenomenally powerful culture and tradition. that of South African militarism.

Sure enough, there has been — in the case of de Vnes at least — some magical counterabsorption But despite the *scathamiya* songs that drift over from the trainıng fields, despite the way Mollo greets an old comrade with an *eita da* as well as a salute, this is still Voortrekkerhoogte, a fortress of conformity and hierarchy and control. If I had to do the *pro patria mori* routine and was given a choice of commander to follow into battle, it would be De Vries. But if I were 18 again, and there were still conscriptıon, I'd be outta here.

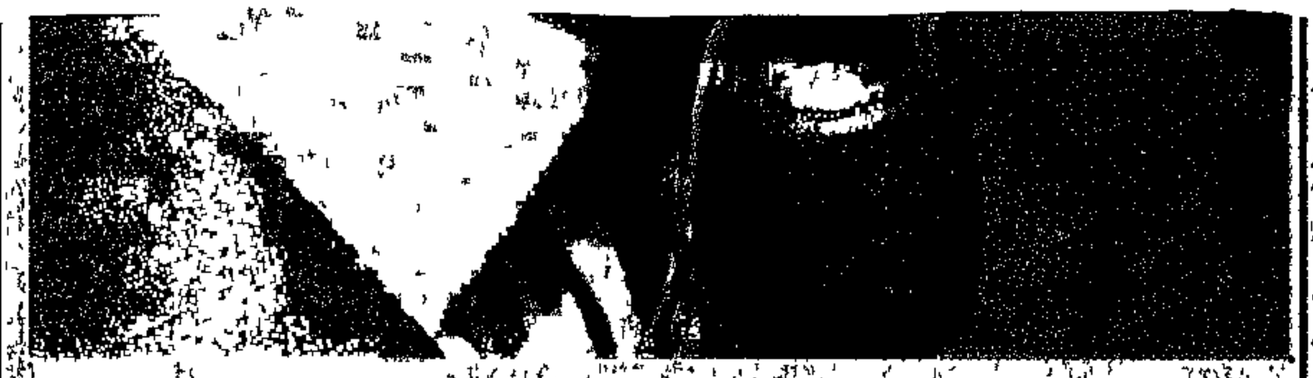


Dressed in the same cloth, but not cut from it: Brigadier Roland de Vries and former MK instructor (now SANDF colonel) Solly Mollo

PHOTOGRAPH HENNER FRANKENFELD



UNITED WE STAND: Defence, police and home affairs ministers, and their senior officials, who are attending the 17th session of the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee in Cape Town. Eleven Southern African states are represented



Pictures ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

SMOKE SIGNALS: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki believes Southern Africa should address regional development and economic growth before contemplating slashing defence budgets

New regional challenges after apartheid

(254)

ARG 8/9/95

ESTABLISHED as a sub-structure of the Front Line States organisation with the primary purpose of destroying South Africa's apartheid regime, the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee is meeting in Cape Town with the aim of changing its focus to one of regional stability and economic development. A report by ROGER FRIEDMAN

ORGANISATION of African Unity assistant secretary-general Ahmed Haggag set the tone of the 17th annual session of the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee by asking Southern African states to consider slashing defence budgets

Clearly, however, turning swords into ploughshares is not so simple

But Ambassador Haggag's remarks, delivered during his key-note address at the opening of the meeting yesterday, were equally clearly food for thought for the assembled defence, police and home affairs ministers, and their senior officials.

The meeting was officially opened by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki who extended the South African government's "profound" gratitude to the former Frontline States for their contribution to the emancipation of South Africa's people

He said the about-to-be-formed Association of Southern African States was emerging as the logical outcome of regional stability and common interests

"We believe that, inevitably, the association will enhance our common capacity to deal with such issues as conflict prevention, management and resolution, common regional stability, crime prevention, management of natural disasters, and support for the central organ of the OAU for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts on our continent"

Southern Africa had emerged as the most stable and peaceful region on the continent

But only once that stability had been converted into real economic development — and once no Southern African nation perceived itself to be under threat from another — could the government consider tinkering with its defence budget

Defence Minister Joe Modise, who assumes the chairmanship of the Inter-State committee today, said security-related problems afflicting the region were still vast and varied, including crime, drug trafficking and internal conflicts

The OAU's Ambassador Haggag said many people, including African people, were yet to comprehend the magnitude of change in southern Africa

The largest regional organisation of nations in the world was the OAU with its 52 member states

Whereas the OAU had in the past largely focused on assisting African countries achieve independence and bringing down apartheid, the focus had now shifted.

The organisation now focused on the twin challenges of economic development and conflict resolution

The United Nations was finding it increasingly difficult to cope with conflicts across the globe and tended to rely more on regional and sub-regional organisations for assistance

The dangers in southern Africa were no longer of a military nature, but had become issues such as arms, drugs and aliens smuggling, and terrorism

The OAU was considering asking member countries to set aside resources for the establishment of a continental peacekeeping force

"They should be trained in peacekeeping, based in their home countries, but be able to move fast"

He asked for the Inter-State Committee's input on the question of establishing such a force

Meiring and Modise go to court on ban

(264)

Stephane Bothma

BD 13/9/95

PRETORIA — The SA National Defence Union is taking the Defence Minister and the chief of the SA National Defence Force to the Constitutional Court to challenge a ban in the Defence Act on soldiers being union members

Court papers will be served on Joe Modise and Gen Georg Meiring today.

The union would ask the Constitutional Court to declare Section 126B(1) of the Defence Act to be inconsistent with the constitution

Union national secretary Cor van Niekerk, in his founding affidavit in the application, stated that although civilian personnel employed by the SANDF — accounting for about 25% of the SANDF staff — had the right to join employee organisations of their own choice, the Defence Act prohibited uniformed staff from doing so

A group of defence force personnel, including Van Niekerk, had been investigating the SANDF's need for a union since last February, and had found that the majority of serving members were in favour of a union able to protect their rights and interests, Van Niekerk said

"Since its establishment the Sandu has received thousands of applications forms from SANDF members indicating their desire to join Sandu," he stated in court papers

Van Niekerk said although sections of the Defence Act had been rewritten, Modise and Meiring had refused the union access to such documents, with the effect that uniformed personnel had no way of collectively exercising their rights as workers

He said the union had always been prepared to negotiate with the SANDF concerning the rights of uniformed personnel joining employee organisations and bargaining collectively. However, the SANDF had ignored the union

Van Niekerk said that during the past three months, the SANDF had forced soldiers to sign a document whereby they had to renounce their constitutional rights

The union's court documents stated that the matter was urgent

Soldiers want constitutional rights

(254) Star 13/9/95

■ BY SHIRLEY WOODGATE

The South African National Defence Union (Sandu) is appealing to the Constitutional Court to scrap certain sections of the Defence Act which allegedly deny soldiers rights granted to all other citizens in the new constitution

These include freedom of speech, association or movement, as well as the right to collective bargaining, to join a union, protest peacefully or to organise, and the right to fair labour practice, according to Sandu chief executive officer Cor van Niekerk

Lance Corporal George Vuma, who is based at the SA Air Force base at Swartkops, will launch the landmark application today by serving papers on the Minister of Defence and the Chief of the National Defence Force

Sandu contends that Section 126 (B) of the Defence Act, which strips soldiers of their rights, was unilaterally enforced by the previous government into the Defence Act in September 1993, only seven months before the April 1994 general election

"The former government's action was a blatant attempt to undermine the constitution by preventing 140 000 soldiers from joining a union which could handle their grievances," Van Niekerk said

Earlier van Niekerk was granted an interview with President Mandela, who referred the matter to the Minister of Defence, who failed to settle attempts by Sandu to be legitimised

"This left us with no alternative but to appeal directly to the Constitutional Court," Van Niekerk said

Although there is a two-year waiting list for hearing in the Constitutional Court, he was confident that the Sandu case would be treated as a matter of urgency because the Labour Act was currently being debated in Parliament

JACKIE CAMERON

(254)

13/9/95

Final list cuts VK down to size

CT 13/9/95 (264)

BARRY STREEK

Sandu goes to (254) court Soweton

By Noxolo Kweza

THE South African National Defence Union is to take Defence Minister Joe Modise and SA National Defence Force chief Mr George Meiring to the Constitutional Court today over sections of the National Defence Act which the union claims are unconstitutional

The union is challenging Sections 126 B(1) and 126 B(2) which prevent soldiers from joining trade unions and embarking on a strike 13/9/95

In an affidavit Sandu chief executive officer Mr Cor van Niekerk argues that Section 126 B(1), which forbids soldiers from becoming members of a trade union, contradicts sections 17 and 27(1-4) of the Constitution, which accords every individual the right to freedom of association and the right to form and join trade unions

He charged that sections 126 B(2) and B(4), which bar defence force members from taking part in an industrial action also, contradicted the Constitution's Section 27 (1-4), which accords citizens the right to freedom of speech and Section 16 which grants people the right to assemble and demonstrate

Leon slates Mufamadi for letting crime 'go unhindered'

(252) BD 14/9/95

Bonile Ngqiyaza

DP LEADER Tony Leon has criticised the inactivity of the safety and security ministry in curbing rampant crime, saying minister Sydney Mufamadi had no right to remain in charge of law enforcement any longer.

Leon was speaking at the launch of the DP's local government elections manifesto at the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg last night

He said: "If the safety and security minister doubts the validity of the fear and loathing created by the rampant criminality he has allowed to roam unchecked, then .. the minister has no right to remain in charge of law enforcement any longer"

Leon said the DP had, through transformation, transcended the caricature of being a party of "white suburban matrons". This was evident in the list of its candidates for local government. "In Greater Johannesburg, 57 of our 100 candidates are black.. we are contesting 24 of 32 Soweto wards; 10 out of 12 Dobsonville seats and 14 out of 18 Alexandra seats"

tors which proved the IFP's secessionist aims

Ramaphosa also described the document as unconstitutional and undemocratic.

The IFP charged that Ramaphosa's claims were "either the product of ignorance or bad faith motivated by the desire to gain acceptance for the centralist and autocratic constitution been drafted by his Constitutional Assembly"



Kroon inquiry told of MEC's demands

(254) BD 14/9/95

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — Suspended Eastern Cape safety and security MEC Malizo Mpehle had approached the deputy permanent secretary to authorise the payment of nearly 50 unit members attached to his ministry, the Kroon commission of inquiry was told yesterday

The deputy provincial permanent secretary, Thozama Faba, testified that he had been approached by Mpehle to approve the payment of about 50 armed men attached to his ministry between May last year and February this year.

However, it became clear funds were running out as Mpehle kept on forwarding several lists of other members who had to be paid. "I was unhappy with Dr Mphehle's lists as the names were growing day by day.

"I felt something needed to be done to normalise the situation as Mpehle started requesting for the payment of two people," Faba said.

Faba confirmed initial reports that each of the armed unit members was paid out about R2 000 a month

He said he decided to approach Mpehle to determine the number of people to be paid out "He gave me a list of 31 people and said there were others who were expected to be enlisted to the police force in due course".

"Although some VIP officers denied that these people were part of the unit, Mpehle was adamant that they needed to be paid saying they were doing the same work as the VIP members retrieving misused government vehicles and protecting ministers," Faba said

Members of the now disbanded unit had been implicated in murder cases in the strife-torn Tsolo district, according to evidence before the commission.

Former mutineers being 'demobbed'

(254) Sowetan 14/9/95

Soldiers say fines are recovered from their demobilisation packages

By Russel Molefe

TENSION HAS GRIPPED Wallmansthal military base near Pretoria again Rumours abound that soldiers who mutinied last year are targeted for demobilisation

The soldiers, most of them former members of MK and Apla, told *Sowetan* they were only being court martialed now for their involvement in the mutiny in October last year

Several have so far received sentences ranging from 30 days to three months "army" imprisonment Some were also fined amounts of up to R500

The fines were deducted from their demobilisation packages, they said

"There is no doubt that our involvement in last year's mutiny was the driving force behind our inclusion in the group to be demobilised

"They did not know how to get rid of us and the demobilisation process worked in their favour But why do we have to be punished now?" the soldiers asked

A spokesman for the South African National Defence Force has denied that the demobilisation of some soldiers is linked to the mutiny last year

He, however, confirmed that disciplinary measures were being taken against those who mutinied last year They would not be demobilised until they had been disciplined

"No fines are recovered from demobilisation packages The deductions are made from the member's daily allowance," the spokesman said

Soldiers take their grievance to court

Sowetan 14/9/95

(254)

Sowetan Correspondent

THE South African National Defence Union is appealing to the Constitutional Court to scrap certain sections of the Defence Act which allegedly deny soldiers rights granted to other citizens in the new Constitution

These include freedom of speech, association or movement, as well as the right to collective bargaining, to join a union or to protest peacefully or to organise, and the right to fair labour practice, according to Sandu chief executive officer Cor van Niekerk

Lance-Corporal George Vuma, who is based at the SA Air Force base at Swartkops, launched the landmark application yesterday by serving papers on the Minister of Defence and the Chief of the National Defence Force

Sandu contends that Section 126(B) of the Defence Act strips soldiers of their rights, was unilaterally enforced by the previous government into the Defence Act in September 1993, only seven months before the April 1994 general election

"Section 126 (B) states that uniformed soldiers may not become members of a union," Van Niekerk said

He believed that this effectively deprived soldiers with legitimate complaints of a proper bargaining forum, a right which was granted to members of the police force, who had a choice of two legally constituted unions

Earlier Van Niekerk was granted an interview with President Nelson Mandela who referred the matter to the Minister of Defence, who failed to settle attempts by Sandu to be legitimised, so that the union could grant soldiers their rights

"This left us with no alternative but to appeal directly to the Constitutional Court," Van Niekerk said

(254)

ARMS INDUSTRY FM 15/9/95

Vetting gun sales

In a move that will have profound and continuing implications for SA's hitherto murky universe of arms manufacture, trading and dealing, the Cabinet has created a special committee to vet and investigate further the ramifications of the conventional weapons sector

Under a new board, Armscor — which has welcomed the development — will lose its marketing function, an operation that cloaked a host of sins It will no longer be in charge of arms exports

The National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC), chaired by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal — who has no line functions relating to the arms industry — arose out of a Cabinet decision on August 3 1994

That in turn led to the establishment of the commission under Judge Edwin Cameron to investigate Armscor.

The decision is important because SA is the only country that has disarmed its nuclear weapons capabilities, and that revelations of past deals that have involved the sale of arms to countries like Rwanda and entities like the Lebanese Christian militias, have clouded the capacity of the new government to fulfil its perceived role as a continental moral leader

Reflecting on Armscor's role — and those with whom it had dealings — Asmal says "(The process) was covert, corrupt, and the corruption spread further — prostituting the whole of the body politic"

He points out that the creation of the NCACC (with a membership ranging from Defence through Trade & Industry to Safety & Security) is only the first step in an evolutionary process The outcome is intended to be an arms policy based on the right of democratic nations to defend themselves against aggression — but with distinct safeguards upon SA, as an arms vendor, to ensure that recipient countries comply with a set of restraints to limit abuse.

The NCACC effectively replaces Armscor as the decision-making body for armaments deals and negotiations. Its mandate includes the requirement that SA enforces a national arms control policy, selling only to nations that comply with the following (summarised) criteria

- ❑ Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,
- ❑ Compliance with various international agreements on arms sales and transfers that preclude consistent violations of social, cultural, religious and legal rights;
- ❑ The actual record of such compliance — as well as an evaluation of the internal security situations of the countries involved;
- ❑ A balance of the nature of the arms to be sold or transferred against the defence needs of the recipients, and
- ❑ An overall assessment by the Cabinet committee of SA's foreign and national interests.

Similar limiting provisions apply to the transfer and trade in arms, where they could be used for terrorism, or re-exported to non-complying nations, or contribute to regional conflicts or instability

All of this might seem an impossibly moral and politically correct approach to a trade with ancient, shady traditions The immediate effect, however, will be to remove from Armscor the "marketing" functions that attracted Cameron's censure

No-one said we live in a perfect world — but Asmal's fervour in underscoring a rational approach to conventional arms manufacture, sales and trade is fully in line with the principle of transparency.

It could be recalled, for example, how many restrictions were previously placed upon the press when it came to reporting on any movement of arms — and indeed, of soldiers or uranium, or even of what constituted a strategic or "key point" for Defence purposes

Asmal emphasises that monitoring will be all-important since it was abuse of destination or end-user certificates that enabled Armscor to fulfil its function as a sanctions-busting operation, selling to some dubious allies of the old regime

Asmal adds "We are not entering an arms race In the previous system there was no accountability to parliament and no executive control We will only sell to countries who meet our criteria."

Self-defence, he adds, "is a legitimate motive (But) we will accept international law in relation to arms embargoes, we will make the appropriate returns in terms of the various conventions regulating the arms trade" SA will never again manufacture landmines

Monitoring of end-user certificates will be subject to the only independent arms inspectorate in the world Asmal is wary of claiming that SA can be the moral leader of the continent, but the wholesale revision of arms policy is unquestionably a matter that will be widely noted — and possibly followed

As for the argument that Armscor — and the other weapon-makers — create jobs, Asmal points out that in terms of GEIS and other subsidy systems, the armaments sector has been among the most heavily subsidised of all SA's "strategic" industries It was born in the era of Total Onslaught and had few scruples about the manner in which it conducted its business.

That is set to change

Citizens lend approval to unions for SANDF

BD 15/9/95 (254)

Bonile Ngqiyaza

SA CITIZENS were in favour of SANDF members forming trade unions, although "strong" reservations regarding the right to strike and demonstrate existed, a joint Institute for Defence Policy and Human Sciences Research Council survey said.

Since the formation of the government of national unity in May last year, it has frequently found itself in opposition to the labour movement.

Institute for Defence Policy spokesman Jackie Cilliers said the difference of opinion had come to the fore with the passage of the new Labour Relations Act through Parliament and the appeal by the SA National Defence Union to the Constitutional Court to scrap certain sections of the Defence Act which allegedly denied soldiers the rights granted to other citizens in the new constitution.

"At present the government is under increased pressure to reconsider its position in respect of unionisation of so-called essential services, a position which is underlined by the recent strike by nursing persons at Baragwanath and elsewhere," she said.

According to the survey, 52% of black respondents were in favour of unionisation in the SANDF whereas whites, people who had Std 10 and higher and right-wing supporters were against unionisation

The support for unionisation did not include the right to strike or demonstrate, Cilliers said "These findings indicate that it might be advisable to establish an alternative compulsory mediation and arbitration mechanism that will resolve issues of dissatisfaction in the uniformed security forces."

Cilliers said it might also be sensible to expand the role of a "possible ombudsman" to handle grievances, disputes and ensure that fair labour practice was maintained within the security forces, and "engage uniformed members in debate about the establishment of soldiers' associations similar to those in Western democracies"

The survey also indicated racial divisions were reflected in the opinion on conditions of service in the SAPS and the effectiveness of the police after unionisation was allowed.

Supporters of traditionally black political parties were "more inclined" to say that working conditions in the SAPS had improved since the advent of trade unions, while supporters of traditionally white political parties expressed a dissenting view "The extension of unionisation to employees in the departments of defence, safety and security, correctional services and the national intelligence services must be finalised and be in agreement in all new legislation," Cilliers said

The "unique" nature of the services might require that they be excluded from the public services commission. "A special services commission could be a better structure to address their labour related issues." This could help avert strikes and might allay vulnerability and fear should security force members be allowed to strike.

The sample of 2 229 respondents was administered to SA residents of 18 years and older, and was stratified according to the nine provinces and socio-economic classifications.

'Board is conscious of challenges'

Experts join Armscor

(254) Star 22/9/95

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

Armscor's make-up has undergone a radical change following the retirement of chairman John Maree and resignation of chief executive Tielman de Waal

Five new appointments to the board of directors were announced yesterday, including that of former SA Chamber of Business deputy director Ron Haywood as acting chairman

Haywood said in Pretoria that Defence Minister Joe Modise had appointed a surgeon, an industrialist, a communications expert and a top lawyer as directors

They are Dr Diliza Mji (a surgeon and course co-ordinator at the University of Durban Westville), Dirk Ackerman (chairman of the Chubb security company and of Sun Air), Seth Phalatse (manager for strategic planning at the BMW motor company) and Advocate "McCaps" Motimele (an expert on constitutional affairs)

Other board members are SANDF chief General Georg Meiring, Absa banking group chief executive Dr Danie Cronje, former Industrial Development Corporation chairman Koos van Rooy, former University of Stellenbosch vice-chancellor Professor Mike de Vries and Fikile Bam, Constitutional Land Courts co-chairman

"The board is very conscious of the need to focus in on the new challenges facing the defence industry This includes recognising the increased involvement and relevance of the ultimate authority, Parliament, in defence policy

"Furthermore, there is a need for increased transparency and sound corporate governance," Haywood said

De Waal's decision to leave Armscor came as a surprise to the defence industry, and it is believed that he based his move on adverse publicity Armscor had received in the wake of the Cameron Commission of Inquiry into arms deals in which Armscor employees had allegedly been involved

SANDF destroyed raid weapons (254)

WM22-28/9/95

Louise Flanagan

THE South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has admitted destroying weapons used in the Umtata raid two years ago, in what the victim's families have called an attempt to conceal vital evidence

Five youths aged 12 to 17, died when troops of the old South African Defence Force (SADF) attacked the Umtata home of PAC member Sigqibo Mpendulo in October 1993. The SADF acknowledged responsibility and claimed it had attacked an Apla base and seized a weapons cache

"The SANDF regards the whole matter of the Umtata operation as finalised," an SANDF spokesman said this week. This follows a Cabinet decision to compensate the families of the deceased and the subsequent payment of R238 000 to the claimants. Once finalisation of the matter was reached, the weapons were destroyed in accordance with normal practice "

But the lawyer for the victims' families, Dumisa Ntsebeza, who negotiated with Justice Minister Dullah Omar personally over the civil matter, said there was an agreement that this settlement did not mean the end of the criminal case

"The news that these weapons have been destroyed is absolutely outrageous and amounts to what one can consider concealment of evidence that would obviously be crucial in any criminal proceedings," said Ntsebeza.

He showed the *Mail & Guardian* copies of letters written to both the then Transkei Commissioner of Police and South African Minister of Defence in October 1993 asking for access to the weapons to allow independent forensic tests to be carried out on them.

Ntsebeza said the families were still determined to have the attackers charged.

Meanwhile, work on the criminal investigation appears to have come to a standstill after confusion over who is dealing with it. The case was initially being investigated by the Umtata police but was taken away from them six months ago by the Eastern Cape police commissioner, Lieutenant-General Gerrie Bezuidenhout.

The docket was needed for a separate but related investigation into allegations of security force involvement in hit squads in former Ciskei, made by self-confessed police informer Nzuzo Matiwane.

National police commissioner Lieutenant-General George Fivaz ordered an independent investigation into these claims

Matiwane was held in then Transkei for some months on allegations he was part of the SADF raid but charges were later dropped for lack of evidence.

He was later charged with murder related to a February 1993 attack in Mdantsane, which he claimed had been carried out with the security forces This case has also been dropped due to lack of evidence.

The independent investigation into the Matewane matter has been completed and the raid docket is due to be returned to General Bezuidenhout this week.

WM 22-28/9/95

Payment for sacked (254) soldiers

Louise Flanagan

A GROUP of former Ciskei soldiers fighting for reinstatement four years after they were fired for blowing the whistle on illegal military activities may finally be compensated.

"The indications are that it is a matter of working out quantum," a spokesman for the ministry of defence, Dr Das Herbst, said this week.

The expected payouts mark a turnaround in the ministry's attitude towards a Bisho Supreme Court case in which former Ciskei soldiers are suing for reinstatement, including back-pay.

When the hearings started this Monday, the state was opposing on both a legal technicality and on the grounds that the officers had tried to overthrow then Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, whose government was at the time actively opposed to the ANC.

The officers claiming reinstatement are former Ciskei Defence Force Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant-Colonel Zanomzi Zantsi, Lieutenant-Colonel Lalela Naka, Lieutenant-Colonel Gabula Mteti and nine other officers and troops.

The officers exposed the International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS) unit which was a clandestine South African Defence Force (SADF) unit operating in Ciskei. The unit was accused of involvement in the abortive 1990 coup attempt against the Transkei military government and of carrying out hit-squad style murders.

The unit was eventually closed down by the SADF after further publicity. The soldiers were charged with treason but the cases were dropped. They were all fired in March and April 1991.

The ANC supported the exposures and many of the soldiers subsequently joined the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) as Umkhonto weSizwe members.

Despite the background to the cases, the Ministry of Defence continued opposing the cases on the grounds that the soldiers had been part of an attempt to overthrow Gqozo. The ANC itself ran a long campaign calling for an end to that government, until it collapsed shortly before last April's elections.

In an ironic twist, the state was represented by the lawyers who had represented many of the soldiers themselves when they first brought their claims against the previous government.

Denel's fuse is short on Armscor

ARG 23/9/95 (254)

WILLEM STEENKAMP
Staff Reporter

■ In an effort to distance itself from the negative publicity surrounding Armscor deals of the past, arms-manufacturing company Denel is disclaiming any connection with Armscor.

DENEL, the arms manufacturing company spawned by Armscor in 1992, is distancing itself from its parent in a bid to rid itself of the negative left-overs from shady arms deals in the total onslaught era of the 80s.

Recently the United States fined Armscor and some of its former subsidiaries more than R40 million for breaking arms export regulations in 1991.

In an angry letter to Saturday Argus, Denel this week disclaimed any connection with Armscor.

Said Denel spokesman Paul Holtshauzen: "Please do not refer in your reporting to Denel as being connected to Armscor in any way.

"Denel is not a business unit, subsidiary, manufacturing arm, commercial branch, industrial offspring marketing, department or any other form of business connected to Armscor."

But Armscor spokesman Bertus Celliers, who said he was aware of Denel's sensitivity on the issue and its efforts to distance itself from Armscor, said Denel was the single largest manufacturer of arms for the defence force.

While Denel took over the multitude of manufacturing businesses which fell under Armscor before April 1992, Armscor's new role is that of acquisition of arms for the defence force.

"It deals directly with Denel to acquire these weapons. There are many contracts in place between us and Denel and we will work closely together in future as well," said Mr Celliers.

Ironically, in 1968 the frontrunner of Armscor was known as the Munitions Production Board. That year it split into the Armaments Board of South Africa (procurement) and the Armaments Development and Production Corporation of South Africa (manufacturing).

In 1977 these two organisations were once again lumped together under the Armaments Corporation of South Africa. In April 1992, the year and month President Mandela was released from prison, it was again split into Armscor (procurement) and Denel (manufacturing).

Both organisations are 100 percent owned by the government in spite of the fact that Denel has registered as a "private company".

In June this year Denel was hit by another setback when the United States refused to recognise Denel as separate from Armscor. The US simply views Denel as a successor in titles of Armscor.

It is believed that pressure from the US scuppered South Africa's multi-million bid to sell its new Rooivalk attack helicopter to Britain. Denel manufactures the Rooivalk.

When pressed Mr Celliers said the possibility that Armscor and Denel could be lumped together once again in future could not be excluded — particularly in view of similar splits in the past.

Mr Celliers said it was no secret that Denel was formed by lumping together erstwhile subsidiaries of Armscor.

When asked to explain the relationship between Denel and Armscor, and how Denel was formed if it is or never was "an industrial offspring" of Armscor, Mr Holtshauzen said in the light of the "vast ammount of information" required by Saturday Argus, he would only be able to make this information available next week.

But earlier this year Johan Alberts, managing director of Denel, admitted that the arms business was the group's core, contributing about 70 percent of its turnover.

In the 1995 financial year Denel's sales to the defence force amounted to about R1,3 billion and military exports amounted to more than R700 million.

Mr Alberts earlier emphasised Denel's role as a responsible arms exporter and said he would not export arms to any place where he did not have the authority of the South African government to export to.

■ Mr Alberts was formerly the chief executive manager of Armscor, while the chairman of Denel, Dr John Maree, was formerly the vice-executive chairman of Armscor.

must destroy those that are stockpiled," he added

laid during the same period.

"Each year more than 20 000

Modise bans sale and export of landmines

(254) ET 27/9/95

PRETORIA: Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise yesterday banned the marketing, export or transit of anti-personnel landmines

He said the country was pursuing new technology to produce a landmine that would defuse itself after a certain period

These steps reflected South Africa's commitment to preventing the suffering brought about by landmines which remained deadly until detonated, Mr Modise told a media briefing

"There is a lethal legacy of landmines in our region and throughout the world Thousands of innocent civilians have been killed or maimed primarily by long-lived anti-personnel mines — about 80 000 amputees in Angola alone"

The ban replaces a moratorium on the sale of anti-personnel landmines announced in July in compliance with an international convention. The convention is currently being reviewed in Vienna

● Africa is the most mined continent and Southern Africa is the most mined region in Africa, the Human Rights Committee said SA had been responsible for the production of many of these mines through its military strategies in the frontline states — Sapa, Political Correspondent

SA Govt apologises to Angola for havoc wreaked during war

SA bans production, market, sale of long-life landmines

(254)

Star 27/9/95

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

South Africa was making serious efforts to prevent the continued proliferation of landmines and had placed a final ban on the "marketing, export and transit" of all long-life anti-personnel landmines (APL), Defence Minister Joe Modise told a media briefing in Pretoria yesterday

He said the Government had also apologised to Angola for the havoc wreaked there by APLs seeded in their soil during South African military operations in the 1970s and 1980s

Modise said 80 000 Angolans had been maimed by long-life APLs planted during that time

The ban follows a moratorium declared last September, and has been conveyed to the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on

SOUTH Africa has to export weapons to sustain production, but is discriminating about to whom it sells, says Modise

Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) taking place in Vienna

South Africa's position was put before the convention by Abdul Minty, chairman of the South African delegation

At the briefing, attended by Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils and Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad, Modise said the Government was a signatory to CCW protocols on non-detectable fragments and the prohibition or restriction on the use of mines and incendiary weapons

He said that despite the cost incurred by the non-manufacture of landmines, South Africa was committed to a responsible international arms control policy But, at the same time it was prepared to recognise - along with the UN and the majority of its member states – "the legitimate use of landmines in defence of one's country".

South Africa would only use landmines for defensive purposes in the event of a war.

Modise said South Africa was developing new technology for the manufacture of self-destructing and self-deactivating anti-personnel mines, and would share the technology "to prevent untold suffering brought about by the use of the long-life APLs"

It intended destroying existing APLs and replacing them with the new models, he said

Modise said the Government had expressed its regrets to Angola over the use of landmines seeded in that country's territory

"South Africa has conveyed its apologies, and we are sorry about what happened," he said

General Georg Meiring, Chief of the South African National Defence Force, told the briefing that all mines planted by South Africa had been removed by South African engineers.

He confirmed that a South African company, Mechem, had obtained a contract from the UN to continue with the removal of all mines in the territory "and we will always assist Angola and Mozambique in clearing the mine fields"

Modise also told the briefing that South Africa had to export weapons it had manufactured, and in this regard "was no different to the rest of the world – the United States, Britain and Sweden, for instance.

"All countries are selling weapons to sustain production, but South Africa is very discriminating as to which countries it sells to. Others are not so discriminating. We have our critics, but I want to make it clear that we will not supply a country where there is conflict or where a gross violation of human rights is being experienced We consider requests from each country as it applies to us for weapons," said Modise

He said by stopping the manufacture of landmines and incendiary weapons, South Africa was not intending to risk its weapons-manufacturing industry

"There is a loss, but we believe it to be a loss in the right direction," Modise said.

dust.

Outrage as SA treads carefully on landmines

WM 29/9-5/10/95 (254)

Justin Pearce

THE Department of Foreign Affairs insists that South Africa this week became a world leader in the move away from the use of landmines — but human rights activists are outraged at the government's failure to support an outright ban on these weapons.

South Africa's position came as a surprise to many who had expected the country to seize the moral high ground in the wake of growing international anti-mine sentiments, and support an all-out ban. According to sources close to the Cabinet, the issue caused a rift in the ANC Cabinet caucus between those ministers favouring an outright ban, and those who supported the more cautious position which was eventually adopted.

At a conference in Vienna this week, Foreign Affairs Deputy Director-General Abdul Minty announced South Africa's proposals for amendments to the Convention on Prohibitions and Restrictions on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW). The convention is widely considered to be inadequate following the proliferation of mines which has occurred since it was drafted in 1980, and is to be tightened up in accordance with submissions made at the present conference Anti-landmine sentiments are growing worldwide in reponse to the devastating effects of mines even years after a war.

The controversy over South Africa's submission centres on its support for the development of "short-life" landmines — mines which can be timed to self-destruct after a specified period of time. South Africa has suggested that the convention require member states to phase out existing landmines and replace them with "short-life" mines.

Supporters argue that short-life mines fulfil the defence role of existing mines without posing a threat to civilians for years after the end of a conflict. This would rule out a repetition of the current situation in Angola and Mozambique, where civilians are still maimed by the millions of mines which remain in these countries and which will cost millions to remove.

Ceasefire, which represents 40 South African organisations supporting the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, argues that short-life mines have the same destructive capabilities as the mines which are currently deployed.

"Whether landmines are 'short-life' or 'long-life', they are still incapable of discriminating between their victims, be they enemy or friendly soldiers, ordinary civilians or children," said Ceasefire co-ordinator David Bruce.

Bruce warned that the continued acceptance of 'short-life' mines endorsed the acceptibility of landmines in general. This would encourage the continued use of "long-life" mines, especially by developing countries which could not afford the more technologically advanced "short-life" mines.

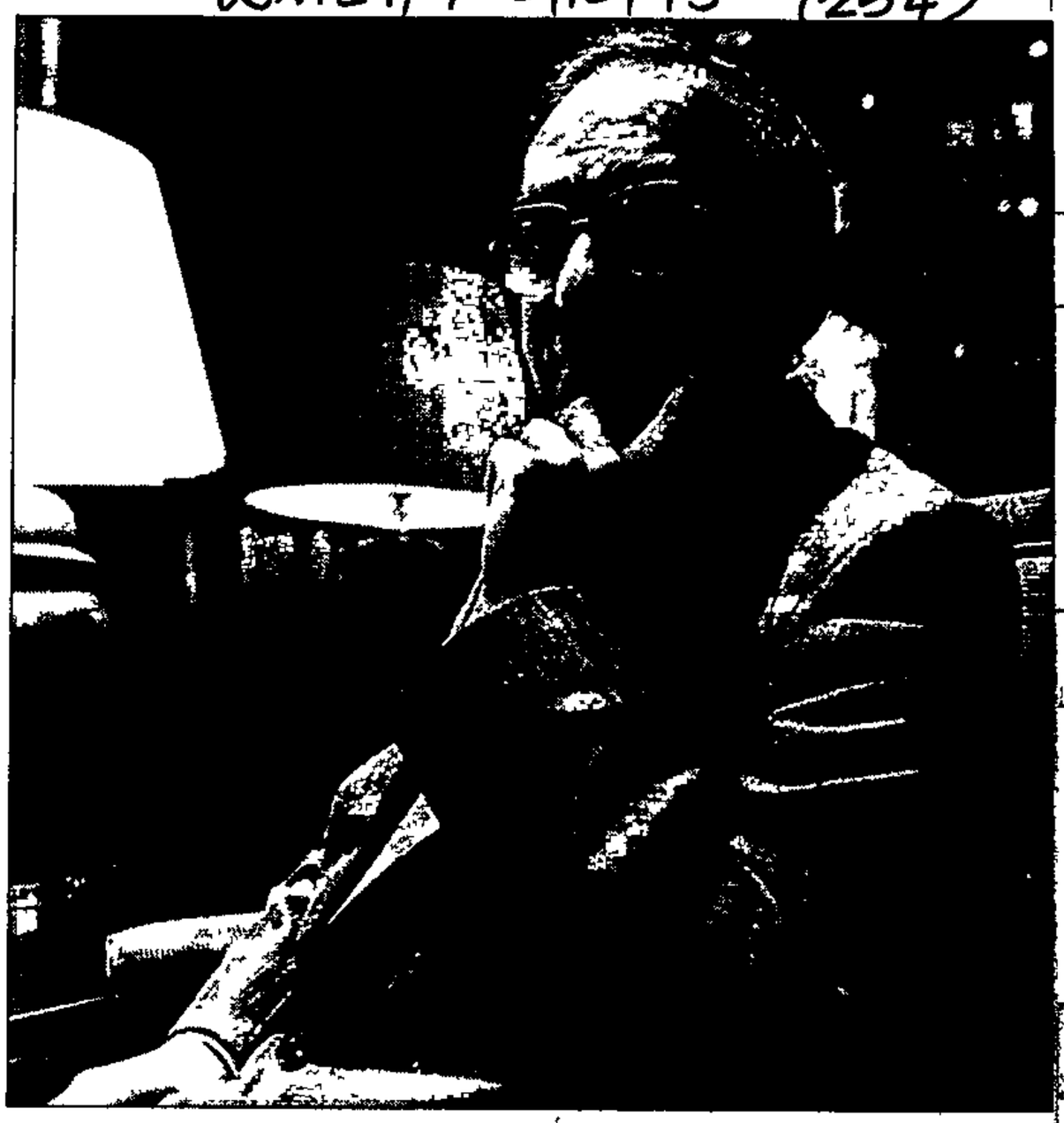
"The only way of reducing the use of landmines is challenging landmines as a legitimate weapon of war," Bruce said

Minty said that since few countries had as yet acceeded to the convention, it was important to have a convention worded in such a way that would not discourage more countries from acceeding, which might happen if the convention ruled out mines completely.

Minty pointed out that the South African submission contains numerous features designed to limit the use of landmines. If South Africa's proposals are accepted, it will become illegal for treaty states to sell mines to non-treaty states, and non-detectable mines will be prohibited. Proposals also include restrictions on the use of mines, so as to minimise civilian casualties, and an extension of the convention to restrict the use of mines in civil war — it was a civil conflict which left Angola among the most severely mined countries in the world.

South Africa also proposed a new protocol to outlaw the use of laser weapons, which have been developed in recent years with the intention of causing permanent blindness.

Minty's presentation to the Vienna conference makes it clear that the postition articulated by South Africa should be the first step on the road to an all-out ban on landmines



Abdul Minty: First step on the road to an outright ban on mines

PHOTOGRAPH: GUY ADAMS

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version

For written reply

American companies investing in SA

367 Mr D de V GRAAFF asked the Minister of Trade and Industry

(a) How many American companies had invested in South Africa as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) what is the total (i) amount of capital invested and (ii) number of employees employed by these companies?

N767E

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Considerable efforts have been made to investigate whether existing South African Reserve Bank (SARB) records could be analysed to trace foreign Direct Investment (FDI) by examining the standard application forms for foreign exchange transactions through the Financial Rand (FR) which are stored at the SARB However, as most investments made in South Africa during this period were being scrutinised by various international organisations to ascertain whether disinvestment laws or prohibitions on new investments in South Africa have been observed, those companies that did invest during the existence of the FR, channelled their investments through front companies via third countries This use of fictitious names mades it impossible to trace an investment to either a parent company or the true country of origin The USA companies which had disinvested during this period or hid their investment through various means, also complicated the task of ascertaining the level of direct USA investment in South Africa As a result whilst existing records on FR transactions at the SARB could be analysed, the results would be so inconclusive as to make this exercise futile

At the request of the Cabinet, the SARB and the Department of Trade and Industry are in the process of finalising a more comprehensive recording and reporting system for FDI It is hoped that more detailed data should start becoming available on a monthly basis towards the end of the year whilst the historical investment position will be recorded through a census planned by the Reserve Bank A complete investment tracking record should be available by the end of 1996

Information gathered in the meantime from a number of sources, including the USA Embassy in the RSA, the South African Reserve Bank and the South African Embassy in Washington indicate the following

(a) Over the past three years it is estimated that the number of American companies operating in South Africa rose from 184 to over 500 of which more than 200 have invested in manufacturing sectors

(b) (i) The Investor Responsibility Research Centre of the USA estimates that the value of total direct investment in South Africa by American companies is US$3 580 million (R13 084 million) According to the South African Reserve Bank, total investment (direct and indirect) from the USA at the end of 1993 was R26 305 million, and

(ii) it is estimated that USA companies employ some 45 000 people in South Africa

Employees of SANDF: membership of trade unions

418 Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Defence

(1) Whether any employees of the South African National Defence Force are members of trade unions, if so, (a) how many and (b) which trade unions represent employees of the SANDF

(2) whether all employees of the SANDF are able to join trade unions, if not (a) which employees are not permitted to join trade unions and (b) why are they not permitted to do so?

N892E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

(1) Yes, however, a distinction must be made between civilian employees of the SA National Defence Force and members in uniform

(a) Approximately 9 000 civilian employees appointed in terms of the Public Service Act of 1994 are members of trade unions

(b) (i) The Public Servants Association of South Africa

(ii) The Public Service League

(iii) The Institute of Public Servants

(iv) The South African Health and Public Servants Workers Union

(v) The National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union

(2) No All employees of the SA National Defence Force are not able to join trade unions

(a) Uniformed members of the SA National Defence Force are not permitted to join trade unions

(b) In terms of the provisions of the Defence Act, Act No 44 of 1957 as amended, members in uniform may not join trade unions or participate in trade union activities This approach is in line with most defence forces elsewhere in the world where democratically elected governments are in place

Organisations/groupings consisting of members of MK/APLA

444 Mr W N BREYTENBACH asked the Minister of Defence

(1) Whether he is a position to furnish any particulars on any organisation or groupings allegedly consisting of members of MK and/or APLA and called the (a) MKAPLA group, (b) Concerned Citizens on Integration and Rehabilitation (CCIR), (c) MK Elected Committee, (d) South African Total Liberation Force (SATLF) and (e) Commanding Structure, if not, why not, if so, (i)(aa) when and (bb) why was each such organisation or grouping formed and (ii) what is the estimated membership and/or number of supporters of each,

(2) whether he or the SANDF has taken or intends taking any steps in regard to any of these organisations or groupings, if not, what is the position in this regard, if what steps in each case?

N934E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

(1) Yes There are unsubstantiated reports about these organisations based on rumours and loose talk Military Intelligence has identified various groups but the information is still vague at present Since the start of the military integration process in 1994 groups of former MK and APLA members have opted out fo the process During 1994/95 numerous protest actions were launched by some of the disgruntled persons in especially Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), the Eastern Cape and the North-West Province Protest actions culminated in the formation of new organisations and groupings with the aim of exerting pressure on the Government of National Unity (GNU) and to press for the revision of the military integration process

(a) *MKAPLA* MKAPLA is an acronym used by a grouping formed by former MK and APLA members Exact membership is not known

(b) *Concerned Citizens on Integration and Rehabilitation (CCIR)* The CCIR is an organisation established by ANC and PAC supporters to address the disillusionment of MK and APLA members with the integration process Exact membership is not known

(c) *MK Elected Committee* The MK Elected Committee is an organisation with limited support which vowed to oppose to GNU violently to force it to meet its demands

(d) *South Africa Total Liberation Force (SATLF)* The SATLF was established by approximately 46 former MK members during November 1994 in Springs

(e) *"Commanding" Structure and Committee of Four* The "Commanding" Structure and Committee of Four were established by disgruntled former MK members in KZN and consists of 30 members

(f) *Co-ordinating Committees* Co-ordinating Committees were established by members who opted out of the process in Chesterville and Lamontville, KZN Exact membership is not known

The abovementioned organisations attracted limited support The continued existence of most of them cannot be confirmed The existence of the organisation, MKAPLA, cannot be conclusively confirmed by the RSA intelligence community The limited support of these groupings could possibly be ascribed to the inclusiveness of the military integration process, poor organisational capabilities and lack of popular and financial support The influence of these organisations on security and stability is limited

(2) All information pertaining to these organisations has been forwarded to National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (NICOC) for further action

MK Certified Personnel Register

446 Col N G RAMAREMISA asked the Minister of Defence

(1) Whether he is in a position to furnish information on how many persons' names appeared on the MK Certified Personnel Register prior to the integration of MK members in the South African National Defence Force, if not, why not, if so, how many persons' names appeared on this register,

(2) whether any of these persons have enlisted in the SANDF, if so, how many,

(3) whether he will furnish information as to whether MK members (a) within and/or (b) outside the SANDF are to be demobilised, if so, (i) how many are to be so demobilised and (ii) why, in each case,

(4) whether such demobilisation will take place on a voluntary basis, if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details,

(5) whether any such demobilised members will receive any payments, if not, what is the position in this regard, if so, what payments?

N936E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

(1) Prior to the integration of MK members into the National Defence Force, 83 065 names appeared on five lists that were submitted by MK prior to 27 April 1994 These lists were all accepted as valid Certified Personnel Registers by the Joint Military Co-ordinating Committee Owing to extensive duplication between the different lists it was decided to consolidate the afore-mentioned lists into one Certified Personnel Register When the consolidated list was finally certified on 27 March 1995 it contained 28 888 names

(2) Yes As on 24 July 1995, 10 745 of those listed have been ranked and placed in the South African National Defence Force

(3) As I have stated before, on completion of the integration of Statutory and Non-Statutory Forces into the new National Defence Force, this force will be too large for the present needs of South Africa and will have to be downsized

Demobilisation is one of the methods of the envisaged downsizing Cabinet has already accepted the principle of demobilisation At present it would be premature to mention any figures as requested by the hon member

(4) Demobilisation takes place on a voluntary basis

(5) The payment of the undermentioned gratuity has been approved by Cabinet

Group	*Registered with Non-Statutory Force*	*Amount*
A	1 January 1961-31 December 1972	R42 058
B	1 January 1973-31 December 1976	R34 313
C	1 January 1977-31 December 1982	R28 721
D	1 January 1983-31 December 1989	R20 201
E	1 January 1990-26 April 1994	R12 734

Policy of rationalisation in SANDF

454 Mr J C N WAUGH asked the Minister of Defence

PUBLIC SECTOR - GOVT. - DEFENCE

1995

OCT. — DEC.

SAAF 'clips our wings'

CT 5/10/95 (254)

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Denel gets new board of directors

(254) Source 9/10/95

THREE people who served on the Denel board of directors since its inception in 1992 were dropped from the new board announced by Minister of Public Enterprises Mrs Stella Sigcau yesterday

Those dropped from the board are former chairman Dr John Maree, Dr JL Job and Mr JJM van Zyl

Denel said the new appointments reflected the consideration for business people who possessed specialised aptitudes and who were representative of the South African people

Members of the new board are chairman Mr DC Brink, deputy chairman Dr DE Baloyi, managing director Mr JPL Alberts, Dr SV Chonco, Colonel I Deetlefs, Ms NN Gobodo, Mr SE Funde, Mr DA Hawton, Mr M Jonker, Mr IM Randeree and Dr Gordon Sibiya

Benefits due to ex-militias stalled

(254) Star 10/10/95

The South African National Defence Force is struggling to verify the service records of former political militia members, a problem that is stalling the payment of demobilisation benefits.

SANDF Chief of Staff Lieutenant-General Siphiwe Nyanda yesterday said members of non-statutory forces such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) were eligible for demobilisation payouts approved by the Cabinet on August 16, but some could not verify their service.

SANDF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said Nyanda's office had been flooded by phone calls

"The process is being pressurised by an increasing number of claims by individuals who may not qualify for demobilisation. Their names are either not reflected on the official certified personnel register (CPR) or on the non-formal CPR," Nyanda said

Nyanda urged ex-militia members to direct queries to regional offices manned by ex-MK and Apla officers. – Sapa.

Navy retrenchment pay delayed

BARRY STREEK
POLITICAL STAFF

THE revised retrenchment packages to 911 navy members, approved after an investigation by the Ombudsman, would only be approved by Parliament next year, Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise said yesterday

The navy members, mostly from Cape Town, were retrenched in 1990, but they objected to their levels of compensation

Their complaints were upheld by the former Ombudsman after an investigation and Parliament then supported his report recommending substantially increased retrenchment packages to the 911 people involved

"Because the actuarial calculations took longer than anticipated, the draft finance bill could not be submitted in time to the Portfolio Committee on Finance for their consideration during this session of Parliament," Mr Modise said

(254) CT 12/10/95

(254)

DEFENCE FORCE FM 13/10/95

Transparent call-up

Nationwide call-ups to deal with potential security problems in the November community election have raised again the issue of the extent to which conscription really is a thing of the past.

There is a moratorium on Citizen Force members who refuse to turn up for camps — a hangover from the days when the army was used to quell unrest in a fog of censorship. Yet even as the call-up papers go out, the move away from an army of conscripts towards a purely voluntary national defence force is gaining pace

Constitutionally, the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) must consist of a permanent force and a part-time reserve The latter, the recast Citizen Force, will require private-sector co-operation if employees are to be allowed "time off" for retraining, exercises or even operations

To this end, president of the JSE Roy Andersen — who is also director of the army's part-time forces liaison — spoke to senior Cape businessmen recently.

And appropriately, the meeting took place in The Castle and Andersen used his persuasive skills to encourage employers to accept the economic rationale of the part-time forces — and the managerial benefits to be gained by releasing workers, even key ones, for limited and occasional service with the SANDF

Most members of the part-time force are attached to the army, and comprise those trained in conventional as well as territorial military functions. "Whereas in the past," Andersen said, "the employer as much as the serviceman had to cope with compulsory service, they should now become voluntary participants in what we like to call a profitable partnership between the volunteer, the employer and the SANDF."

The structure of this co-operation was broken down into three components

- ❑ Part-time service, which could benefit employers by enhancing management, leadership, administrative and supervisory skills;
- ❑ Working with the SANDF, which employers were urged to adopt as policy, and so facilitate employees' attendance for military service commitments, and
- ❑ The SANDF would acknowledge commercial and administrative interests by establishing formal structures for employer liaison and realistic claims on human resources.

Volunteers for the part-time force would largely be drawn from new recruits and those who had completed their military training and commitments. A four-year period of service was envisaged, possibly to be extended through three-way consultation between volunteers, employers and the SANDF. The arbitrary, nontransparent habits of the past were not to be repeated.

Proposals for parity in pay and allowances for part-timers and those in the permanent force are expected to be formalised soon.

An exercise known as Southern Cross has been scheduled for October 14-31, the purpose being essentially to maintain the reserve component of the army in a state of combat readiness. Andersen indicated that the brief period of the call-up, openness about its purpose, and timely warning reflected the SANDF's new approach.

The implications were that due notice would be given of call-ups, that the operations would be of short duration, perhaps in the region of two weeks, and that employers would effectively be asked to donate at least a portion of that time to the national need Andersen's audience seemed sympathetic enough

Whether transparency and accountability will survive the hothouse conditions of the November election unscathed remains to be seen. ■

ANC denies doubts over security forces

Star 17/10/95 (254)

■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO
POLITICAL REPORTER

The ANC has rejected reports that it has misgivings about the loyalty of members of the South African Police Service and the South African National Defence Force , and has reiterated its support for the work done by the security forces

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday said claims in the media that the party had misgivings were an inaccurate portrayal of its position and a misrepresentation of the content and spirit of the document, "One Year of GNU"

The document was distributed within the ANC for discussion and "does not reflect any shift in the policy of the ANC towards policing, the police service and the defence force", he said

Ramaphosa said that the ANC was concerned about the way in which the media had portrayed the issue

The document, among other things, raises issues such as the recent police strike, difficulties encountered in obtaining information from intelligence structures and mind-set problems in the SANDF, which raised doubts about the loyalty of the army and police

Police Commissioner George Fivaz has taken the document seriously and said that he would take the matter up with President Nelson Mandela

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Row over police loyalty

Modise and Mufamadi say ANC document misinterpreted, misquoted

ARGUS 14/10/95 (254)

Political Staff and Sapa

POLICE Commissioner George Fivaz has asked for a meeting with President Mandela as tensions mount over ANC allegations of "disloyalty" in the police and the SANDF

Defence Minister Joe Modise and Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi have both defended the loyalty of the security forces, claiming that allegations of disloyalty arose from a misinterpretation of an internal ANC discussion document.

And ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa criticised the media for misrepresenting the ANC document in which misgivings were expressed about the loyalty of the police and SANDF

The first hint of ANC concerns about "disloyalty" came in parliament last week when Transport Minister Mac Maharaj said that so long as Deputy President De Klerk headed the cabinet committee on security and intelligence, people would not have confidence in the security forces

An ANC official today confirmed that a document entitled "One year of Government of National Unity" was circulated to members last week and proposed a number of measures to counter possible problems related to the loyalty of the police and the defence force

Police spokesmen confirmed today that General Fivaz had requested a meeting with Mr Mandela on the issue

Yesterday General Fivaz rejected suggestions that police were disloyal to the government He said in a statement a distinction had to be drawn between loyalty to the constitution and loyalty to a specific political party

"I believe that the overwhelming majority of police officials are steadfastly loyal to the constitution and the rule of law"

Mr Mufamadi said in a statement he could state categorically that there was no truth to suggestions of disloyalty He said the police retained his confidence and that of President Mandela

"I wish to remind everyone that in his inauguration speech, President Mandela reserved special commendation for the SAPS and the SANDF for the role they played in ensuring a peaceful election process"

Back labour Act, companies urged

Renee Grawitzky
BD 19/10/95

COMPANIES which tried to avoid participating in statutory councils as proposed in the new Labour Relations Act could find such councils being imposed on them without having participated in the councils' design, Rod Harper of Webber Wentzel Bowens said

Harper, who addressed a seminar on The new LRA, 1995 — It will rock you! in Johannesburg last week, said it was preferable for employers to participate voluntarily and assist in the design of councils rather than being landed with a structure which did not suit the particular sector or company

The SA Steel and Engineering Industries Federation's Dave Carsons said the Act provided for fundamental changes to the SA collective bargaining process

He said the new collective bargaining model contained three main components — the removal of the duty to bargain, the active promotion of collective bargaining and the emphasis on centralised collective bargaining.

Carsons said that within the National Economic, Development and Labour Council government, labour and business shared one-third representation each

However, in view of the close relationship between labour and government, there was a possibility, he said, that Nedlac could be used to "start the process of centralised bargaining"

'ANC, NP must act against crime'

Mduduzi ka Harvey
BD 19/10/95

THE ANC and NP are fiddling while Rome is burning, says DP spokesman Douglas Gibson

Crime was rising and instead of taking responsibility to address the problem the ANC and NP had resorted to pointing fingers, Gibson said

DP leaders met Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and his Gauteng counterpart, Jessie Duarte, this week. At the meeting they said the public believed crime had escalated out of control, while the authorities had not done enough to curb it

The DP countered Duarte's recent claims that crime was on the decline, citing Gauteng as the Mecca of SA's car hijackers

Statistics provided by DP safety and security spokesman Peter Leon indicated that in the first six months of this year 4 060 cars had been hijacked in Gauteng. This averaged 25 a day.

He said 75% of all car hijackings occurred in Gauteng and because the police had no information technology to help it fight hijackings the figure was likely to increase.

Leon said although the NP was demanding security now, crime had increased overall at double the population rate between 1990 and last year under the FW de Klerk administration. In that period crime had increased 21% — rape 58%, robbery 57%, vehicle theft 38%, serious assault 27%, illegal firearms 21% and murder 14%

The DP called on De Klerk to resign as chairman of the Cabinet committee on security and intelligence if he did not take responsibility for doing something about crime.

The DP criticised the fact that SA had only — 1,29 police per 1 000 people compared to the required 2,5 per 1 000. Also, despite the police losing 4 000 to 5 000 staff yearly, the ANC was criticised for placing a moratorium on the recruitment of new police in Gauteng until June next year.

Although the government of national unity had implemented the Community Safety Plan in March this year, the DP claimed crime had increased — rape by 12%, serious assault 10,5%, housebreaking 10%, theft 8%, vehicle theft 5,3% and robbery 4,4%

The DP also called for the introduction of anti-hijacking legislation by providing for minimum sentences, a presumption against bail and the declaration of a crime state of emergency

Call for total ban on landmines

Bonile Ngqiyaza
BD 19/10/95 (254)

A STRONG call for the SA government to implement an immediate overall ban on the production and use of anti-personnel landmines was yesterday made by a group united under the banner of the Campaign Ceasefire

Campaign Ceasefire spokesman David Bruce said. "The SA constitution obliges the SA government to abide by the terms of international law and does not permit South Africans to, deliberately or negligently, kill people in other countries"

Bruce said the ceasefire campaign had during the past months tried to take up the issue in a way consistent with support for the SA government. He said the group was also considering approaching the Constitutional Court to address the issue, as it believed landmines were illegal under international law.

As an indication of Campaign Ceasefire's seriousness, they called on government to reverse its recent decision to start the development and production of so-called "smart" anti-personnel landmines, Bruce said.

In accordance with the announcement on Friday by the International Campaign to Ban Landmines to in future closely monitor landmine production and to blacklist companies involved in manufacturing anti-personnel landmines, the ceasefire campaign believed that the SA arms industry — particularly the Denel group — were candidates for such a blacklist

"During the coming months we, together with our partners in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, will consider implementing a boycott of Denel products," Bruce said

In addition to seeking the support of other groups, he said, Campaign Ceasefire would also continue collecting signatures for a petition in support of an international ban on landmines

In a speech delivered in his absence, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said while the Anglican church supported the recent decision by government to ban the export of landmines, it believed the step fell "far too short" of what was required.

"We call on the government, and all governments everywhere, to ban not only the export but also the manufacture, storage, import or use in any way of landmines."

The ceasefire campaign also appealed to government to treat the matter as a priority issue and to work towards "the implementation of an urgent consultative process on the landmine issue in southern Africa," Bruce said.

SA fails to support outright mine ban

(254) MG 20-26/10/95

Justin Pearce

SOUTH Africa's failure to support an outright ban on landmines brought it into direct opposition to Mozambique at the United Nations conference on landmines, which ended inconclusively in Vienna this week. Mozambique is one of the countries worst affected by landmines.

The conference is to reconvene in December after delegates failed to reach consensus on how to tighten the UN Convention on Conventional Weapons to restrict the use of mines.

Despite the lack of agreement there was little support for an outright ban on landmines, something which outraged countries like Mozambique.

Rather than an outright ban, most countries — including South Africa, partly responsible for Mozambique's problem through its apartheid-era destabilisation of neighbours — argued that the convention should provide for the phasing out of existing mines in favour of "smart mines" which are designed to deactivate themselves after a specified period

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines has condemned the conference's lack of consideration for the humanitarian disaster created by landmines. David Bruce of South Africa's Ceasefire Campaign said proceedings were dominated by "horsetrading" between major military powers

Ceasefire has called for a consultative process before South Africa takes its new position to the December conference, and has appealed to President Nelson Mandela to receive a delegation that will request his personal intervention.

The call for a consultative process has been supported by the Anglican Church, as well as by the Mozambican delegation from the conference.

Proponents of "smart mines" contend that they eliminate the long-term dangers of leftover mines, while their opponents argue that their deactivating properties are unreliable, and that while active they still pose an unacceptable threat to civilians

"For us the conference has been about legitimising new ways of killing people," said Mozambican delegate Osorio Severano "As a mine-affected nation, we know what mines can do Whether a mine self-destructs in five days or deactivates in 120 days is irrelevant to us "

Mozambique is one of the world's most heavily mined countries, with 550 people killed or maimed by mines each year South Africa argued that going over to "smart mines" should be regarded as the first step towards an outright ban.

When asked if it was realistic to think that countries would go to the expense of converting long-lived stocks to high-tech "smart" mines, only to then turn around and ban them, South African delegate Bennie Lombard said it was necessary to find an "acceptable balance" between humanitarian concerns and military needs

ARMS INDUSTRY

Survival of the fittest

(254)

Privatisation and weaning from State subsidies are imperative

fm 20/10/95

The arms industry — developed to defeat sanctions in a climate of war, with considerable though dubious success — is losing its domestic market to the exigencies of peace. Its troubles, though, run far deeper than that.

As it turns to exports for survival, the industry finds itself exposed to uneasy reliance on a State that is not sympathetic to weapons production — a government preoccupied with social development and reestablishing international esteem, led by people who were once the targets of the weapons which the industry produces.

That SA's armaments manufacturers — private and State-owned — rely heavily on State subsidies and incentives is an underpublicised fact. Almost half of government's spending on defence research and development in 1993 (R206m) went to private firms through the SA National Defence Force acquisition budget Defence research and development has in the past accounted for more than 30% of government's total research spending with few visible benefits to the economy, says defence economist Peter Batchelor of Cape Town University's Centre for Conflict Resolution

"Export sales rarely generate enough returns to cover the original capital and R&D costs," he says. Research and development costs of major weapons systems such as the G-5 howitzer, G-6 mobile cannon and the Rooivalk combat helicopter account for roughly a third of actual unit costs — a sizeable subsidy from the taxpayer.

But government's R&D commitment is declining rapidly, having fallen 67,5% in the past five years, from R1,01bn in 1989-1990 to R329m in 1993-1994 The decline in real terms is even greater and threatens SA's ability to maintain a competitive advantage in world-class technology, says Paul Hatty, consultant to the SA Defence Industry Association (Sadia)

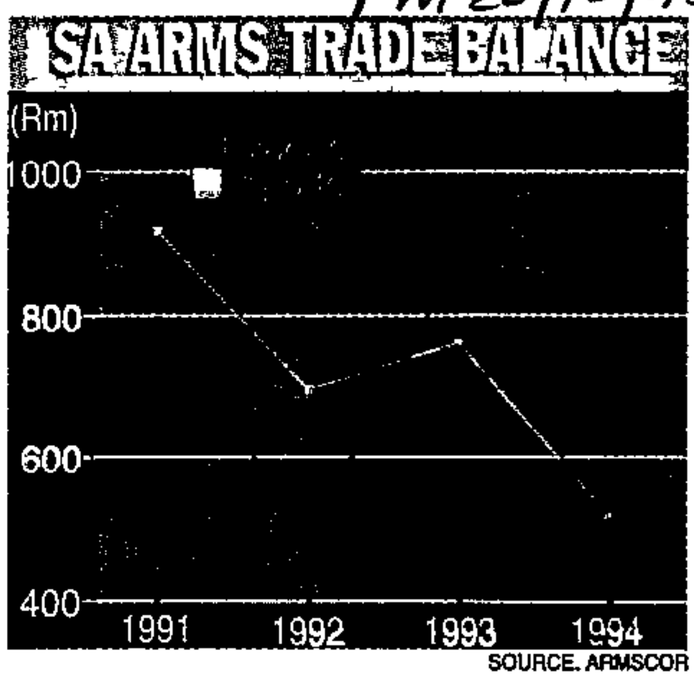
"Without a continuing commitment to R&D . . there is some risk that the technological advantages achieved will be lost," says Hatty in a paper which Sadia presented in June to the Cameron Commission of Inquiry into the arms industry Whether or not one agrees with the industry, its concern that government will walk away from it seems justified.

The probe by Judge Edwin Cameron into the arms industry and armaments policy was sparked by uproar over the discovery that Armscor had sold AK-47s and ammunition, through a shady arms dealer with bogus shipping documents, to Yemen, a prohibited destination

The commission has delivered a report on the arms deal, with recommendations for appropriate actions, but has yet to conclude its probe into overall arms policy. The inquiry and the political forces surrounding it should not be underestimated for they will have and already have had considerable influence on the future course of the arms industry and its chances for survival.

The Armscor controversy involved only a minuscule portion of the State-owned acquisition agency's business — the sale of obsolete and surplus defence force equipment. But it highlighted the murkier side of arms dealing and struck a political chord that gave disarmament proponents in and around the ANC the leverage they had been seeking to wrest control of arms policy and exports from the Afrikaner-dominated defence establishment.

With the creation in August of the Cabinet-level National Conventional Arms Control Committee (NCACC) chaired by Water Affairs & Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, an avowed arms limitationist, Armscor relinquished control of arms marketing and exports to the Defence Force Secretariat, with NCACC as ultimate decision-maker — thus taking control of SA's arms sales and production beyond the exclusive domain of the defence community for the first time since Armscor's creation in 1977. Armscor had recommended transferring its permitting function to the secretariat even before the Government of National Unity. But it didn't count on the extent and breadth of an NCACC.



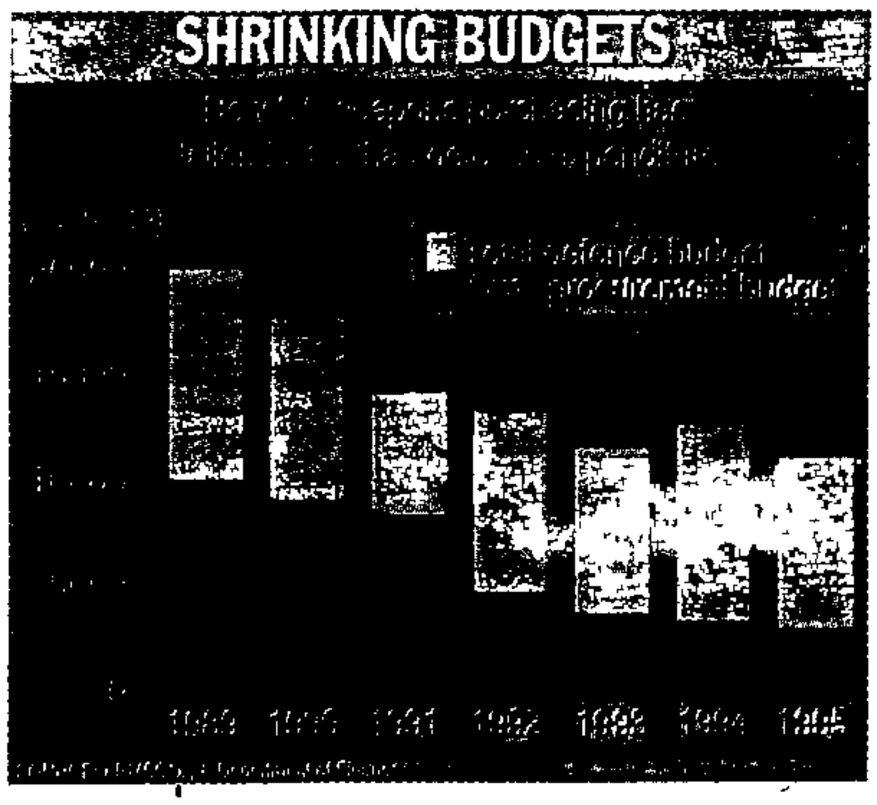
SOURCE: ARMSCOR

Though the Ministers and Deputies of Defence and Safety & Security do serve on the NCACC, they must share the table with other Ministers and Deputies of divergent interests: Water & Forestry, Trade & Industry, Foreign Affairs, Arts, Culture, Science & Technology, General Services, and Intelligence Adding to the nonmilitary, if not antimilitary, oversight outside NCACC is the Parliamentary Defence Committee under the ANC's outspoken Tony Yengeni, who has shown himself to be less than friendly towards the arms industry.

NCACC has already committed itself to uphold the principles of the UN Charter and of international laws governing arms sales While pledging to support arms export initiatives, the committee says in its statement of principles that it will "reserve the right to prohibit or withdraw such support should it be in conflict with or irreconcilable with international or national interest at any given time"

It is in many ways a classic "guns versus butter" debate. At the micro-economic level, leading private companies in the defence field such as Reunert, Grinaker and Altech, do well from military-related exports, measuring more than 25% of their output in 1994 — compared with only 9,8% for the entire "Sector 38," which refers to the most technologically intensive industries of the mechanical, electrical and transport equipment fields. State-owned commercial arms producer Denel has steadily raised its export share from 17% in 1992 (when it was formed in a breakaway from Armscor) to 23% in 1993 and 27% last year

Continued on page 34



Continued from page 30

After the UN lifted its arms embargo on SA in May last year, Armscor, the industry's acquisition and sales agency, announced its intention to increase SA's share of the global arms market from its present 0,4% to 2%, which would raise its value from about R850m to roughly R2,4bn and create 20 000 new jobs

This may seem like a particularly ripe plum for a government hungry for foreign exchange and it has drawn cohorts Indeed, even President Nelson Mandela, once an opponent of the arms trade, has spoken in its defence — reflecting a policy dichotomy in government, between the hawks and doves, which has yet to be resolved, if ever

But on the macro-economic level, the rewards from arms sales may not be as great as they first appear The costs to the Exchequer of R&D subsidies, export incentives, component imports and the maintenance of an export infrastructure, combine to substantially reduce the economic benefits of the trade

Institute for Defence Policy director Jakkie Cilliers points out that last year's R1,09bn earnings from exports made the defence industry the second largest exporter after the industrial machinery sector and about the same size as the vehicle component sector Nearly all are SA-owned and the vast majority are small and micro-enterprises

Impressive though that may seem, it is worth noting that the domestic defence industry contributed only 4,4% of manufacturing output and 1,1% of GDP in 1993 Arms exports totalled only 3% of manufactured exports and generated 15 000 jobs, representing perhaps 1% of total manufacturing employment

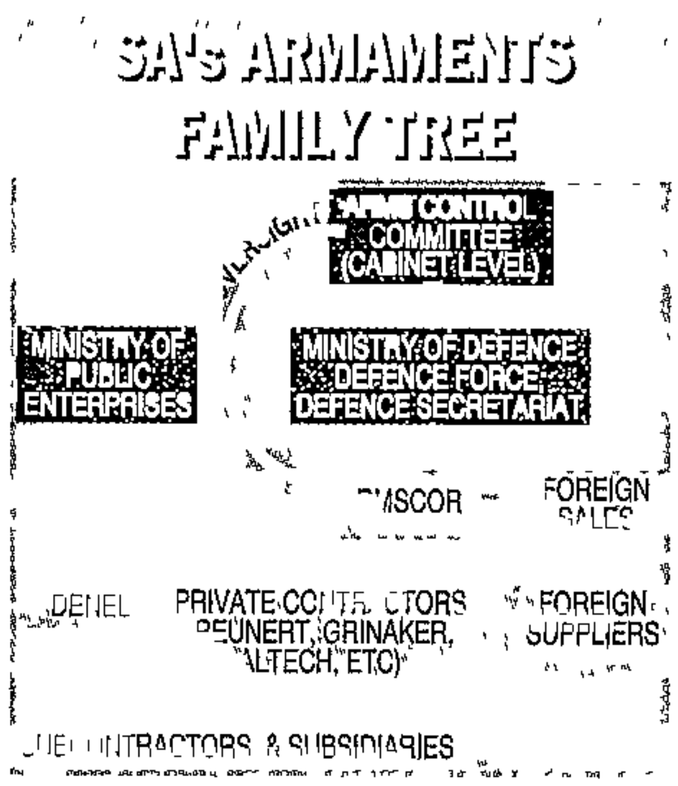
In addition, says Batchelor, "if the value of government subsidies and other hidden costs is removed from annual sales values, then the contribution of arms exports to the balance of trade, and balance of payments, is relatively marginal"

Figures get thrown about with such abandon in the discussion of defence issues that it is difficult to determine their meaning For example, it has long been maintained that more than 700 companies are involved in the domestic defence industry, currently employing 48 000 people (down from 160 000 in the late Eighties) This no doubt refers to anyone remotely connected to the industry, from the hi-tech satellite developer to the bootlace maker

Yet Sadia executive director Julius Kriel, retired Chief of Air Staff, admits that 87% of the industry's capital expenditure is tied up in only seven companies — Denel, Grinaker, Reunert, Altech, Plessey and the like The association has managed to count only 34 companies and is now engaged in an extensive survey to determine how big the industry really is

For the purposes of this discussion, however, it is worthwhile to talk only about those companies or subsidiaries that are entirely or mostly dependent on military manufacture and therefore most at risk Altech, for example, is not Primarily a civilian operation, it would survive without the military as it has dedicated only about 20% to defence production

Denel, however, is an outgrowth of Armscor and though now independent of its progenitor, is still largely dependent on weapons production MD Johan Alberts is hell-bent on changing that and has managed to reduce Denel's dependence on the defence force from 63% in 1992 to 48% last year Meanwhile, the company has raised its commercial production from 11% to 16%



"I don't want to be called an armaments manufacturer," he complains, "This is a technology company with highly sophisticated equipment — armaments just happen to be part of my technology"

Maybe so but Denel was born with State assets inherited from Armscor — and, to be fair, the loans and liabilities

But the fact remains that Denel inherited its technological expertise from a heavily State-subsidised industry and when it tries to sell a Rooivalk helicopter — probably the most advanced battle craft of its kind — it is able to offer a competitive price (believed to be in the US$20m-$25m range) only because it has been cushioned with taxpayers' money

There might not be an easy solution but it is surely time that Denel, still wholly State-owned and answerable to the Ministry of Public Enterprises, is completely privatised and allowed to trade in free competition

Perhaps the strongest economic argument for maintaining the arms industry is that so much has been invested in its technology and trained personnel (the average is said to be R190 000 per individual) that it would be a waste to lose it

SA is widely recognised as producing some of the most advanced high-mobility armoured vehicles, mine-detection equipment, light weapons systems, frequency-hopping radios and remote-sensing devices Its vehicle and weapons testing ranges, environmental laboratories and underwater maritime test facilities are of high quality and amount to a fair capital investment

But without a war to maintain R&D in these technologies, it is doubtful SA will be able to remain competitive on its own, especially since far wealthier and technologically more advanced nations such as the US are moving aggressively through the global marketplace

The solution lies in international partnerships and project co-operation Some progress has already been made in a joint project to adapt the MiG-29 engine to the Mirage jet fighter and in international low-orbit satellite technology

A second hope is to speed up conversion to civilian applications But this is likely to have limited success as there are few civilian uses for rugged and heavy-duty military-type products Some successes, however, have been achieved in adapting military technology to environmental control and drilling equipment for mining, production of civilian aircraft gearboxes, metal detectors, off-road vehicles and turning rifle stock production to the making of cricket bats, among other developments

From a strategic viewpoint, the defence force — no matter how scaled down in size — will still require supplies of advanced equipment, whether new or upgraded models This will have to be maintained locally The military establishment is notoriously inefficient in this regard, which means sophisticated maintenance will have to be handled by the industry

Locally produced equipment is more easily maintained and upgraded and more secure than foreign products So it would be folly to allow the industry to fade away Perhaps for that reason alone government should not allow it to die

Economic and strategic considerations aside, moral and ethical imperatives will remain a challenge to the industry for as long as it survives The row over arms sales to Yemen is but one of many controversies bound to restrain arms exports The cancellation of weapons sales to Turkey because Turks may have used the arms against the Kurds, the scandal over arms sales to the former Rwandan government and to Angola's Unita are but a few of the vexing issues that have already confronted the industry

It is reported that Indonesia may want to buy the Rooivalk, but what if it were used against the East Timoreans? Is another contract cancellation pending? Ours is a Third-World weapons industry — geared to adaptation and Third-World conditions — precisely the market most open to abuse and, with it, international opprobrium ■

Probe into Armscor chopper sale

(254) Star 21/10/95

By ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Office for Serious Economic Offences is investigating commissions paid on the sale of 12 Puma helicopters – worth R14-million – by Armscor shortly before the election last year

The OSEO's Jan Swanepoel told the *Saturday Star* that the probe did not exclude Armscor officials

This was the second investigation into Armscor's weapons sales since the new government took power in April 1994

In September last year, a consignment of surplus South African National Defence Force AK-47 rifles was sold to Yemen – a country with which South Africa does not trade in arms

Defence Minister Joe Modise appointed a commission of inquiry, chaired by Mr Justice Edwin Cameron The commission recommended that the case of at least one (now former) Armscor employee be referred to the attorney-general for possible prosecution

It is understood that the commissions paid on the Puma sale might have been "too high"

The helicopters were sold in March or April last year to the Romanian government The original order was for 17 helicopters, but only 12 were sold

Armscor referred the matter to the OSEO on August 22 this year, Swanepoel said

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♦ Armscor sale

(254) Star 21/10/95

He envisaged that the investigation would take several months

In a brief statement, Armscor said yesterday it had conducted an audit of its stock sales division after the AK-47 deal was exposed

"The audit raised a query which related to the payment of commission for the sale of 12 Puma helicopters to the Romanian government in 1994, as there may have been some irregularities"

The SANDF's arms procurement agency then handed the matter to the OSEO for investigation

Armscor's public relations head Abba Omar said the uncovering of alleged irregularities was part of an ongoing audit of the stock sale division

He expressed concern that no prosecutions had followed the Cameron Commission's recommendations

Cut spending on defence, Nedlac urges government

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac) this week urged the government to cut its spending on defence, reduce the number of embassies and re-assess the size of government.

Nedlac, a statutory policy-making think-tank which groups government, business and labour, also told the government to level the playing fields to allow local companies to compete in international markets by lowering the price of raw materials.

"The pattern of government expenditure must be urgently reversed. Hard decisions must be taken," Nedlac said in a discussion document on a social partnership framework to guide South Africa towards improving its economy.

The document is expected to be adopted early next year after further debate.

Nedlac said there was tension between the strategy of increasing government spending on infrastructure and services on one hand and fiscal discipline on the other.

"Unless the resources are found through re-prioritising expenditure or raising additional income it has to be accepted that delivery will be limited.

"There is a case for reduction in government spending in defence, reducing the number of embassies, even reconsidering the size of parliament, senate, provincial governments.

"It is also necessary to consider the position of civil servants in the former homelands who appear to be redundant".

Nedlac said overall strategy should be defined to smooth the opening of South Africa's markets.

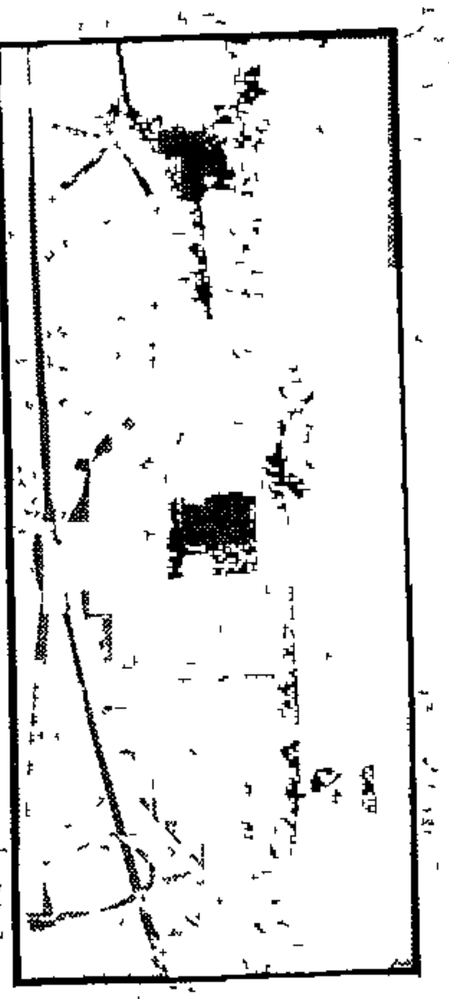
"Measures must be taken to level the playing fields, so that local companies can obtain their input of materials at least at the same cost as foreign manufacturers.

"Supporting supply-side measures should also be put in place," Nedlac said. — Reuter.

SCANDAL

HOPPER SOARS AS SECRET SALE OF CHOPPERS

Probe into R14-m 'bonus' rocks Armscor



(254) ARG 21/10/95

■ A shady deal has come back to haunt Armscor as it tries to gain respectability in the international arena.

GLYNNIS UNDERHILL
Staff Reporter

THE Office for Serious Economic Offences is investigating irregularities in a R14 million commission earned from the sale of 12 Puma helicopters by the state arms procurement agency Armscor.

As Armscor tries to shed its cloak-and-dagger image to prepare for a more visible international role, details of the top-level investigation into the multi-million rand commission from the sale of the Pumas to Rumania have emerged.

The director of the Office for Serious Economic Offences (Oseo) . Jan Swanepoel, confirmed yesterday that the investigation had begun in earnest.

Auditors have been called in to sift through the books as the Oseo tries to ascertain the flow of funds, he said

Seventeen Puma helicopters were sold to Rumania and only 12 were eventually delivered, according to Mr Swanepoel

Mr Swanepoel said the surplus Puma helicopters were sold in March last year

The whistle was blown by former Armscor boss Tielman de Waal, who alerted the Oseo before his unexpected resignation last month

Mr De Waal has been replaced by Armscor aeronautics and maritime general manager Erich Esterhuyse, who is acting as chief executive until a successor is appointed

Mr De Waal said he resigned in a bid to boost confidence in the arms procurement agency

The former managing director was with Armscor for 19 years and said he was leaving "to obtain greater legitimacy for Armscor".

Armscor denied that Mr De Waal's resignation was connected to criticism contained in the recently released Cameron Commission report into arms deals

The commission was appointed last year to look into the purchase of large numbers of AK-47 rifles destined for Lebanon — but which were diverted to Yemen and then returned to South Africa

Mr De Waal's resignation was also not connected to the R57 million Armscor had to pay in admission-of-guilt fines and civil penalties to settle a dispute with the US over sanctions busting, Armscor claimed

Armscor press spokesman Bertus Celliers yesterday confirmed the Oseo investigation into the sale of the Puma helicopters

"Mr De Waal alerted the Office for Serious Economic Offences long before his resignation, which had nothing to do with his leaving Armscor," he said.

In a statement released after queries from Saturday Argus yesterday, Armscor said that when the Lebanon arms sale was exposed, it had taken immediate remedial action

It said an audit of its stock sales division ws conducted

"The audit raised a query which related to the payment of commission for the sale of 12 Puma helicopters to the Rumanian government in 1994, as there may have been some irregularities," Armscor claimed

The controversial Lebanon arms deal became known as the Wazan arms deal, taking its name from Elias Wazan, a well-known civilian arms dealer and alleged associate of Armscor.

Wazan "evaded" all attempts to have him testify to the commission.

The Pumas had been sold by Armscor at the request of the South African Defence Force, as it was then known

"I have seen large commissions — but this is quite a big one," said Mr Swanepoel

The Oseo investigation into the sale of the Pumas was expected to take "at least six months," he said

While the investigation into the sale of the Pumas was at a preliminary stage, it is believed those who benefited from the commission were South African, said Mr Swanepoel

"It is a little early to say how many people were involved," he said

Philippines considers SA arms deal

John Dludlu (254) BD 26/10/95

ARMSCOR and Denel have held talks with the Philippines government on a R1bn high-tech arms package.

Filipino ambassador to SA Leonides Caday said yesterday his country was interested in buying fighter helicopters, patrol boats, guns and radar equipment. Armscor and Denel had presented weaponry proposals with a R1bn price tag to his country.

A Denel spokesman confirmed the talks, saying the corporation had given "an unsolicited presentation" on a weapons system to the Filipino government. Denel, which made the presentation as part of its marketing promotion in more than 100 countries, would be a subcontractor in the deal.

Armscor denied any knowledge of the talks. Caday said his country was still considering the deal. The Filipinos had been impressed with SA's military expertise An order could develop into a countertrade deal

Attorney-general's warrant for Malan

Sunday Times reporters

WARRANTS of arrest have been issued for former Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and retired top military officers in connection with the murder of 13 people in Kwazulu Natal seven years ago.

Last night President Nelson Mandela and his deputy, F W de Klerk, met for crisis talks at Mr Mandela's Houghton home over the warrants

The talks were also attended by the Safety and Security Minister, Sydney Mufamadi, the Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister, Pik Botha, and Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer

It is understood that the National Party ministers were angered and concerned about the implications of the warrants. All parties agreed the matter should be handled "sensitively".

The former Defence Minister and 10 high-ranking former officers were due to appear in court in Umbumbula in Kwazulu Natal tomorrow but will appear on Thursday instead after intense negotiations this week between their legal representatives and investigators

The arrest orders were issued by Kwazulu Natal Attorney General Tim McNally.

Brigadier Frank Dutton, head of a special police task force set up to investigate political murders in the province, said last night that the matter was "too sensitive" to discuss

Among the men on the arrest list are General Jannie Geldenhuys and General Kat Liebenberg, both former heads of the defence force, and General Dries Putter, former head of the navy.

Other officers for whom warrants have been issued are Tienie Groenewald, a former military intelligence chief and now a Freedom Front MP, and a brace of former military intelligence officers — General Neels van Tonder, Brigadier Cor van Niekerk, Colonel Jan van der Merwe, Colonel Jakes Jacobs and two officers named Victor and Griesel

The order for the arrests follows months of work by a special investigative team into allegations that military and police officers conspired with Inkatha members to wage war against political opponents in Kwazulu Natal in the 80s and 90s

Earlier this year Major Louis Botha, a former security policeman, Brigadier John More of Military Intelligence and IFP deputy secretary Zakhele Khumalo were charged with the murders of the 13 people at KwaMakutha

All the officers for whom warrants of arrest have been issued were listed as witnesses in the trial

The surprise move by Mr McNally coincides with a decision by the Justice Minister, Dullah Omar, on Friday to appoint a team of three special prosecutors in the Transvaal attorney general's office to prepare indictments against former security force and political figures in connection with an alleged high-level conspiracy to plunge

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South Africa into civil war before last year's elections

Justice Department sources indicated that the alleged plotters could be charged within the next few months.

Evidence of a conspiracy surfaced in reports by the Goldstone commission of inquiry into political violence and the trials of alleged former "third force" hit squad members also been gathered by the Witwatersrand attorney general's office

The appointment of the new task team follows Dr D'Oliveira's disclosure to the parliamentary justice committee last month that the first real third-force case was "ready for preparation, indictments and arrests" but could not proceed because he did not have the staff to assign to what would be a lengthy and involved case

Trials could expose for the first time an alleged web of conspiracy woven by members of the now defunct security police and other SAP units as well as shadowy military agencies such as the Civil Co-operation Bureau and Military Intelligence's Directorate Covert Collection

A November 1992 raid on the DCC nerve centre in Lynnwood, Pretoria, by the Goldstone commission led to a top-level purge of the defence force, with 23 senior officers being retired.

Former police deputy commissioner Lieutenant-General Basie Smit carried out by members of his unit

Both generals took early retirement within weeks of the Goldstone report being made public last year

Service chief Lieutenant-General Krappies Engelbrecht have been named by key witnesses in the trail of former Vlakplaas commander Colonel Eugene de Kock as having known about covert operations

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Generals face arrest

(254)
CP 29/10/95

THE WARRANT of arrest of General Magnus Malan, former minister of defence, Generals Jannie Geldenhuys and Kat Liebenberg, both former chiefs of the defence force, and of Admiral Dries Putter, erstwhile chief of the navy, have been issued

According to the newspaper, *Rapport*, the arrests are in connection with alleged Third Force activities in KwaZulu/Natal which have in the past caused a furore.

The warrants were issued in the magisterial district of Umbumbulu in KwaZulu/Natal The charges related to the alleged murder of 13 people in KwaMakhuta in 1987

Others who are instructed to appear in court include Freedom Front Senator Tienie Groenewald, former general of military information Neels van Tonder, Brigadier Cor van Niekerk and Colonel Jan van der Merwe, among others.

However, an agreement was reached with safety and security minister Sydney Mufamadi and investigators that the accused need only report at the Umbumbulu magistrate's court on Thursday, after the local elections.

According to the report, discussions were held with President Mandela yesterday with the hope that he would intervene

The instructions to issue warrants to the 11 men came from the Attorney General of KwaZulu/Natal, Tim McNally But after these instructions the police task force of Brig Frank Dutton was ready to arrest them.

However, the intervention of legal representatives prevented him.

Magnus Malan last night described the plans of the state to arrest him and his "Third Force comrades" as being politically malicious.

It is expected that the state will not oppose the granting of bail. All of them are expected to be released on R10 000 bail each.

Malan to face massacre rap

Sowetan 30/10/95 (254)

FORMER army chief and defence minister General Magnus Malan will appear in court in Durban on Thursday on charges of murder, KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general Mr Tim McNally said yesterday

The charges faced by Malan are related to the killings at KwaMakhutha of 13 people, including seven children, who were gunned down on January 21 1987

Meanwhile, Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi said last night that the others to be charged with Malan were General Jannie Geldenhuys, former chief of the SADF, Vice Admiral Dries Putter, former chief of staff intelligence, General Neels van Tonder, former chief director of intelligence operations, General Kat Liebenberg, former chief of the army, General Tienie Groenewald, former chief director of Military Intelligence, Brigadier Cor van Niekerk, former director of special tasks, Commandant Jan van der Merwe, former security officer, Military Intelligence, Colonel Dan Griesel, former operative, Military Intelligence, Lieutenant-Colonel Johannes Victor, former intelligence officer, Natal Command and Major Jakes Jacobs, former instructor, special operations

The Minister's statement said these individuals would be formally arrested by a team of detectives under the command of Colonel Frank Dutton on Thursday morning

Indictments

"I have been advised that bail conditions have been agreed upon. Indictments relating to the alleged roles of the suspects in the establishment of an offensive para-military force for Inkatha, which was allegedly responsible for the attack in KwaMakhuta, will be served on the suspects in due course," Mufamadi said

The Minister said the investigations had been going on for more than a year — *Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa.*

Right-wing backlash feared

Mandela, FW hold talks on Malan warrant

BD 30/10/95

(254)

Wyndham Hartley

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela and Deputy President FW de Klerk were set to meet late yesterday in an attempt to forestall a right-wing backlash against the impending arrest of former defence minister Magnus Malan and other retired military leaders in connection with alleged third force violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

News of the issuing of the warrants of arrest, coming hard on the heels of Mandela's refusal to extend the amnesty date to include right-wingers who committed political crimes before last year's election, had raised the potential for political unrest, conservative leaders said yesterday.

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen is also set to hold crisis talks with Mandela over the warrants Viljoen said yesterday that he had called Mandela on Saturday night to voice his concern.

Freedom Front senator and former military intelligence chief Tienie Groenewald who, along with former defence force chiefs Kat Liebenberg and Jannie Geldenhuys, former navy head Dries Putter and seven other former military leaders, is to be arrested, said he had been shocked and surprised when informed of the development

Groenewald confirmed the charges would be laid formally on Thursday, the day after the local government elections. He was informed of the situation two days ago by current defence force chief Georg Meiring.

Sapa reports KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general Tim McNally also confirmed yesterday that Malan would appear in court in Durban on Thursday on murder charges. The charges were related to the 1987 killings at KwaMakhutha of 13 people, including seven children, who were gunned down by men wielding AK-47 assault rifles after their house was firebombed.

"I honestly don't know what this is all about, but the timing and the way in which the information has been leaked indicates that there is a clear political motive," Groenewald said

Viljoen and Groenewald warned that the warrants for arrest and the closing of the door on amnesty would make it increasingly difficult for conservative leaders to keep control of their followers.

"It is important to note," Groenewald said, "that there has been no right-wing violence since the inauguration of President Mandela"

"There was a definite effort to cool the thing off, but now those who were involved in defence force action will see this and have to decide whether or not to do something. There is no leader

Continued on Page 2

Malan

(254)

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who can control this."

Viljoen said the warrants could unite Afrikanerdom in resistance. "The hotheads will always be hot, but the worrying factor is the effect it will have on more moderate Afrikaners.

"The ANC has really set the cat among the pigeons and I cannot understand why they are doing this, particularly when the truth commission will be operating within months," Viljoen said He insisted the timing showed a political agenda.

Groenewald said the potential for violence, which the Freedom Front had worked to prevent, was now higher than at any time since the inauguration in May last year.

Reacting to claims that the issuing of the warrants was a political ploy with the elections only two days away, McNally said he was not a politician and "there is no political timing in anything I do".

Former security policeman Maj Louis Botha, Brig John More and Inkatha deputy secretary MZ Khumalo have already been charged with the KwaMakhutha murders.

All the arrests have come as a result of the work of Col Frank Dutton and the special investigation task unit appointed to investigate political hit squads and third force activity in KwaZulu-Natal.

SA aerospace industry facing staff crisis

(254)
Star 30/10/95

BY NORMAN CHANDLER
PRETORIA BUREAU

Challenges facing the South African aerospace industry are enormous, says Captain Brett Gebers, of the Airline Pilots' Association of South Africa

He told a seminar on human resources strategic planning for the industry that South African Airways needed 50 pilots a year to meet projected growth over the next four years.

One international recruiting agency was looking for 121 crew for various airlines around the world, while other South African airlines were also in the market for additional crew members

Expansion in the aerospace industry would require more skilled technicians, ground support staff, air traffic controllers, flight attendants and other skilled people, he told the seminar which was organised by the Aerospace Industry Education and Training Board in co-operation with SAA.

"Our biggest challenge is to find a cost-effective way of training new people to the required standard of competency to fill these positions This is where the board is of vital importance to the industry," Gebers said

He warned that if travellers perceived South African air services standards to be less safe than others, they would not use them or avoid this country as a destination – "we have no choice but to maintain the standards taken for granted in the developed world," he added

Tony Hines, chief executive of the United Kingdom Aviation Training Association, said his organisation had been responsible for the development in Britain of standards of competence and competence-based qualification for aviation for the past four years

He said that Britain was particularly anxious that South African aviation standards had to be on a par with the rest of the world

Arrests 'could have dire consequences for the country'

Outrage at Malan murder charges



General Magnus Malan to appear in court.

(254) Star 30/10/95

FW REQUESTS 'temporary immunity', along lines given to cabinet ministers Mbeki and Modise

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

There is outrage in many Afrikaner political circles at the disclosure that former defence minister Magnus Malan and 10 senior police and military officers are to be charged with the murder of 13 people in KwaZulu Natal eight years ago

While there was little comment from the 11 due to be charged on Thursday in Durban, some of their political leaders are warning of dire consequences, saying the murder charges could, as Deputy President FW de Klerk put it, "have far-reaching repercussions for national reconciliation"

The charges are being brought to court by the provincial Attorney-General Tim McNally, who was recently accused of being reluctant to prosecute in high-profile "hit squad" cases involving the Inkatha Freedom Party Seven people already accused of the murders include a high-ranking IFP official Zakhele Khumalo and are due to appear for remand in court today

The charges are related to

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But will it love me tomorrow?



What's a girl like you ... Miss South Africa Bernelee Daniell befriends a camel in Dubai during the run up to the Miss World competition to be held at the Lost City. PICTURE MYKEL NICOLAOU

Outrage mounts over Malan murder charges

Star 30/10/95 (254)

◀ From Page 1

the January 21 1987 massacre at the home of United Democratic Front activist Victor Ntuli in Kwa-Makutha, south of Durban The 13 people killed, mostly women and children, were holding a prayer meeting when they were shot dead Ntuli was not present, but was also shot dead three years later

Last night Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said indictments would be served on Malan and the 10 retired officers relating to their alleged role in setting up a paramilitary force for Inkatha, which was allegedly responsible for the attack on the 13 people

De Klerk said yesterday he had sought "temporary immunity" which had already been granted to 117 members of former liberation movements, including Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Defence Minister Joe Modise

In terms of this provision, people enjoying "temporary immunity" will not face any charges until a year after the truth commission is established

De Klerk said he was "shocked to learn on Friday afternoon of the envisaged prosecution of former heads of the SADF, other senior officers and General Malan"

At an emergency weekend meeting at Mandela's Houghton home, De Klerk, accompanied by Ministers Rolf Meyer and Pik Botha, asked for the "temporary immunity". Mufamadi was also present

Talks on De Klerk's request will continue this week, but on the face of it, the request appears likely to be turned down

Malan, whose request for indemnity was rejected by Justice Minister Dullah Omar earlier this year, is the first senior apartheid official to be tried with abuses committed during the apartheid years

The pending arrests have also shocked the apartheid era.

The Freedom Front leader, Constand Viljoen, told AFP that he saw the action as an "act of reprisal" and that a national crisis had been created

McNally said last night seven other men, including a former Military Intelligence (MI) officer and an ex-Durban security policeman, as well as IFP deputy secretary-general Zakhele "MZ" Khumalo, were due to appear in the Durban Regional Court today on charges relating to the same case

McNally said the prosecution would apply for a postponement during the appearance of the seven men because he wanted Malan and the other suspects to appear together

Mufamadi said bail conditions of the 10 had already been agreed on.

The 10 are

- Former SA Defence Force chief General Jannie Geldenhuys
- Former intelligence chief of staff Vice-Admiral Dries Putter
- Former intelligence operations chief director General Neels van Tonder
- Former army chief General Kat Liebenberg
- Former MI chief director General Tienie Groenewald
- Former special tasks director Brigadier Cor van Niekerk.
- Former MI security officer Commandant Jan van der Merwe
- Former MI operative Colonel Dan Griesel
- Former Natal Command intelligence officer Lieutenant-Colonel Johannes Victor
- Former special operations instructor Major Jakes Jacobs

Malan himself declined to comment last night, apart from saying that the charges against him reflected "a sorry situation" in SA

Geldenhuys said they had been instructed by lawyers not to comment

Massacre in court

Man appear after killing of 13 people in KwaMakutha (254)

☐ Former MI officer, security policeman

DURBAN. — Seven men including military intelligence and police officers appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court today in connection with the massacre of 13 people in KwaMakutha in January 1987.

No charges were put to the men and magistrate Jan Augustyn postponed the case until December 1.

"We are requesting an adjournment today so that the accused which the state intends charging can be added to the indictment," said prosecutor Bernard Schonfeld, referring to former defence minister Magnus Malan and 10 other former top military officers to be charged in the case.

"These men will come before court on Thursday and their case will be remanded to December 1," he said.

Mr Schonfeld said General Malan and the others had been taken off the witness list and would be charged for the KwaMakutha killings.

Mr Schonfeld said three more people had been added to the witness list, including Colonel Jan Breytenbach, ex-commander of 32 Battalion, General Sipho Mathe, former commissioner of the KwaZulu Police and Major Leonard Langeni, currently head of VIP security in KwaZulu-Natal.

The seven who appeared today were former military intelligence Brigadier John More, former security policeman Colonel Louis Botha, Inkatha's Deputy Secretary-General Zakhele "M Z" Khumalo and four KwaZulu policemen.

They were arrested in connection with an attack on the United Democratic Front-supporting Ntuli family in KwaMakutha, 30 km south of Durban, in 1987.

Mr Augustyn extended the accused's bail conditions preventing any of them from contacting witnesses. — Reuter.

FW SEEKS IMMUNITY FOR OFFICERS

Generals 'will face murder charges'

CT 30/10/95 (254)

PRETORIA: As shock waves ran through the old establishment yesterday after the disclosure that 11 former security force officers are to face murder charges, Deputy-President F W de Klerk tried to secure temporary immunity for them.

DEPUTY President F W de Klerk has asked President Nelson Mandela to grant temporary immunity from prosecution to former Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and 10 former security force officers allegedly involved in hit-squad activities

Last night Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi confirmed that the 11 men would face murder charges in connection with a 1987 massacre

They would also face charges relating to the role they played in assisting the IFP to establish an offensive paramilitary force

Mr Mufamadi said the suspects would be arrested at court on Thursday by detectives led by Colonel Frank Dutton of the Independent Task Unit.

The pending arrests had far-reaching repercussions for national reconciliation, Mr De Klerk said

In a statement released last night, he said he had asked for temporary immunity, which had also been granted to 117 members of the former liberation movements, including Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise

In this provision, people enjoying temporary immunity will not face any charges until a year after the Truth Commission is established.

However, Mr Mufamadi said at a news conference that it was up to the suspects to take the matter to the Truth Commission



ACCUSED: Former defence chief General Magnus Malan

He had not been approached by anyone on the matter of temporary immunity

He had been in contact with Mr Mandela about the matter yesterday morning

Mr Mufamadi said more arrests could follow

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday the pending arrests almost constituted a national crisis

He had been in telephonic contact with Mr Mandela on Saturday and would seek further meetings with Mr Mandela and Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar

He felt the timing indicated that there was a political motive

Mr Mufamadi last night denied there was any link to the elections

He said the suspects who would be arrested were

Gen Malan, former chief of the SADF General Jannie Geldenhuys, former Chief of Staff Intelligence and twice Chief of the Navy Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, former Chief Director of Intelligence Operations General Neels van Tonder, former Chief of the Army General Kat Liebenberg, former Chief Director of Military Intelligence General Tienie Groenewald, former Director of Special Tasks Brigadier Cor van Niekerk, former Security Officer, Military Intelligence Commandant Jan van der Merwe, former operative, Military Intelligence Colonel Dan Griesel, former Intelligence Officer, Natal Command Lieutenant Colonel Johannes Victor, and former instructor Special Operations Major Jakes Jacobs,

Indictments would also be served on seven other people already arrested in connection with the 1987 kwaMakhuta massacre They were

Brigadier John More, Colonel Louis Botha, IFP assistant general-secretary Mr M Z Khumalo, Mr Peter Msane, Prince Mkhize, Mr Sicelo Ndlovu and Mr Martin Khanyile

Speaking from his home in Pretoria last night General Geldenhuys said the news of his imminent arrest had taken him by surprise

His lawyers had advised him against speaking to the press

It's the first time I've been in a situation like this and I suppose I should listen to them," he said

He confirmed a bail arrangement of R10 000 had been struck with the attorney-general

Gen Groenewald said last night news of the charges came as a surprise and he did not know how he could be linked to murders

He said the pending arrests were a political move by the ANC

Government gets tough

(254) Sowetan 31/10/95

Mandela may want a showdown with the far right which has small armed cells throughout the country, reports Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu**

THE NEWS OF THE PLANNED arrest of former defence minister General Magnus Malan indicates that the government is adopting a tougher attitude to continuing hit squad activities, especially in KwaZulu-Natal

Coming hard on the heels of the rejection last Thursday by President Nelson Mandela of Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen's attempts to secure amnesty for last year's rightwing pre-election bombers, it can only mean the chickens are coming home to roost for the far right

The right wing is livid over the rejection and it is threatening to unleash violence until the Government extends the amnesty date to May 10 1994

This would cover many African National Congress, Azanian People's Organisation and Inkatha Freedom Party members But the FF, as well as the NP, want ultra-rightwingers, who went on a bombing blitz before the elections last year, to be covered too

This would help their stature in the Afrikaner community, as they would be seen to have fought for these men Mandela declined, explaining that the deadline had already been extended from 1991

And as violence continues to ravage many communities in KwaZulu-Natal, to extend the deadline further could send a signal to those involved that they could continue and hope to have the deadline extended later to cover the period in which they were active

It seems Viljoen knew about the imminent arrests of Malan and 11 other senior SA Defence Force members when he pushed for the extension of amnesty last week

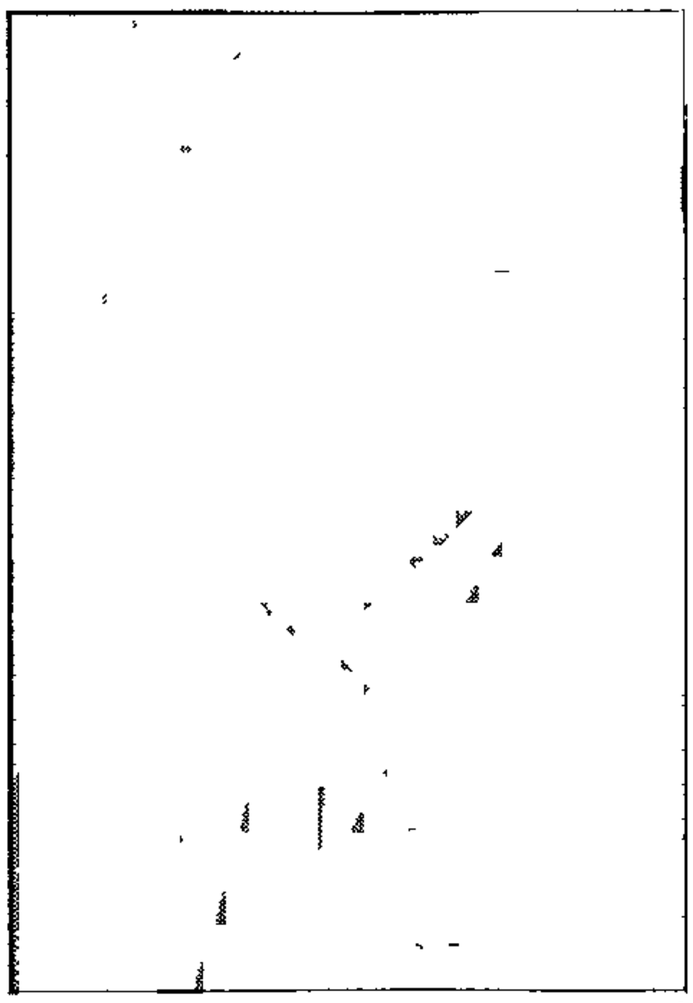
Hit squad empire crumbles

Malan's house of cards is said to have started tumbling when IFP assistant general secretary Mr MZ Khumalo was arrested and fingered Colonel Louis Botha, who in turn fingered Malan

General Tienie Groenewald is said to have been linked to IFP operations in the early 1990s Reliable sources said it is possible Groenewald – and therefore Viljoen – knew what was coming as soon as Khumalo was arrested, hence Viljoen's call on Thursday

Observers attach a lot of significance to the fact that the move against Malan came a few days after the arrest of a number of ANC and IFP members for hit squad activities

It was important, the sources said, to show that it was not just the IFP but the NP as well that was involved in the attacks Viljoen has since said he was encouraged by the fact that the door to amnesty has not been completely shut by Mandela But he expressed disappointment that he did not get his way



General Magnus Malan .. his planned arrest indicates the Government's tough new attitude to hit squad activities.

He also said the Afrikaner could no longer hope for reconciliation under the circumstances

The *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging*, which is the standard-bearer of the armed ultra-right, has threatened violence, saying it cannot guarantee that its members will remain non-violent

Volkstaat carrot

This raises the question of the ability of the far right to launch large-scale attacks and plunge the country into chaos It is known that the right wing had, and may still have, large-scale sympathy in the top echelons of the army and the police

Government sources have indicated that these elements had plans in place before last year's elections to launch countrywide attacks These were only thwarted by the intervention of Mandela and Viljoen When Mandela dangled the carrot of a possible *volkstaat* this was grasped by the far right at the prodding of Viljoen and his committee of generals

Intelligence sources have told *Sowetan* that these plans were shelved but not withdrawn They said the far right has continued to train and arm its membe in small cells in various parts of the countr These cells are under the command of forr r special forces personnel, and are ready to ' ove at a moment's notice

These grou's operate through covert front organisations Judging from this, it seems the threat from the far right could pose a problem for the Government Mandela, however, has said he will not allow the threats to intimidate him into giving in to the amnesty demand

On Sunday Deputy President and NP leader FW de Klerk expressed shock at the arrests and said he had confidence in the integrity of all those involved

Could the latest developments threaten the Government of National Unity? Observers say this is unlikely as De Klerk will have to argue publicly that the due process of justice, based on a thorough investigation by an impartial task force, should be suspended because these were his political allies

Army and police

Could it be that Mandela feels he now has sufficient control and support of the army and police and is daring the far right to a fight? A close Government source said on Sunday "The President can only hope that the men in uniform want to support a clean break with a horrid past

"And that if Malan is proved to have been involved in a specific murder, they would not want to interfere and rise up against the Government The investigation involves a specific incident and is linked to an attack on a civilian house"

Responding to claims that these incidents should be left to the Truth Commission, the source said "The Commission is supposed to establish the truth which would then lead to a trial

"If the truth is already established and known, why wait?"

But Viljoen feels the arrests are linked to the elections, and says they constitute a crisis Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi denies this

Is the country about to be plunged into a crisis or is Mandela sufficiently confident that he is adequately equipped to take on the far right in a psychological – possibly even a military – duel? We will have to wait and see

AL

GNU rocked by arrests

Sowetan 31/10/95 (254)

Buthelezi not daunted by reshuffling of key people in the government

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

THE IMMINENT ARREST of top security officers and the arrest of seven other people in connection with the KwaMakutha massacre in 1987 could result in more arrests and a shaky Government of National Unity

Hot on the heels of the announcement of murder charges relating to the killings, KwaZulu-Natal MEC for safety and security the Reverend Celani Mtetwa was stripped of his position and replaced by premier Frank Mdlalose

Yesterday the Kroon Commission of Inquiry into violence in the Tsolo district in the Eastern Cape called for the dismissal of its safety and security MEC Dr Mlizo Mpehle Premier Raymond Mhlaba dismissed Mpehle soon thereafter He was found unfit for his position

The KwaZulu-Natal region of the ANC says it views the reshuffling of the cabinet "with suspi ion"

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said there was "nothing earth-shattering about a head of government reshuffling his cabinet"

Mtetwa's fall from grace followed the dramatic announcement on Sunday by Minister of Safety and Security Mr Sydney Mufamadi that 11 people would be arraigned for the killing of 13 people in KwaMakhutha in 1987

In the crackdown on the former SADF, among the 11 highly ranked retired military officers is General Magnus Malan, former Defence Minister Others are General Jannie Geldenhuys, former Chief of the SADF, Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, former Chief of Staff of Intelligence, General Nels van Tonder, former Chief Director of Intelligence Operations, General Kat Liebenberg, former Chief of the Army, General Tienie Groenewald, former Chief Director of Military Intelligence,Brigadier Cor van Niekerk, former Director of Special Tasks 2, Commandant Jan van der Merwe, former Security Officer, Military Intelligence, Colonel Dan Griesel, former Operative, Military Intelligence, Lieutenant-Colonel Johannes Victor, former Intelligence Officer, Natal Command, and Major Jakes Jacobs, former Instructor, Special Operations

They are to appear before the Durban Regional Court on Thursday morning for hit-squad killings Seven other people have already been arrested in connection with the killings

The arrests and charges have created ripples of concern in the GNU, with FW de Klerk expressing shock Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said that it constituted a "national crisis" FF senator General Tienie Groenewald is one of the suspects

Arrest of 11: Apartheid ghosts being kept alive, says Viljoen

ANC, FF on collision

(254)

Star 31/10/95

'THE AFRIKANER nation has reached political collapse and its self-image has been torn to pieces'

■ BY PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Murder charges which former defence minister Magnus Malan and 10 other senior apartheid-era military officers will face in Durban on Thursday threaten to wreck the relationship painstakingly built up between the ANC and the right-wing Freedom Front.

Tienie Groenewald, an FF senator and one of the accused, said last night that a "crisis of confidence" had developed between the ANC and the FF and there were indications that the ANC's leaders were adopting a more hard-line approach towards the FF.

He is a former chief director of Military Intelligence, accused of involvement in the 1987 killings of 13 people, including five children under 10, at KwaMakutha, south of Durban. He said the FF's highest policy-making body would meet on November 11, when the charges would be discussed.

The charges against all 11 former high-ranking officers were laid by the independent KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general, Tim McNally, on Friday, and ten of the accused are reported to have appealed for intervention by the FF leader, General Constand Viljoen.

He has been widely credited with steering right-wing political sentiment away from confrontation with the ANC by adopting an approach of "constructive engagement". Groenewald said that while the FF was unlikely to turn its back on co-operation, a "change of emphasis" could emerge from the policy-making body.

Speaking at an election rally south of Johannesburg yesterday, Viljoen warned of a "big reaction" to the charges and said the ANC was conducting a "psychological war to keep the old ghosts of apartheid alive".

He also accused Deputy President FW de Klerk of being responsible for splitting the Afrikaner political ranks.

The Afrikaner nation has reached political collapse because of the National Party.

"The National Party has damaged us as a nation

"The self-image of our nation has been torn into pieces."

Earlier, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a lunchtime gathering at the Johannesburg Library Gardens that the charges posed a threat to reconciliation.

"Right-wing groups who will now not feel part of the transition might consider taking the law into their own hands," Buthelezi said.

He added that there was no doubt there was a political motive and that the timing of the

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ANC–FF collision course

Star 31/10/95 (254)

◄ From Page 1

charges was linked to tomorrow's local government elections.

One FF source said the ANC's recent refusal to extend the amnesty cut-off date from December 6 1993 to May 10 1994 to accommodate right-wing pre-election bombers indicated that the ANC was starting to harden its attitude towards the Right.

Malan, Groenewald, former defence force chiefs Jannie Geldenhuys and Kat Liebenberg, and several other officers will be formally arrested and charged with murder when they appear in the Durban Regional Court on Thursday, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi announced on Sunday night. The trial will be postponed and will continue on December 1.

Groenewald said they had been informed that bail of R10 000 each would be extended. No details of the charges had been supplied yet.

A trial could also negatively affect the upcoming FF-ANC negotiations on an Afrikaner volkstaat.

Malan has labelled the legal action as political expediency and warned of the threat it posed to national reconciliation. The NP warned that "the way in which the matter is handled in the next few days will be a test for the integrity of President Nelson Mandela and the ANC".

Malan charges cause anger, approval from some parties

(254) ARG 31/10/95

JOHANNESBURG. — While the political right has expressed outrage at the news that former Defence Minister Magnus Malan and 10 retired military officers will be charged with murder this week, the African National Congress, Communist Party and Azanian People's Organisation have welcomed the announcement

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi on Sunday night confirmed that General Malan and the 10 former officers would appear in the Durban Regional Court on Thursday to face charges of murder.

The charges relate to the death of 13 people on the night of January 21, 1987, when men with AK47 rifles attacked the KwaMakhutha, KwaZulu-Natal home of United Democratic Front leader Victor Ntuli.

Meanwhile, former 32 Battalion commander Colonel Jan Breytenbach, former KwaZulu Police commissioner Major-General Sipho Mathe and a Major Leonard Langeni were yesterday added to a list of potential state witnesses in the case.

Former security police officer Colonel Louis Botha, former military intelligence officer Brigadier John More, Inkatha Freedom Party deputy secretary-general Zakhele Khumalo and four others appeared in the Durban Regional Court yesterday.

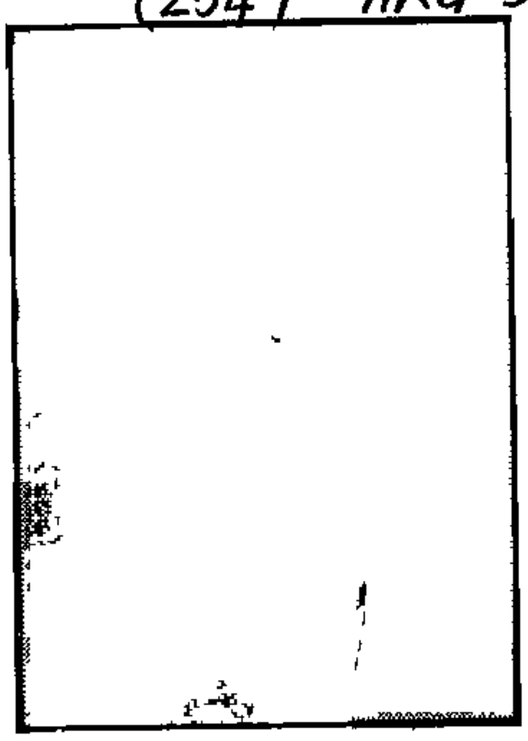
No charges were put and the case was postponed to December 1.

One of the retired top military officers to be charged, former Military Intelligence chief director and Freedom Front senator General Tienie Groenewald, said yesterday the charges "would not stick". He said he had not done anything to be ashamed of.

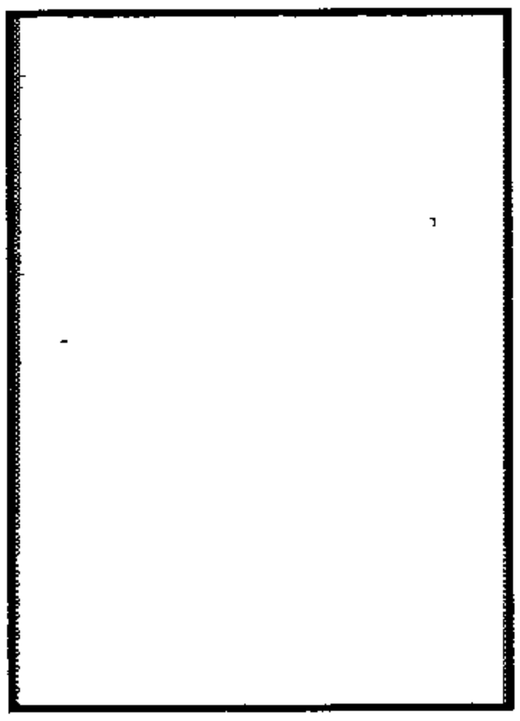
"I cannot be linked to hitsquad or other irregular activities," said Senator Groenewald.

He said he would use the case to prove his innocence.

The African National Congress said statements by National Party leader F W de Klerk on the impending arrest



Constand Viljoen



Tienie Groenewald

and prosecution of General Malan and the others indicated the NP's flagrant disregard for the due process of law.

"The ANC wants to know what the difference is between the current attitude of the deputy president (Mr De Klerk) and his past refusal to investigate or to act against those allegedly involved in third force activities," it said.

It said Mr De Klerk's statements revealed the NP's preference for a selective application of the laws of criminal justice.

"The ANC is of the view that this is purely a criminal matter. We ask: 'Does Deputy President De Klerk and the National Party want to become defenders, apologists or protectors of those who are alleged to be murderers of innocent children and women?'"

The ANC said it was disingenuous of the NP to try to compare the political process that had led to the granting of temporary indemnity to a number of ANC leaders with the criminal activities which General Malan and others were alleged to have committed, and which they had consistently denied and refused to apply for indemnity.

The Communist Party said democracy and reconciliation could not be built and fostered in South Africa if crimes were swept under the carpet.

Welcoming the legal steps being taken against General Malan, the SACP said: "Far from being a sign of frailty of our new democratic institutions, this measure indicates how far we have come."

Azapo said political parties had to allow the courts to decide without hindrance or intimidation the guilt or innocence of General Malan and the others.

It said it noted with concern and anger the threatening comments made by Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen, Mr De Klerk and "other rightwing elements", to the effect that putting the generals on trial would spell the end of reconciliation in South Africa.

Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale said murderers in defence force and police uniforms should face the full wrath of the law in the same way as any other killer.

The Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union said it applauded the pending prosecution.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said the announcement of the prosecution presented a "moral swamp and legal nightmare".

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the warrants of arrest for the former defence minister and security force officers appeared to violate an amnesty agreement between the NP and the ANC.

Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging leader Eugene Terre'-Blanche said the time had arrived for rightwing leaders to unite and mobilise the Afrikaner nation outside the system. — Sapa.

Generals: Viljoen to negotiate

(254) CT 31/10/95

VEREENIGING: Security force generals who are due to appear in court on charges of murder have appealed to Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen to negotiate with President Nelson Mandela and his government on their behalf

Gen Viljoen said yesterday he had contacted Mr Mandela personally in connection with the proposed prosecution of former high-ranking security force officers

Mr Mandela had told him his door was always open and the matter could be discussed at any time

Gen Viljoen said the generals who had appealed to him to intervene on their behalf included former head of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys

He had not been approached by former Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, who is among those due to appear in court in Durban this week on charges of murder

Gen Viljoen, himself a former SADF chief, said he would fight for his former professional colleagues until "my arms are stumps".

Gen Viljoen was addressing the FF's last election rally before the local government poll tomorrow

— Sapa

Urgent move to keep Malan out of the dock

Star 1/11/95 (254)

■ POLITICAL STAFF and REUTERS

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said yesterday his party would seek an urgent interdict today to stop the case against former defence minister Magnus Malan and 10 other retired military officers

Viljoen said he had instructed lawyers to go ahead with an interdict requesting the case against the men be stopped until the Constitutional Court could rule on its merits

Viljoen said he was committed to peaceful and constructive dealings with the ANC-led government and would take up the issue of the arrests with the ANC's top structures, but cautioned he would find it unethical to remain in parliament if military officers acting on orders from their seniors were jailed for politically motivated acts

Malan and the former officers, who are due to face murder charges in the Durban Regional Court tomorrow, were free to apply to the Truth Commission for amnesty, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed yesterday

Ramaphosa said the legislation which set up the Truth Commission allowed for a trial to be suspended pending the outcome of an application for amnesty

"Nobody is being thrown to the wolves, but the law should take its course," Ramaphosa told a media briefing at the ANC's Shell House headquarters

Ramaphosa said he did not expect, however, that a trial would have any effect on relations between the ANC and the FF

Ramaphosa also denied opposition party allegations that the charges against Malan and the others had been deliberately timed to strengthen the ANC's local government election prospects

He launched a withering attack on the opposition parties' handling of the Malan prosecution, alleging that the NP, the IFP and the FF "have demonstrated a blatant disregard for the due process of law"

"Leading this trend is NP leader F W de Klerk, who has called for temporary immunity to be granted to General Malan and his co-accused

"De Klerk is making a mockery of the criminal justice system

"His statements slight the integrity of the law enforcement agencies who are working tirelessly to expose those implicated in the wave of crime and violence that has engulfed our country since the mid-1980s," Ramaphosa said

The calls for temporary immunity ignored the amnesty process provided for by the Truth Commission, he said

Meanwhile, government and

► To Page 3

country and take part in negotiations

These temporary immunities lapse one year after the Truth Commission comes into being If there are charges to be laid within the space of that year, the accused may also apply to the Truth Commission for amnesty

This category differs from that of indemnity from prosecution About 10 000 mostly ANC members were given indemnity in respect of relatively minor crimes

■ Foreign diplomats were briefed on the Malan issue by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi yesterday, officials said

Mufamadi and Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad said afterwards they had assured the international community that the matter would not endanger national reconciliation

Malan and the officers are due to be arrested and then released on bail when they appear in court tomorrow to be formally charged for the murders of 13 people in KwaZulu Natal's KwaMakutha district in 1987

Princeton Lyman, America's ambassador, said after the hour-long meeting that diplomats had received an extensive briefing by Mufamadi Of the pending arrests Lyman said "You have to look at it as a matter that is in the hands of the legal system We must see it played out"

Urgent move to keep Malan out of the dock (254)

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Star 1/11/95

legal sources consulted yesterday repeated that Malan's court appearance did not rule out amnesty

In terms of the interim constitution, anyone who committed an offence during the course of the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary struggles of the past is eligible for amnesty, regardless of whether they have been convicted of a crime as serious as murder A number of criteria have to be met before amnesty can be granted

They are the full disclosure of the truth of any deed committed and whether that deed is proportional to the political aim it was intended to achieve

Then, if the offence was committed before December 6 1993, the person who committed the offence will likely be granted amnesty

De Klerk has asked Mandela to grant "temporary immunity" to Malan and the other accused Thus legal provision applies to about 120 mostly ANC members who include Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Defence Minister Joe Modise

In their cases, no disclosure of any sort has been made But the provision was introduced by the previous government to allow people who could face possible unspecified charges to enter the

Viljoen plans Supreme Court action to prevent arrest of generals

(264) BD 1/11/95

FREEDOM FRONT leader Constand Viljoen said yesterday he would apply for an interdict in the Maritzburg Supreme Court today to prevent the arrest of former defence minister Magnus Malan and 10 generals tomorrow for the murder of 13 people.

Deputy President FW de Klerk, in turn, said yesterday he accepted full responsibility for the previous government's decisions and for decisions implemented by the defence force.

Reuter reports that Viljoen said he would proceed with court action so that "we can go to the Constitutional Court because the arrests contravene a national reconciliation clause in the interim constitution"

Viljoen said he had submitted a memorandum to President Nelson Mandela yesterday, expressing his opposition to the arrests and asking for an urgent meeting to discuss them

KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general Tim McNally ordered the arrests, relating to the killing of 13 persons in KwaMakhutha in January 1987.

Mandela's spokesman Parks Mankahlana said yesterday the president was unlikely to intervene in the arrests row. This was despite pleas by the NP for the men to be granted temporary exemption from prosecution

Sapa reports De Klerk's acceptance of responsibility followed Freedom Front senator Tienie Groenewald's claim that he should be blamed for the murder charges. De Klerk denied he had let the generals down and doubted whether accusations against the generals could be proved

He said there was legal provision for granting temporary amnesty to the generals He was reacting to ANC MP Carl Niehaus, who said necessary legislation had been repealed in the last parliamentary session

De Klerk said "the legislation involved was extended by Parliament during the last session until May 17 1996 and will remain in effect until that date or until the truth and reconciliation Act comes into force"

Susan Russell reports the IFP said yesterday that the arrests confirmed suspicions that the investigation task unit set up by central government to investigate hit squads was a Trojan Horse for the ANC.

IFP safety and security spokesman Velaphi Ndlovu accused the unit of being a politically partisan body pursuing a vendetta against his organisation and its senior officers He claimed unit attorney Howard Varney and his colleagues had been given carte blanche to seek revenge against former political adversaries

He denied the IFP had ever had hit squads, and accused Safety and Secu-

Generals (254)

PDD 1/11/95

Continued from Page 1

rity Minister Sydney Mafumadi of abusing his office to "peddle lies, misinformation and a political vendetta against the IFP".

Ndlovu accused the ANC not only of operating hit squads, but claimed members of them had been integrated into the SA National Defence Force, and the SA Police Service.

Lawyers for Human Rights said McNally had always erred on the side of caution regarding the prosecution of the previous government's security forces "For him to have made the grave decision to prosecute . indicates to us the magnitude of the incriminating evidence available," LHR spokesman Laura Pollecutt said.

NP justice spokesman Danie Schutte accused the ANC of delaying the truth commission by more than four months so that political gain could be obtained by charging the 11 former military officials. It was too much of a coincidence that this matter had surfaced only three days before the election, when the alleged crime happened eight years ago. He accused Justice Minister Dullah Omar and Mufamadi of putting pressure on McNally over the past few weeks.

Viljoen in bid to stop arrests of army brass

CT 1/11/95

(254)

JOHANNESBURG: The Freedom Front (FF) is to seek an urgent interdict today to stop the arrest of former defence minister General Magnus Malan and 10 other retired military officers, leader General Constand Viljoen said.

"We are definitely lodging an (application for an) interdict in the Maritzburg (Supreme) Court so that we can go to the Constitutional Court, because it (the arrests) is in contravention of the national reconciliation clause in the constitution," Gen Viljoen said yesterday.

He said he had instructed lawyers to apply for an interdict preventing the case against the former generals from going ahead until the country's most powerful court could decide its merits under the interim constitution.

"In the past 18 months the Freedom Front has made massive progress and has become a vehicle for Afrikaner politics. I have no plans to abandon my supporters," Gen Viljoen said.

But he would find it unethical to remain in Parliament if military officers who had acted on orders were jailed for politically-motivated actions.

He said he had asked President Nelson Mandela for talks on the impending arrests. Mr Mandela's spokesman, Mr Parks Mankahlana, said the President's door was open for talks.

● Meanwhile, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the organisation had played no role in the decision to prosecute the generals.

"The charges against General Malan and his co-accused arise from criminal investigations by the police and a decision taken by kwaZulu/Natal attorney-general Mr Tim McNally.

"Neither the ANC nor the government played any part in this decision," he stressed. — Reuter

Survivor and her child cowered in a cupboard as the bullets flew

The night of horror that led to an ANC-Right court showdown

Star 2/11/95 (254)

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

At 2 am on January 21 1987, a group of men burst in on a prayer meeting at the house of United Democratic Front supporter Willie Ntuli in KwaMakhutha in Natal and fired at random, killing13 people – most of them women and children

Anna Khumalo grabbed her toddler and hid in a cupboard when the gunmen burst into the house The assailants shot randomly, even under the beds, but did not think of opening the cupboard

After the shooting had stopped, she looked through the window to see a white minibus The floor of the house was carpeted with a multitude of AK-47 cartridges

According to people at the scene, shortly after the massacre, the gunmen were looking for one of the Ntuli family, Victor Ntuli, a member of the UDF-affiliated KwaMakhutha Youth League who was not at home at the time

He had been in hiding for some time after receiving death threats

Immediately after the massacre, which happened during one of the bloodiest years of violence between members of the UDF and Inkatha in KwaZulu Natal, police launched a massive search for the men

It was widely accepted by UDF supporters in the area that the massacre was the work of the IFP, supported by the State's security forces

But to air such views was dangerous, and IFP chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the former PW Botha government were very ready to go to court in response to any suggestion of involvement in hit-squad activity

Eight years on, former SADF chief Gen Magnus Malan and 10 other former high ranking security officials are to be charged with the murders

The case, which like many others looked destined to remain unresolved, was resurrected last year when the Investigation Task Unit was appointed by the Government to formally investigate allegations that hit-squads existed in the former KwaZulu Police Force

Arrests

This team has already arrested seven people allegedly implicated in the KwaMakhutha killings, including former Military Intelligence officer Brig John More, former Durban security policeman Col Louis Botha, the IFP's deputy secretary general Zakhele Khumalo and four special KwaZulu constables.

Their case will now be joined to that of the 11 new accused on December 1 Malan aside, there are among them some well-known names, including former chief of the Army Gen Kat Liebenberg, former chief director of MI, Gen Tienie Groenewald, former Chief of Staff Intelligence Vice Admiral Dries Putter and former Chief of the SADF Gen Jannie Geldenhuys

More arrests are expected to follow, but the crucial decision for the Justice Department is who it will line up as state witnesses rather than put on the stand as accused

Malan, Liebenberg and Groenewald, along with Putter, were only last month listed among the state witnesses when Khumalo and the six others arrested initially appeared in the Durban Supreme Court

The change in their legal status – in the week of the local Government elections – has led to accusations by the IFP and Freedom Front of political gerrymandering on the part of the ANC and the Durban Attorney-General's office, which has been "sitting on the case for some time" according to an informed legal source

Influence

At the time of the massacre, Malan was among the most powerful ministers in the country

With then law and order minister Adriaan Vlok, he exerted extraordinary influence on government decisions through the State Security Council – the most powerful arm of the notorious National Security Management System set up by P W Botha

The system was brought in ostensibly to identify causes of discontent and friction and provide swift official response

In effect, it allowed the formation of police and military death squads which began to be exposed from about 1990 onwards.

In that year, Malan was implicated in the Civil Co-operation Bureau hit squad scandal

Operations undertaken by the bureau, a network of security force cells incorporating civilians begun in 1987, fell under a chain of generals including Malan, Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, former MI chief Gen Witkop Badenhorst and major-general Eddie Webb

When the DP and CP called for Malan's resignation at the time, Malan said he had never given orders to murder

Massacre investigators will act if links found

FW, Buthelezi may be charged

(254) Star 2/11/95

■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO AND JANINE SIMON

Deputy President F W de Klerk and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi may be charged if investigators uncover sufficient evidence that they were linked to the 1987 murder of 13 people in KwaMakutha in KwaZulu Natal

Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi told a press briefing in Johannesburg this morning that "investigations have been running for more than a year and are continuing Police will arrest anyone if evidence comes to light against them", adding that if there was evidence linking the men to the case, they would probably be on the list of witnesses

Former defence minister General Magnus Malan and 10 other retired military officers are to be charged with murder when they appear in court in Durban today after the Freedom Front, on advice of the generals' lawyers, aborted its efforts to secure an interdict to prevent the arrests.

The 11 accused are due to be arrested today in connection with the murder of the 13 people. The generals' pending arrests, which were announced by KwaZulu Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally, has elicited angry reaction from right-wing circles

FF leader General Constand Viljoen said he had called off his planned court application, which was scheduled for the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, after the generals' legal representatives expressed concern that the court action and delay would have a negative impact on their clients

"The generals' unanimous opinion is that they are totally innocent and that they've got to hide away. They want to use the court case to prove beyond any doubt their innocence as quickly



Mufamadi ... probe goes on

as possible They're worried that a delay in the case will not be in their favour After consideration of facts, I've decided to respect the request of the generals," Viljoen said

He said, however,that the principle remained The constitutional clauses regarding national unity and reconciliation stated clearly that amnesty must be granted and that specific efforts should be made towards reconciliation

"As long as there's continuance, shortly prior to the truth commission, with cases against just one party in connection with the conflict of the past, where the other party is promoted by not being charged, this will be in conflict with the clauses of the constitution Then such steps come down to double standards and victimisation," Viljoen said

The FF would again present the case to President Mandela, who yesterday said he would not intervene in the case He said the Government would respect any court decision on the matter

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi has said bail conditions have already been agreed upon

Mufamadi said the investigations, headed by a 33-detective investigation task unit and a civilian-led investigation task force, were launched after statements in mid-1994 by then commissioner of the former KwaZulu police, Lt-Gen Roy During, alleging hit squads were operating in the KwaZulu police

This was seen against a background of mounting evidence pointing to serious abuse of power in that province, including two reports from the Goldstone Commission

The generals are expected to face murder charges relating to the death of 13 people killed in an attack on the KwaZulu Natal home of UDF leader Victor Ntuli on the night of January 21 1987

The generals, whose fingerprints were taken on Tuesday at the Pretoria Police College and who will appear with Malan in court are former minister of defence, Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, former chief of the South African Defence Force Admiral Dries Putter, former SADF Chief of Staff of Intelligence Maj-Gen Neels van Tonder, former SADF Chief Director of Intelligence Operations, Gen Kat Liebenberg, former Chief of the SADF who succeeded Geldenhuys and who was Chief of the Army at the time of the KwaMakutha attack, Maj-Gen Tienie Groenewald, former Chief Director of Military Intelligence, Brig Cor van Niekerk, former Director of Special Tasks Two, Cmdt Jan van der Merwe, former security officer of Military Intelligence, Col Dan Griesel, former operative of Military Intelligence, Lt-Col Johannes Victor, and former intelligence officer, Natal Command, Maj Jakes Jacobs

► Night of horror – Page 6

Viljoen, generals call off bid to prevent murder trial

BD 2/11/95 (254)

Nicola Jenvey

DURBAN — Former defence minister Magnus Malan and the 10 generals expected to be arrested today in connection with alleged hit squad activities in KwaZulu-Natal were advised yesterday against applying for a Supreme Court interdict in Maritzburg as they had "nothing to hide" by standing trial.

Last night Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said legal counsel to the 11 generals had advised that postponing the case would "negatively affect" their prospects.

"The generals believe they are totally and utterly innocent ... and want to prove this as soon as possible As such they are concerned a postponement would not be to their advantage " But the Freedom Front said the constitutional principle of national unity and reconciliation should be upheld and amnesty granted for political crimes committed under the past regime "The constitution clearly states SA should strive towards reconciliation, and as long as there are cases in which only one political party is named for previous conflicts while another party does not face criminal charges, there is a discrepancy," Viljoen said

Prosecuting the generals amounted to double standards

Viljoen said the matter had been brought to President Nelson Mandela's attention in August, but no answer had been received The front would try again to present its case in accordance with the 1994 pact between the ANC, the front and then NP government "Such conflicts can be resolved through negotiation and we shall take this issue to the Constitutional Court."

Meanwhile, Sapa reports President Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would not intervene in the generals' case, and justice should run its course

The generals will appear in the Durban Regional Court today on charges relating to the killing of 13 people in KwaMakhutha during January 1987.

Mandela, and PW swop warnings on trial of the generals

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

WILDERNESS — President Nelson Mandela and former President P W Botha have exchanged dire warnings of awakening "the tiger of the Afrikaner" and the wrath of the mass of the people.

The warnings followed discussions on the handling of the prosecution of former security force generals.

Following a two-hour and 20 minute meeting today at Mr Botha's home, Die Anker, Mr Mandela said Mr Botha was a key figure in efforts to ensure peace and security in the country.

They had discussed the trial of General Magnus Malan and other top former security force officers

Mr Mandela said he had told Mr Botha that any suggestion the prosecutions were politically motivated was tantamount to questioning the integrity of the police and KwaZulu/Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally.

Mr Mandela said he would not interfere in the independence of the judiciary

Replying to Mr Botha's warning that "the tiger of the Afrikaner" would be awoken by the prosecution of the generals, Mr Mandela said: "Our people fought and gained independence without asking the permission of anyone.

"We have now tasted freedom and they will . to keep their freedom pick up stones and bring down bombers and crush military tanks, so determined are they."

Mr Botha said he and Mr Mandela had had a discussion about the history of the Boer people and the Xhosa people. He said he would not appear before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

"I am not going to repent. I am not going to ask for favours. What I did I did for my country, my God and my people, and all the people of South Africa

"If generals Malan and (Jannie) Geldenhuys are prosecuted in a wrong way, things can lead to disaster"

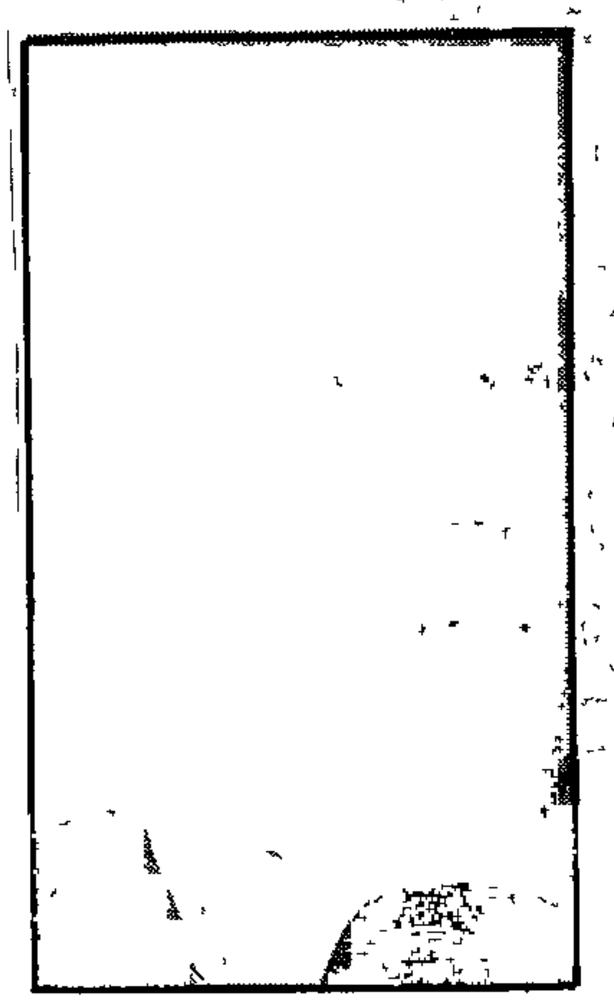
Mr Botha emphasised he was not a member of any political party. He said he had warned Mr Mandela that the present "American" system of government in South Africa would destroy the president himself if he did not take care about the wrong way certain people were taking.

Freedom Front leader Constant Viljoen, who was also present at the meeting, asked Mr Mandela to put a moratorium on all prosecutions of this kind until the Truth and Reconciliation Commission had been established

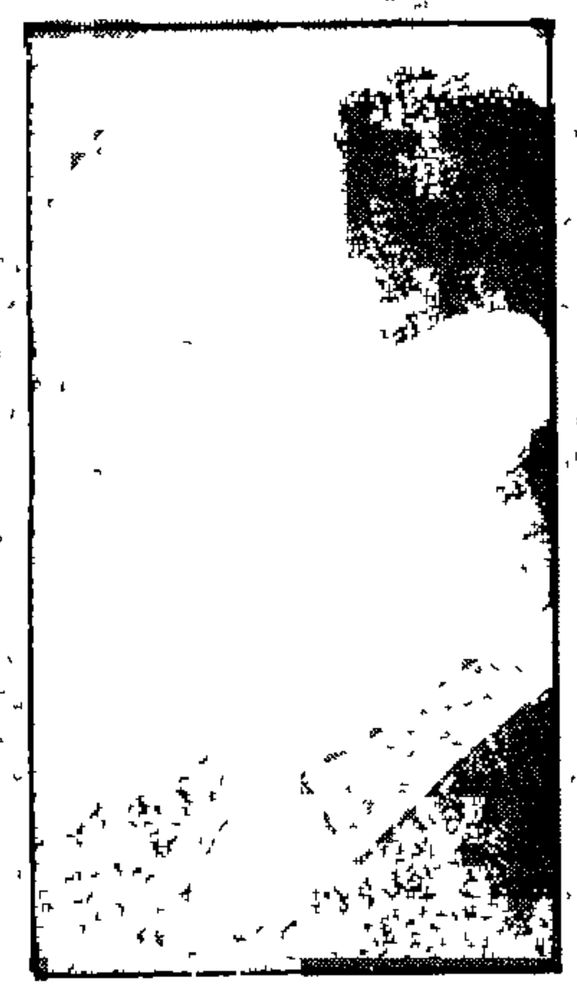
Mr Mandela said he had noted what General Viljoen had asked for.

Day of the generals

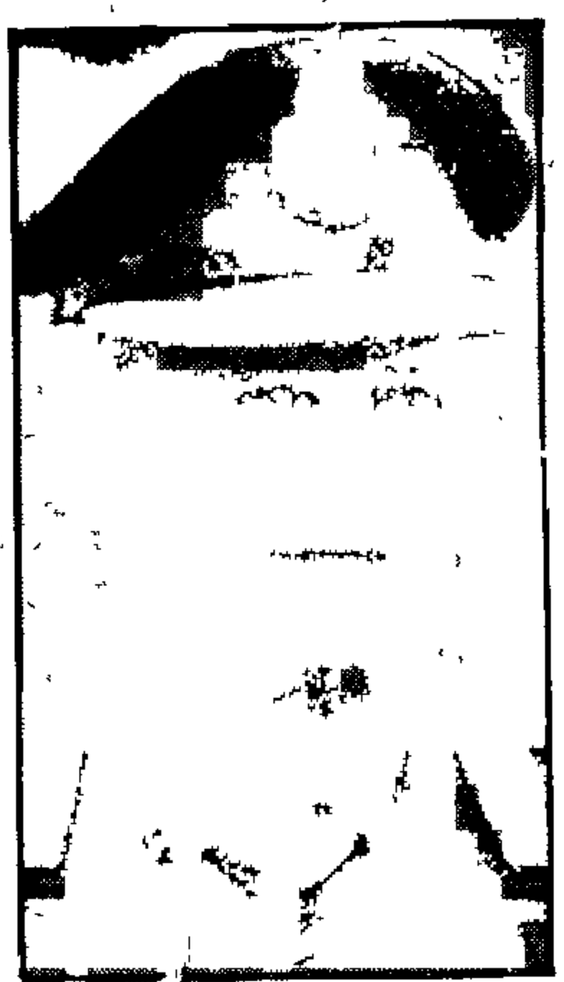
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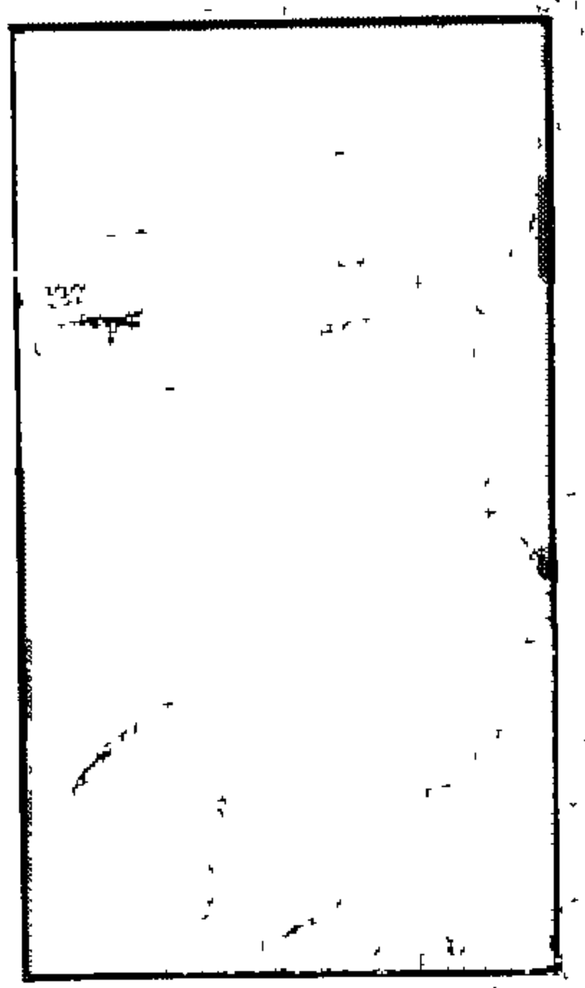
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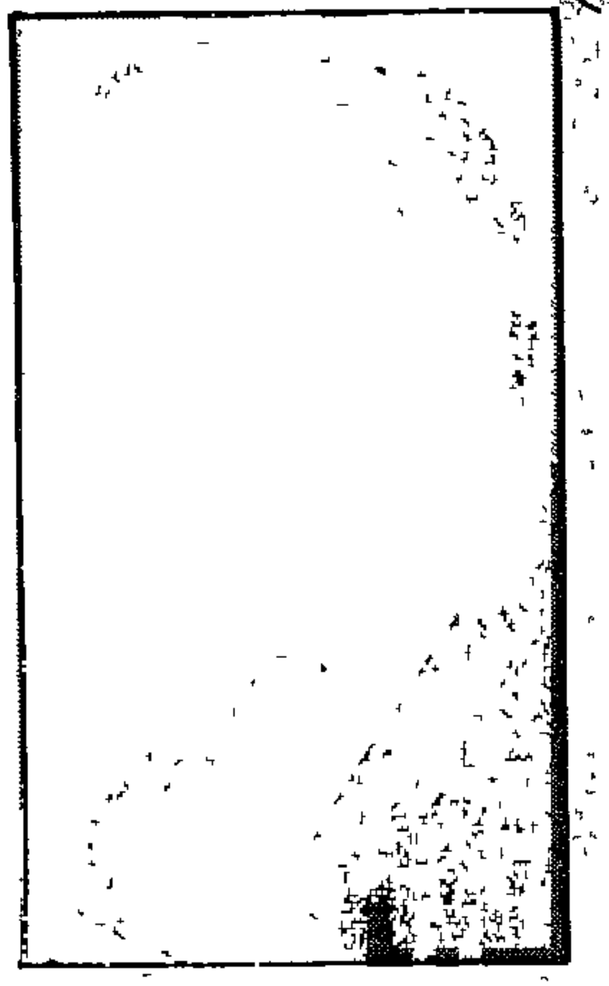
MAGNUS MALAN



JANNIE GELDENHUYS



KAT LIEBENBERG



TIENIE GROENEWALD

The Argus Correspondent reports from DURBAN

ARG 2/11/95 (2)

FORMER defence minister Magnus Malan cut a lonely figure in court today, despite appearing in a jam-packed room along with his former colleagues, journalists and members of the "generals' club"

Deeply tanned and looking severe, he and his co-accused filed into court and stood in a row in front of the dock.

Minutes earlier they completed the lengthly process of paying bail and having their fingerprints and photographs taken, a court official said

"It's darn humiliating," said one of the accused, Freedom Front MP, and former Military Intelligence chief director, Tienie Groenewald

Their actual court appearance was over in about 15 minutes

As deputy Attorney General Benny Schonfeldt addressed the magistrate, busy chatter was heard from outside where heavily armed policemen with walkie-talkies stood guard.

After the proceedings, General Malan's sullen look kept journalists at bay as he stood in line with his co-accused.

They greeted about 18 former army and police generals who lined up to shake their hands

The generals, including former police commissioner Johan van de Merwe and former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, had arrived together in a bus an hour before General Malan, pledging "moral support".

Freedom Front leader Constandt Viljoen arrived a short while later.

He described the arrests as "the raping of the constitution" and said "I have all the intention in the world to fight this will all the means at my disposal"

General Malan gave the thumbs-up sign as he was driven away from the court to chants of "down with killers" from a group at the court entrance.

Speaking briefly before he left, General Malan said "I am a moderate. I am a democrat I believe in the democratic development of South Africa. Above all, I am a Christian and proud of it"

"What happened here today has caused the biggest crisis in the democracy that is South Africa"

General Malan said he would make a further statement this weekend

Angry protesters outside demanded that the accused be "arrested and put in prison"

Magnus charged

Malan
Democracy entering its darkest hour, Malan tells media

(254) ARG 2/11/95

The Argus Correspondent
and Sapa

FORMER Minister of Defence Magnus Malan and 10 high-ranking security officers who served under the previous government were today arrested in connection with murder charges

The charges related to the alleged massacre of 13 people, including several women and children, at KwaMakhuta in KwaZulu-Natal on January 21, 1987

General Malan is the first cabinet member of the former National Party government to be charged in court for alleged actions associated with clashes between those who upheld apartheid and those who opposed it

The accused were not asked to plead and were granted bail ranging from R3 000 to R10 000 each

Conditions of bail are that they do not contact or intimidate, directly or indirectly, state witnesses involved in the case Each is to report once a week to a police station in his respective residential area

Regional Court Magistrate J J Augustyn postponed the case to December 1, when Supreme Court indictments will be handed down.

The former security chiefs arrived in two white mini-buses and two cars and were driven immediately through the side entrance to the court building Most of them turned their faces away from the waiting media contingent

Deep in concentration, General Malan stared fixedly away from the cameras To the news people who managed to catch a glimpse of him he appeared strained and drawn

General Malan and his 10 co-accused will be added to the list of seven others accused of murder in connection with the KwaMakhuta massacre.

They will all appear in the Supreme Court on December 1

Representatives of most major political parties attended the hearing

Yesterday the Freedom Front decided not to proceed with plans to lodge an urgent Supreme Court interdict to prevent today's appearance The FF claimed the appearance was unconstitutional as it prejudiced reconciliation

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen today said the accused believed any delay in the case would delay the opportunity of defendants to prove their innocence

Democracy in South Africa was entering its darkest hour ever, General Malan said outside the court.

Addressing a massive media contingent after appearing in court, he said democracy in South Africa was entering a crisis.

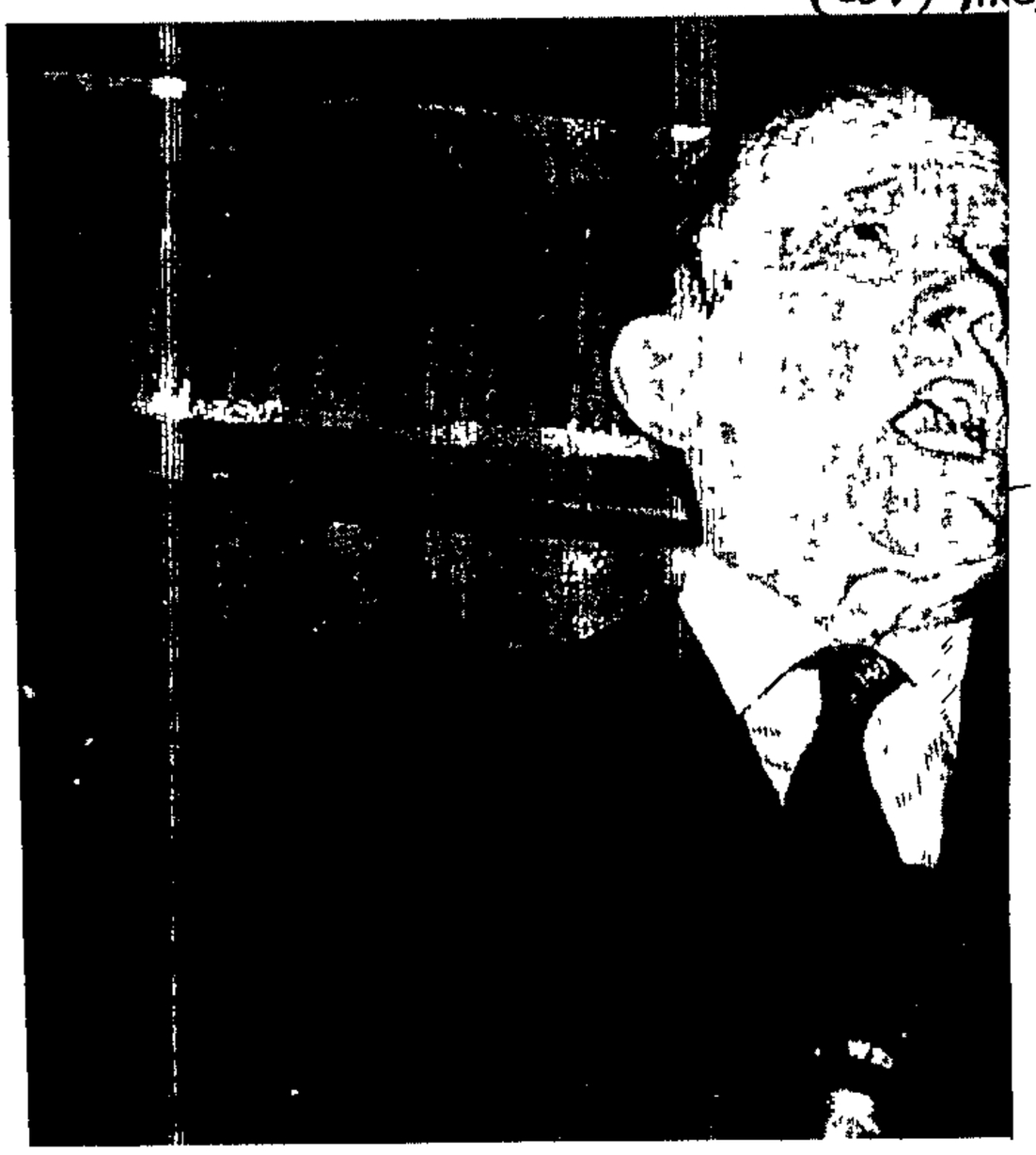
He said he was a democrat and a Christian and believed in the maintenance of family values

General Malan said he would issue a more detailed statement at the weekend

A group of about 100 protesters heckled General Malan and the ten co-accused as they left the court building under tight security

The 11 were whisked away under police guard — Sapa

● Day of the generals — page 25.



CHARGED General Magnus Malan addresses the press outside the Durban Magi appeared in connection with murder charge

Huge coloured swing to ANC

ARG 2/11/95 (263)

Political Staff

WESTERN Cape local government election results showed a mass defection of coloured voters from the National Party to the African National Congress

The swing gave the ANC control over scores of NP strongholds, including Beaufort West, Worcester, Riversdale, Saldanha Bay, Swellendam, Vredendal, Wolseley and Ashton

As counting proceeded in larger towns adjoining the Cape Town metro area — including Paarl and Stellenbosch — a close finish was being forecast

In Stellenbosch late today, the ANC had won seven wards to the NP's two, with three wards still outstanding

But it was unclear whether or not this would translate into ANC control of the town once proportional representation seats were allocated to the parties on the local council

In Grabouw, the ANC had won three seats, to one each for the NP and the Pan Africanist Congress, with votes in one ward still to be counted and proportional representation seats still to be awarded.

In last year's elections, the ANC won about 20 percent of coloured votes in rural areas Initial results in the local elections show a swing of at least 30 percent to the ANC

"Our estimate is that we are averaging between 55 to 60 percent of the votes in the coloured community," said provincial leader Chris Nissen

He expected the trend would be repeated throughout the province as further results became known

In early results, the NP won the small towns of Yzerfontein, Koringberg, Redelinghuis and Aurora

But at the same stage of counting, the ANC had won 83, about 42 percent, of 198 seats on local councils Counting in allied candidates, the ANC has won 46 percent of seats

In Worcester, the ANC won all three coloured wards, the five Zwelethemba wards and three from the proportional list to secure 11 seats on the 17-member council The remaining six seats went to the NP

In Riversdale the ANC won six of the

The Third Force: Apartheid's chickens

Caprivi camp at

Mail and Guardian reporters

GENERAL Magnus Malan and 10 former colleagues were arrested because police seized top-secret documents linking them to an Inkatha hit-squad and the birth of the "Third Force"

KwaZulu-Natal's cautious Attorney General Tim McNally ordered the men's arrest because of information in a secret file handed to him by the province's crack Investigation Task Unit, set up by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi.

The *Mail & Gaurdian* has established the ITU has evidence about a secret subcommittee of the State Security Council (SSC) which facilitated the training of a hit-squad loyal to Inkatha.

The squad is accused of carrying out political assassinations in KwaZulu-Natal, and its establishment in 1986/87 marked the beginning of "Third Force" operations in South Africa, which led to the deaths of thousands of people.

The SSC co-ordinated the former government's strategy of total onslaught against its political opponents. Malan, as then-Minister of Defence, served on the SSC, and his co-accused are alleged to have been members of the subcommittee

The brief of the SSC subcommittee — chaired by former chief of the army General "Kat" Liebenberg — was to facilitate a programme to train and arm 200 young men loyal to Inkatha to counter the growing popularity of the United Democratic Front and perceived military strength of the African National Congress' military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe in KwaZulu-Natal during the 1980s.

It was this team of highly-trained hitmen, dubbed the Caprivi 200, which is accused of the 1987 KwaMakutha massacre, in which 13 civilians, including six children, were indiscriminately slaughtered

The truth commission will only work if the government has the resolve to prosecute those who don't make disclosures. What is happening now is a precondition for the commission to work

The SSC subcommittee arranged for the group to be sent to the Caprivi Strip in 1986, where they were trained by SADF special forces in offensive warfare techniques

On the basis of evidence collected so far, the office of the Natal attorney general has presented the courts with two legs to a trial around the KwaMakutha killings, one of the most gruesome massacres in KwaZulu-Natal's ongoing civil war

The first leg involves charges against members of the Caprivi 200 team accused of carrying out the massacre

The second and latest involves General Malan and his former colleagues, who will be accused of setting up the Caprivi force.

Pg: 1

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MG

3-9/11/95

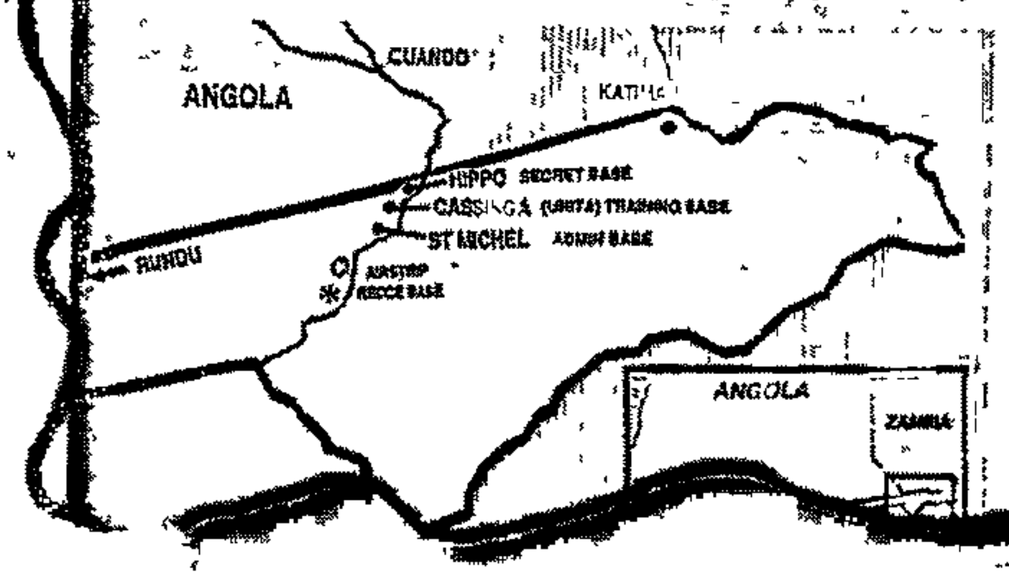
come home to roost with the arrest of retired generals and a former defence minister

the heart of evidence against generals

(254) MG 3-9/11/95

EXPOSED: *Caprivi base where SADF officers gave lessons in guerrilla tactics*

Inkatha's secret training base



EDDIE KOCH reports on evidence of a Renamo connection

AN elite unit of Inkatha fighters has been trained in guerrilla warfare by South African army officers at a secret base in the Caprivi Strip.

The base, called Hippo and located on the banks of the Cuando River 80km west of Katima Mulilo, fell under the control of Chief of Staff Intelligence.

The operation of the South African Defence Force took over control of the Mozambique guerrilla group, Renamo, from the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation in the 1970s and turned it into the clandestine force that it is today.

The Inkatha training base fell under the command of [illegible] Breytenbach, [illegible] that part, been involved in support for Renamo and has recruited Mozambicans, Angolans and former Zimbabwean dissidents into its ranks.

The Hippo base trained at least 200 Inkatha guerrillas in 1986. The SADF officer in charge of training was Major Nicky Jacobs. He was assisted by a lieutenant and sergeant and another officer. Some recruits remember being met by four white men who slapped them on the back and told them how they were going to make soldiers of them.

"A trainee base [illegible], an ordinary [illegible]

At least two batches of Inkatha fighters, each about 100 strong, were trained to use AK-47s, RPG7 rocket launchers, G3 submachine guns, Browning machine guns and anti-personnel mines. The course at Hippo lasted seven months and included lessons in urban and guerrilla warfare, use of explosives and demolition, and contra mobilisation — a form of military intelligence work.

The recruits were never told where the base was but remember seeing elephant, giraffe and lion. Some were led to believe that they were in Z[illegible]

After training was [illegible] divided into [illegible]

where some of them were required to train other Inkatha members. One of these units spent two weeks at a farm north of Pretoria, where they went on a refresher course.

These details have been denied by the government of kwaZulu and a representative of the SADF told said he had no knowledge of the Inkatha training base. However, they have been verified by a former member of the military's Civil Co-Operation Bureau (CCB), a member of the SADF who served in the Caprivi Strip region at the time, and by Inkatha members who were trained at Hippo and have made statements to lawyers about their experiences.

There are also [illegible] that there was, at [illegible] training camp for

Our story which first exposed the Caprivi camp in September 1990

In the first case, among the seven accused are four KwaZulu policemen who went for training at the Caprivi Strip Peter Msane, Celukwanda Ndlovu, Prince Mkhize and Martin Khanyile Accused with them are former military intelligence officer, Brigadier John More, who will be accused of assisting with planning, and Colonel Louis Botha, who will be accused of clearing tell-tale signs of the slaughter.

The seventh accused is IFP deputy secretary-general MZ Khumalo, allegedly in control of the Caprivi men when they returned to KwaZulu-Natal after their training

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said he was sure IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi knew of the involvement of Malan and military officers in operations designed to beef up Inkatha's military strength

"I am sure this was dealt with by the previous National Party government and the KwaZulu homeland government Surely they should have discussed it government to government," Viljoen told reporters at an election rally in Vereeniging

"They have been involved in reinforcing the KwaZulu people and Chief Buthelezi (then chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland) in order to defend themselves against the onslaught of the United Democratic Front and the ANC revolutionary war "

The crackdown by Mufamadi on Malan and his colleagues could lead to further arrests and convictions Azhar Cachalia, secretary for Safety and Security, this week told the *M&G* the success of the truth commission depended on the vigorous prosecution of people from security forces — and also the ANC — who refuse to come clean about past acts of violence

"It was clear that several of those who have been charged in this case would not have co-operated with the truth commission The commission will only work if the government has the resolve to prosecute those who don't make disclosures — and this applies to members of the liberation movement and the state's forces. What is happening now is a precondition for the truth commission to work."

● Howard Varney, a lawyer advising the ITU, said this week the Malan case was at such a sensitive stage he could not discuss it with the press

Indemnity may be hard to come by

(254) MG 3-9/11/95

THERE is only one route open to General Magnus Malan if he wants to avoid the trial which is ahead of him.

He and his co-accused can ask the court in Durban for a stay of pro-

'No reconciliation truth' – massacre

(20) MG 8-9/11/95

ERNEST THUSINI used to be a religious leader But it was the brutal murder of five of his children at KwaMakhutha on January 21 1987 that brought him into politics

"I think the attack motivated me to go into politics because I believed I had to do something to help enable these changes to take place. Once there was change it would give me the self-fulfillment that my children did not die for nothing," the African



The aftermath: Survivors of the KwaMakhutha massacre

Former top cops show support

(254) MG 3-9/11/95

FORMER defence minister Magnus Malan said the arrests yesterday of himself and 10 former military officials were the "biggest crisis for democracy in South Africa".

Speaking to journalists after the 11 men appeared in court in connection with the 1987 KwaMakhutha massacre, Malan shouted over dozens of black protesters outside the Durban Regional Court, who yelled "murderers" and sang in Zulu.

Earlier, inside the courtroom, dozens of former police and military heads, as well as former law and order minister Adriaan Vlok and former police commissioner Johan van der Merwe, lined up to shake the hands of the stony-faced accused after bail conditions were set.

Most of the men were ordered to pay R10 000 bail, and all were instructed to report to various police stations weekly — some, ironically, to Pretoria's Adriaan Vlok station — and to hand in their passports to ITU head Colonel Frank Dutton. The men are due to appear again with seven other suspects, for the 1987 KwaMakhutha murders on December 1, when an indictment will be served.

● The impending arrest of Malan and his co-accused was leaked last week by right-wing sources to the Afrikaans weekly, *Rapport*. Malan was originally due to have been arrested on Monday, but Malan's lawyers asked for time and the AG agreed to delay their appearance until yesterday.

without survivor

National Congress Durban Metropolitan councillor said this week

Thusini and his wife Faith were among five survivors of the gruesome massacre, saved by a wardrobe which hid them from the attackers' view His sons Sanele (4), Mbusa (6), Vikile (7), and Phumzile (8), and daughter Nomfundo (10), were less fortunate

Lashing out at attempts this week by Deputy President FW de Klerk and Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen to have the arrests of former defence minister Magnus Malan and 10 former military officials quashed, Thusini says "Without truth, there can be no reconciliation"

"In no way will I accept it if those guys just sweep it under the carpet There has to be truth and it has to be the real truth It's not even proper for them to ask for a blanket amnesty because morally, as a human being, you cannot escape letting the country know what it needs to know It would be cynical and hypocritical for them to try to use some route to escape," he said.

Thusini argued that if Malan and company were able to escape "the rule of law", it would mean nothing had changed in South Africa "You don't change by voting, change has to come from within"

While Thusini feels that "if there is concrete evidence, people should have to face trial before seeking amnesty", he supports the truth and reconciliation process — even for the men who caused him the "devastating" loss of his children

"It was something that was agreed by all the parties in order to heal the wounds of the past We need to know what happened I believe that even though my children won't come back, if the truth can come out it will help to heal the whole country"



General amnesty? From left Former generals Magnus Malan, Tienie Groenewald and Jannie Geldenhuys — the most senior of the 11 accused

Caprivi camp was first exposed five years ago

(254) MG 3-9/11/95

THE Weekly Mail (now the *Mail & Guardian*) first exposed the existence of the Caprivi 200 hit-squad in 1990, when it reported the group was trained at a secret training base called Hippo on the banks of the Cuando River in the Caprivi Strip

The base was not far from the Angolan border and was controlled by the South African military's chief of staff intelligence

At least two batches of Inkatha fighters — each about 100 strong — were trained to use AK-47s, RPG7 rocket launchers, G3 automatic rifles, Browning machine guns and anti-personnel mines The course at Hippo lasted seven months and included lessons on urban and guerrilla warfare, use of explosives and demolition methods

The South African Defence Force's officer in charge of training was Major "Jakes" Jacobs, a former instructor for military special operations Jacobs and Brigadier Cor Van Niekerk, former director of the military's Special Tasks 2 unit, are among the military officers charged with Malan in connection with the KwaMakhutha massacre

The ITU made a vital breakthrough in its investigation into Third Force violence in February this year when Daluxolo Luthuli, former commander of the Caprivi 200, decided to defect from Ulundi and co-operate with the ITU

At the time, Luthuli told *M&G* freelance reporter Enoch Mthembu he acted as chief of staff for the Caprivi 200 and also Inkatha's military council between 1987 and the early 1990s

"They (the paramilitary units) were killing Inkatha opponents, that is ANC leaders, with instructions from IFP leaders Sometimes they would kill ANC people at their own discretion and then report back to their seniors so that cover-ups could take place," he said

Luthuli said during the interview he had decided to defect from Inkatha because he regretted his role in the hit-squad network

● Many of the Caprivi 200 are still employed in old KwaZulu Police structures now absorbed into the South African Police Service

ceedings because they wish to take their case to the Amnesty Committee within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission when it is set up early next year.

Then the Natal attorney general, in consultation with that committee, may decide to ask the presiding judge for charges to be withdrawn and for the matter to be handled by the truth commission. The judge may refuse, and the decision of the court will be final.

But the attorney general may also decide to turn down the request for the matter to be referred to the Amnesty Committee, especially if the charges relate to murder.

But even if the case is referred to the truth commission, amnesty will not be automatic. Questions of proportionality will temper mercy.

There have been two previous procedures for indemnity since the African National Congress was unbanned. The first was in 1990, when the National Party government needed a device to negotiate with exiled members of the ANC who were also wanted for various breaches of the law

The device was complemented by the Further Indemnity Act of 1992. Killers from the right wing, the ANC, Inkatha, and the Pan Africanist Congress were released from prison and indemnified. But only a handful of security force members sought indemnity from prosecution. At no time did former President FW de Klerk advise soldiers and policemen to seek indemnity under that Act.

Neither Malan nor his co-accused asked for indemnity until shortly before last year's general election. Then Malan and about 3 500 former and serving members of the security forces attempted to get indemnity in a mass application. Their applications could not be processed because none of those seeking indemnity specified any crimes.

And now it is too late. That legislation has fallen away.

It would seem, therefore, that Malan and his co-accused have probably got a long trial ahead of them.

...he issue is new ships for the navy. Try explaining that to North West Province, says The Star's Defence Correspondent ***Norman Chandler.***

We must fight for our navy

Star 3/11/95 (254)

Bis peccare in bello non licet The Latin proverb says that in war one may not blunder twice, and it can also be said that in peace one shouldn't blunder either

But that appears to be precisely what is being done by the doves of the South African political arena as efforts by the South African Navy to obtain new ships, or be declared obsolete, appear to be rebuffed at every turn

Blundering during peacetime on taking decisions over whether or not to re-equip the military, let alone its Senior Service, is tantamount to admitting defeat even before a war breaks out because, without new ships, there is no way that this country will be able to defend the important Cape sea route nor the ports (and, of course, the cities and regions which support those harbours)

As learned by Britain, the United States and other countries at the outbreak of World War 2, it is best to be prepared for potential conflict than not to be prepared and to fall into the quagmire of debate over what is the moral way to act

It took the Allied nations five years to subdue Germany, Italy and Japan simply because the politicians of the day did not believe their military analysts and strategists, and so put off the manufacture of war material until it was almost too late History is full of warnings which have not been heeded

The awesome devastation of life and limb, the economy, and finally the country itself, does not appear to be realised by politicians, who would rather see navy spending shifted to socio-economic projects, such as those mooted under the Reconstruction and Development Programme

These programmes are important, but as defence analysts point out they should not be put into practice at the expense of lessening the country's deterrent capability

The political doves also ask, somewhat naively if one takes into account the instability of the world at this time (Bosnia, ethnic wars in Africa, and militant Muslim fundamentalists are some examples), whether the enemy is an imaginary one

The focus on the inability of our navy to defend the coastline has been emphasised in recent days by the Deputy Defence Minister, Ronnie Kasrils, and the Chief of the Navy, Vice Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson, both of whom have said, inter alia, that South Africa could rue the day the Government gave the thumbs down to the purchase of new ships

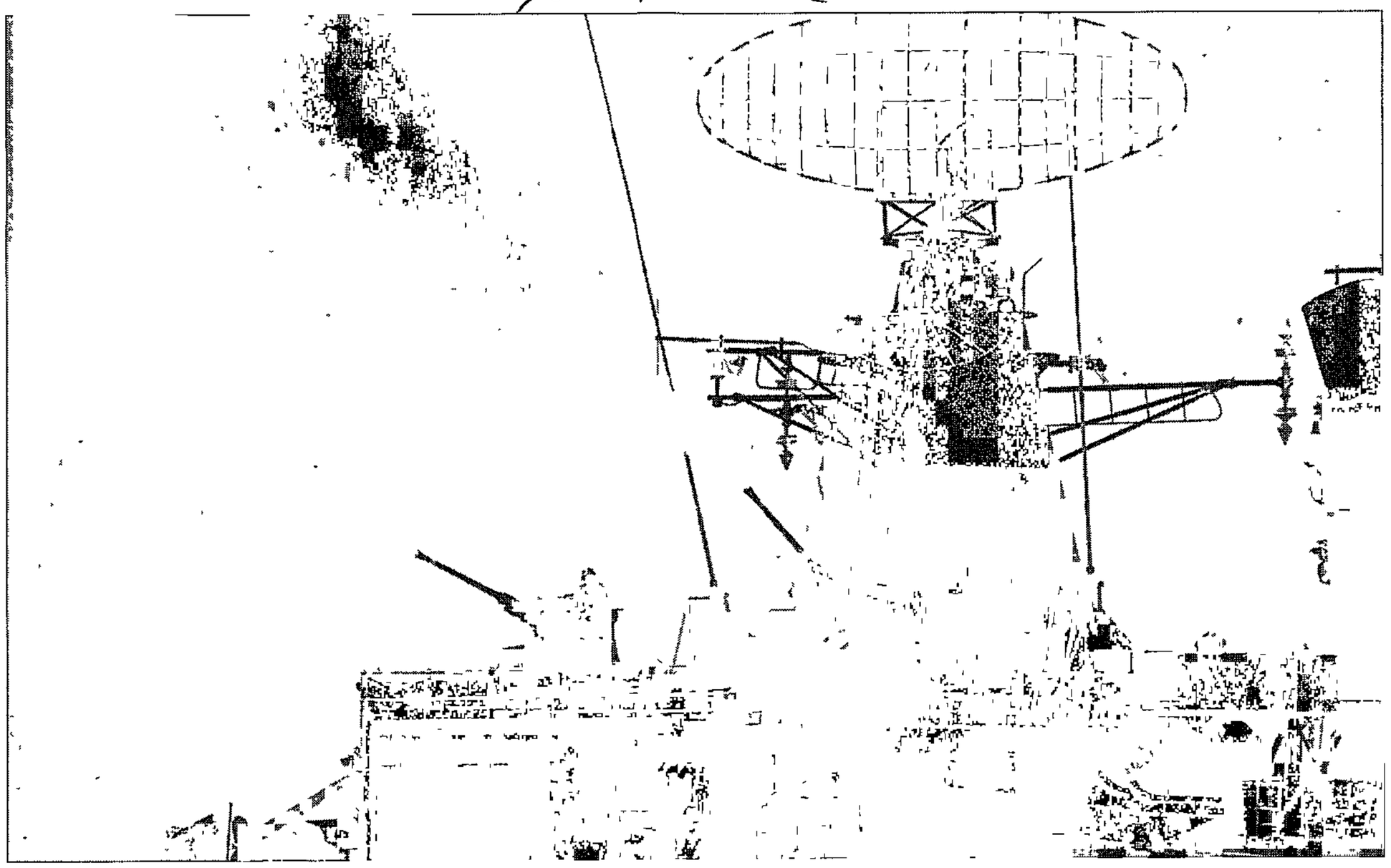
Simpson-Anderson has made it plain that he is presiding over a navy which faces being declared obsolete unless there is a turnaround in attitudes in government, Parliament and the streets

A debate lasting eight months has been going on over whether or not the navy should be allowed to purchase ships It has focused on a R1,4-billion proposed order from Armscor, the national armaments procurer, for four modern light corvette-type patrol vessels (or similar frigates), a ship, displacing about 2 500 tons which would be able to perform in both peace and war in the unpredictable waters around the South African coast

Unfortunately for the navy, it would appear that politicians have gained the upper hand through inexperience by military authorities in not carrying the debate into the public arena

The navy chose, instead, to argue its case in the correct military manner – in military and government circles, and through parliamentary committees That gave the anti-ships lobby the chance they needed, and which they have seized with gusto

The navy, not Armscor, can be blamed for the way they have tried to put their points of view because the culture of secrecy, a throwback to the total onslaught era, in most military dealings has not yet been totally expunged There are still many facts of the matter which should be fed into the public mind



War games ... smoke hangs over a South African naval frigate as anti-aircraft guns fire a burst at an attacking aircraft during manoeuvres. It is ships such as these that need replacing.

The time, however, appears to have arrived for a gloves-off fight to the death, as indicated by Kasrils when he told the Navies in War and Peace conference at Simon's Town recently that he was pledging himself to supporting the navy in getting those ships Kasrils has a lot of friends at court, so to speak, and is therefore a formidable opponent for the doves

Simpson-Anderson said in his introduction to the annual policy review which he read to the conference "We have seen a drastic change in the decision-making environment recently We are experiencing the dynamics resulting from the emerging public debate on defence issues and the need for greater commitment to the well-being and stability of the region

"We are also becoming aware of our growing moral commitment towards international peacekeeping efforts These developments take place within the context of greater pressures on the national budget due to the urgent requirement to address the social and structural imbalances in our society.

"For naval planners, there is the additional problem, not only the impending block obsolescence of the operational fleet stemming from the years of financial neglect and the traditionally excessive landward focus of South African politicians and defence planners alike, (of being) affected by the steadily increasing scope of the maritime task"

There was a "clear and concise case for the existence of navies as an integral part of the armed forces particularly when such a state is highly dependent on trade across the sea, which South Africa undoubtedly is

"The South African taxpayer therefore invests in his or her navy in the first instance for its ability to fight at sea Once this investment has been made and the navy is at peace, there is every reason, however, to enhance the return on this investment by utilising the subsidiary value to meet the national commitment towards the maintenance of good order at sea"

What this means is that South Africa needs a navy that can operate in both war and peace, a navy which can protect the coastline and the cities during hostilities and which can again protect the country from piracy, smugglers, environmental dangers and transgressions of our national sovereignty

As it stands at present, the navy is unable to fully carry out its peacetime obligations and is limping along with little or no chance of being able to do a proper policing job

This point was made bluntly by Kasrils "We have to defend the people of this country and not to invest in a navy is like leaving our home with gates, doors and windows unlocked We need the ships to defend us."

The ships are wanted not only for the defence of the long South African coastline Other countries in the region – notably Angola, Namibia and Mozambique – are just as concerned about our navy and its future

"Every time (Defence Minister Joe) Modise talks to their defence chiefs, the message is 'Please get those ships' They are terribly worried about their undefended coastlines and look to us to help them," says Kasrils

Those countries also regard South Africa as the regional power, able to defend them and itself

The thousands of kilometres of coastline from northern Mozambique to the northern tip of Angola are poorly policed

An example of this is the success of French mercenary Bob Denard in sailing an ageing cable-layer round the Cape, up the east coast and through the Mozambique Channel to the Comores in late September

The chances of him being stopped would have been immeasurably enhanced had the South African Navy been capable of stopping his ship within our exclusive economic zone, up to 300 nautical miles from the coast

It is that sort of peacetime mission which would have earned plaudits for the navy

Star 3/11/95

NG heads meet with Mandela on Malan arrests

(254)

■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO
POLITICAL REPORTER

A top-level delegation of the NG Kerk met President Nelson Mandela yesterday and pleaded for "even-handedness" and "equal justice" on behalf of former Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan and 10 other retired generals who appeared in a Durban court yesterday on murder charges.

Mandela met the delegation, led by NG Kerk Moderator the Rev Freek Swanepoel, at his Pretoria residence Mahlamapa'Ndlofu.

Swanepoel told The Star that the generals' plight was the only issue discussed at the meeting, which took place at the President's request.

"The President briefed us about developments since Friday and our only request was that all cases should be handled even-handedly and that there should be the same justice for everyone," Swanepoel said.

The Star understands that Mandela wants the matter to remain and found no moral basis for the church to be involved in a purely criminal matter.

Reconciliation

Yesterday Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen said he had requested a meeting with Mandela, where he would seek to convince the president that "if he really is serious about reconciliation he should be careful about this act"

"I sent a memorandum to him on Tuesday and am still awaiting a reply," he said.

Viljoen said he was prepared to take the case to the Constitutional Court in order to determine whether the criminal charges against the generals were in violation of constitutional provisions regarding reconciliation and equality before the law

Earlier, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said the investigations would continue and that Deputy President F W de Klerk and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be investigated if the probe implicated them.

Mufamadi said: "Investigations have been running for more than a year and are continuing. Police will arrest anyone if evidence comes to light against them."

Mufamadi said the investigations, headed by a 33-detective investigation task unit and a civilian-led investigation task force, were launched after statements in mid-1994 by then commissioner of the former KwaZulu police, Lt-Gen Roy During, alleging hit squads were operating in the KwaZulu police.

This was seen against a background of mounting evidence pointing to serious abuse of power in KwaZulu Natal, including two reports from the Goldstone Commission.

Armscor searches for its particular niche in new setup

HILARY JOFFE

(254)
BD 3/11/95

ARMSCOR's glass edifice in Pretoria once housed 2 500 employees. Now the corporation's staff numbers 1 000 But unlike many head offices which have been "downsized", the Armscor building is not half empty These days it is occupied by the defence ministry and secretariat, and the SANDF chief of staff, which rent the space from Armscor

Which is significant, because it raises the question of whether Armscor should continue to exist as a separate entity at all. Its manufacturing operations were stripped out (becoming Denel) in 1992, and its role has been further eroded with the appointment in August of the national conventional arms control committee chaired by Kader Asmal, which has taken over from Armscor the control of arms exports.

The corporation now functions mainly as the buying department of the SANDF and the police acquisition makes up 96% plus of its business, with the rest coming from marketing support for the defence industry's exports

The SANDF, defence secretariat and Armscor are the three separate entities which fall under the ministry of defence A review of the organisations will be included in the White Paper on Defence and Defence Review, due to be completed by April 1, and this may well discuss future restructuring

Brig Bill Sass of the Institute for Defence Policy says Armscor is never likely to be part of the SANDF, but might be integrated with the defence secretariat at some stage to cut the size and cost of the department He says, though, that with the Cabinet now having the final say over exports, through Asmal's committee, Armscor will probably continue as it is for the moment

This has certain advantages In its drive to get away from the cloak-and-dagger image of the embargo era, Armscor has gone to the opposite extreme in transparency and accountability Its most recent annual report offers plenty of detail on the organisation and the defence industry. And its board of directors includes stakeholders ranging from the obvious military types to human rights lawyers Fikile Bam and Diliza Mji

Armscor's management does not foresee any immediate change to the corporation's status But there does not seem to be undue concern about the prospect of closer ties with the people in the offices down the corridor Whatever the structure, there is a strong case for Armscor's acquisition function. buying armaments for a defence force is not a simple matter and most Western countries have a specialised procurement agency, though in most cases as a government department

Armscor acting CE Erich Esterhuyse describes the corporation's core function as an engineering management process, one which goes "from concept to hardware". The SANDF specifies its needs Armscor puts these out to tender (something it has always done, though in the sanctions years the process tended to secrecy) If it cannot buy off the shelf it commissions manufacturers to develop the product Armscor oversees the process, which can take several years At any one time it is usually working on 200 or so projects

Armscor's objective is to keep as much defence capex as possible in SA but, says Esterhuyse, "we do not structure the industry; market forces do" About 28% of the defence budget (of around R10bn) goes on replacing capital equipment (as against 70% on operations) About 60% of this is sourced from local suppliers (private sector and Denel) and the balance is imported, with a 50% counter-trade component

Esterhuyse says "We do not know of a system which can give better value for money than the tender process." He argues that this counters the argument that the defence industry is heavily subsidised by the state through grants to Armscor

In the year to March Armscor's operating expenditure was around 5% of the value of acquisitions, which totalled R3,7bn (92% of this for the SANDF and a further 7% for the SAPS). As operating expenditure comes from the state in the form of a defence budget allocation, it is essentially the "acquisition management fee" the SANDF pays on its capital budget It is difficult to establish benchmarks against which to compare the 5% because Armscor's foreign counterparts are not as given to transparency But Esterhuyse says indications are in most cases that the percentage runs at 10%-plus

Armscor is also responsible for disbursing research and development (R&D) spending for the SANDF This represents 15% of acquisitions — low compared with the UK's 28%, but high relative to SA industry. One estimate puts average R&D spending by SA manufacturers at only 0,8% of turnover

Esterhuyse says spending is on development of products to meet defence force needs, rather than on pure research, and is all in the form of payments against products to be delivered. The manufacturing companies also put research funds into products, especially those with export potential. Corporate communications chief Abba Omar says that on all development projects which Armscor funds, the corporation retains the intellectual property rights and claims royalties on foreign sales So if the state is subsidising defence industry exports, the extent is more limited than the total outlay on R&D

Armscor's involvement in export marketing is a small part of its business with the rationale, says Esterhuyse, that "if we can increase the volume of production we can benefit from economies of scale and make products more affordable for our own defence force" The corporation supported formation of the Asmal committee, believing export licences should be issued by an independent body under political control.

The question for the industry now is to what extent export growth will be constrained by new guidelines preventing sale of arms to human rights abusers, arms control agreement contraveners, regional destabilisers, terrorists and other illegitimate buyers.

Of SA defence equipment exports in 1992/93 (the latest available) 42% went to the Middle East, 22% to Asia, 14% to the Far East and 10% to Africa, Armscor figures show The US department of defence projects that the Middle East (much of which is now a no-go area for SA exporters) will be the largest arms market over the next decade, followed by Europe Latin America and Asia

SA's armaments exports have risen during the 1990s while imports have fallen, so that the armaments balance of trade has gone from a R123m deficit in 1991/92 to a positive R335m in 1994/95

SA has a tiny 0,3% of the world market in armaments (the US share is 50%), but the local effect of this is significant Esterhuyse notes arms are the second largest category of SA's manufactured exports (after motor components) and defence exports are high value-added Exports of defence equipment totalled R854m (R886m the previous year) in 1994/95 No growth is expected in the current year, although the level may increase in coming years as a result of marketing contracts concluded since the arms embargo was lifted last May.

Sass notes the defence industry has shown it has products — such as the Rooivalk and G5 and G6 artillery — which can compete internationally. But he says "In the final analysis, arms dealing in SA is a political decision

"It is not just a question of making a product and doing a sale It is a question of whether government will let them do the sale"

dilemma

Post-liberation security

Ex-guerrillas face unemployment in times of increasing crime, write Pule Zwane and Tsepe Motumi

(254)



Countries often face a security dilemma after wars of liberation and political conflict South Africa is no exception It has to deal, on one hand, with the integration of former guerrillas into formal security structures and, on the other, to deal with internecine political and criminal violence in areas such as KwaZulu Natal

Since formal security structures could not absorb all the militarily trained people, there are also the associated problems of dealing with the demobilisation of the security personnel and, at the same time, having to address the militarised and heavily armed youth, who are roaming streets demanding integration into formal security structures

The demobilisation of former MK and Apla members who have been integrated into the SANDF has been announced by the minister of defence This means that at least 10 000 young people with no formal technical skills, will join the ranks of the unemployed It is disturbing because because while demobilisation will affect 10 000 former MK and Apla members, the rationalisation programme which is scheduled to follow will affect more than 40 000 members of the SANDF, irrespective of background This means another 40 000 militarily trained people becoming jobless at a time of escalating violence

In other words, more than 50 000 people will be leaving the armed forces for civil society when more than 45 000 heavily armed SDU and SPU members are roaming the streets and are demanding integration into formal security structures

What are the options?

Service Corps In January 1995 the SANDF formally launched a Service Corps with the primary responsibility of providing vocational skills training for those who are demobilised, equipping them for civilian life However, it is not yet clear whether those to be rationalised will also benefit from this scheme

Members would serve for a period of 18 months, after which they would be obliged to leave the Service Corps for civil life

Unfortunately, this scheme targets only those who are demobilised by the SANDF It does not address the problem of more than 45 000 members of the SPUs and SDUs, mostly former MK, Apla and IFP-aligned SPUs who could not be integrated into the SANDF or who went AWOL early this year

They pose a serious security problem as they are often blamed for political and criminal violence in the townships, particularly in KwaZulu Natal

Mercenaries Some MK and Apla dissidents have joined Executive Outcomes The company also employs former members of the Special Forces and 32 Battalion, former Koevoet operatives and CCB leaders Many of them claim that they had no future in the new SANDF and they are doing the only job they know – war

It is alleged that they are training troops in Angola without the authority of the democratically elected Angolan government This problem was raised by Dr Jonas Savimbi, who asked President Mandela to remove Executive Outcomes from Angola

The matter of former security personnel operating in other countries impacts negatively on South Africa's relationships with those countries as they provide a readily available army which is willing to support any unconstitutional means of removing democratic governments from power, as happened in the Comores But what alternative means do they have of earning a living?

One option which has been extensively used is private security firms Some MK and Apla personnel have established their own security firms in areas such as Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal

While this option should be encouraged, it is important to note that most of the employees of security firms come from a military background but are expected to work with civilians.

Some regulatory mechanisms need to be effected to monitor and evaluate their operations and training so that these firms do not become a dumping ground for undesirables who are leaving formal security establishments

In conclusion, with political transition well under way, the biggest challenge facing South Africa in the near future is how to deal with thousands of former soldiers and members of SDUs and SPUs who do not find a means of livelihood

Sowetan 10/11/95

Attempts are being made to reintegrate some people into civilian society, particularly those demobilised by the SANDF But these measures do not apply to members of the SDUs and SPUs who are now posing a security threat

It is important for effective mechanisms to be developed to address the plight of such militarily trained personnel since they provide a readily available "army" for different parties at the height of political tensions and conflicts

In KwaZulu Natal and other provinces, it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish between "criminal" and political violence as some of the criminal activities are being carried out with military professionalism. Also criminal gangs have taken over the modus operandi of former guerrillas and often consist of the same people disillusioned by the dispensation.

It is critical for security to note not how many people are shouting, but how many militarily trained people are available to the opposing side

Pule Zwane is an independent consultant in security matters and Tsepe Motumi is a researcher at the Institute for Defence Policy

Prosecutions war rages on

(254)

Political Correspondent

ARG 10/4/95

THE war of words over the prosecution of former top defence force officers is still raging, with the African National Congress lashing out at National Party MP Danie Schutte for his call for "terrorists" to be prosecuted.

Spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC had not denied responsibility for guerrilla activities by Umkhonto we Sizwe between 1976 and 1980, and was prepared to give evidence to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

"NP leaders, on the other hand, still continue to deny their involvement in conspiracies to undermine the ANC"

Mr Schutte should encourage his NP colleagues to "come clean", Mr Mamoepa said

"Unless the NP comes clean on these issues, no other inference can be drawn than that these crimes were an integral part of the NP strategy to defend the system of apartheid."

Denel battles for new orders

(254)
ST 12/11/95

By PETER De IONNO

TOUGH times are ahead for government-owned arms manufacturer Denel unless it secures export orders at the Dubai 95 International Aerospace Exhibition which starts today.

Substantial new business is needed to push up export income from last year's R805-million to at least R1-billion this year to compensate for falling equipment demand from the South African National Defence Force.

Sales to the defence force fell last year from 53 percent to 48 percent of the commercialised Armscor offshoot's R3-billion turnover and Denel has set its sights on increasing exports from 27 to 32 percent of turnover in anticipation of another five percent cut in next year's acquisition budget.

"We know we are tiny in world terms, but we have established our products in the Gulf states and we are determined to make sales. It is essential for Denel to sign major new contracts in Dubai," said company spokesman Paul Holtzhausen.

The tension-ridden Middle East is one of the last growth areas in the rapidly declining international arms arena.

Denel's best hope for new business at the biennial exhibition is the G6, the self-propelled version of the G5 155mm howitzer. Oman bought 20 of the long-range guns at an estimated R20-million each after they were exhibited at the Abu Dhabi Idex show early this year.

The Rooivalk attack helicopter which was not shown at this year's Paris Air Show because of a full schedule of demonstrations to potential customers will be at Dubai, along with an enhanced version of the Oryx transport helicopter which has been fitted with more powerful engines.

Denel is hopeful that a long-awaited order from Malaysia for the Rooivalk will be concluded this year and there is an outside chance that an announcement will be made in Dubai this week.

Arrests the darkest hour for democracy in SA — Malan

BD 3/11/95 (254)

Nicola Jenvey

DURBAN — Former defence minister Magnus Malan claimed yesterday democracy in SA had reached "its darkest hour" and that his arrest had triggered a crisis in SA

He was speaking after being released on R10 000 bail for charges relating to 13 apartheid-linked murders in KwaMakhutha in 1987.

Malan and 10 other retired senior officials were arrested yesterday and appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court. They were not formally charged and the case was postponed to December 1 when all 18 accused would be served indictments

Malan said. "I am a moderate ... a democrat and I believe in the democratic development of SA Above all I am a Christian and proud of it "

He said he would elaborate on his statements at the weekend As he was driven away, a group at the entrance chanted "Down with the killers"

Twenty top-ranking former members of the SA Police and SA Defence Force, including former police commissioner Johann van der Merwe and former law and order minister Adriaan Vlok, watched the hearing

Bail of R10 000 was awarded to former SADF chiefs Kat Liebenberg and Jannie Geldenhuys, former intelligence officer Johannes Victor, former director special tasks Cor van Niekerk, former chief of staff intelligence Dries Putter and former chief director intelligence operations Neels van Tonder

Former chief director military intelligence Tienie Groenewald posted R6 000 bail, former military intelligence operative Dan Griesel R4 000, former special operations instructor Jakes Jacobs and former military intelligence security officer Jan van der Merwe R3 000 each.

Bail conditions were that the accused could not contact state witness-

Continued on Page 2

Arrest (254)

Continued from Page 1

BD 3/11/95

es, had to cede their passports to investigative task unit head Frank Dutton and report weekly to a police station in their residential areas

Renee Grawitzky reports that Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said President Nelson Mandela remained committed to reconciliation, but "reconciliation does not mean that people should be allowed to continue killing others with impunity"

He said the prosecuting authority in the region — KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general Tim McNally — had decided to go ahead and arrest the 11, and "we do not consider it right to urge government to interfere with an independent judicial system"

If there was evidence that more people were implicated, they would also be arrested He said Deputy President FW de Klerk and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were co-operating with the probe.

Sapa reports Mufamadi said the truth and reconciliation commission was not for the innocent but for those who admitted to crimes It was therefore illogical to refer the generals' case to the commission as the officers were quoted as saying they were innocent.

He was responding to calls from Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen for the cases to be referred to the commission

Picture: Page 3

DE KLERK, BUTHELEZI MAY BE CALLED TO TESTIFY

Generals granted bail

DURBAN: Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi says Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi may be called to testify in the generals' trial.

GENERAL Magnus Malan and the 10 top military officers of the former government who are to be charged with him on 13 counts of murder have to report to a police station once a week, as a condition of bail

In a successful bail application in the Durban Magistrate's Court yesterday, their bail was set at between R3 000 and R10 000

Yesterday's court appearance, which drew massive media attention, lasted only a few minutes Afterwards, a defiant Gen Malan said the case was the biggest crisis into which South Africa's democracy "has yet been plunged"

Gen Malan and his co-accused were arrested in connection with the murder of 13 people at kwa-Makutha in January 1987

And in a another development, Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi said both Deputy President F W de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be called to testify as witnesses in the trial

Mr Mufamadi said Gen Tienie Groenewald had indicated that Mr De Klerk should be blamed for the violence and that Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen had said that Chief Buthelezi knew of the hit squads.

Gen Malan and his co-accused were requested to hand in their passports to Colonel Frank Dutton of the Investigation Task Unit

CT 3/11/95



AT BAY: General Magnus Malan

The courtroom, on the 12th floor, was packed from early yesterday At least 20 former military personnel, all wearing blazers with military insignia, and journalists crowded the small room

(254)

The former members of the SADF and the SAP were present to give "moral support", they said. Among Gen Malan's supporters were former police minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, Gen Krappies Engelbrecht, former police commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe and Gen Viljoen

As the generals came out into the sunlight chants of "down with the killers, down with the massacres" started up

General Malan paused briefly and made a short statement saying he was a democrat and a Christian and proud of it

"I believe in a democratic system but the case is causing the biggest crisis for democracy" — Own Correspondent

Generals' case a crisis for SA, says Malan

CT 3/11/95 (254)

DURBAN: General Magnus Malan, arrested yesterday on 13 counts of murder, said the case against him and 10 other top former military officers was the biggest crisis yet for SA's new democracy.

After the court appearance during which the men were granted bail, a defiant Gen Malan said he was a democrat and a Christian.

In another development, Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi said both Deputy President F.W de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be called to testify as witnesses in the kwaMakutha case.

He said it would be illogical to refer the case to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as the commission was for those who admitted crimes, while the officers claimed innocence.

— Own Correspondent, Sapa

● See Page 7

Malan rejects amnesty

(254) Star 4/11/95

Durban – Former defence minister Magnus Malan says he will not apply for amnesty because he is not guilty

"If you're implying I should ask for amnesty, I say no I'm not guilty," he said in an interview with Durban's Capital Radio

"I haven't been involved, therefore I'm there (in court) to prove my point," he added

Malan and 10 other ex-security force officers were this week charged with 13 murders relating to a hit-squad attack on the KwaMakutha home of an ANC-aligned activist, Victor Ntuli, in January 1987

A security source told Reuters the security bosses are alleged to have been involved in sanctioning the paramilitary training of a group of Inkatha supporters by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi Strip during the 1980s

The trainees later returned to KwaZulu Natal where some of them were allegedly involved in hit-squad activities, including the KwaMakutha massacre, the source said.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said in a statement last week: "Indictments relating to the alleged roles of the suspects in the establishment of an offensive paramilitary force for Inkatha, which was allegedly responsible for the attack in KwaMakutha, will be served on the suspects in due course"

Malan and the 10 other accused were all released on bail of between R3 000 and R10 000 on Thursday and ordered to appear in the Durban Regional Court on December 1, when a trial date is expected to be set

Malan told Capital Radio the charges against him were "one of the biggest, if not the most humiliating, situations I've ever been in"

"I'm a moderate I believe in the democratic system in South Africa I believe in reconciliation and I'm a Christian," he said

Malan said he had acted within the law during his time as the country's minister of defence

"You didn't consider yourself above the law," he said.

Malan said the timing of his arrest "is a good indication it was a political ploy".

Asked how he felt about the Freedom Front's support for him and the other accused, he replied: "I say just leave this out of party politics

"Let politicians get on with their jobs and leave us alone" – Reuters

Saturday Star
November 4 1995

(254)

Memories of bloody massac

Star 4/11/95

Eight years after 13 people, including women and children, were killed in a brutal attack in Kwa-Makutha, the horrific memories live on with the families of the victims.
VENILLA YOGANATHAN reports

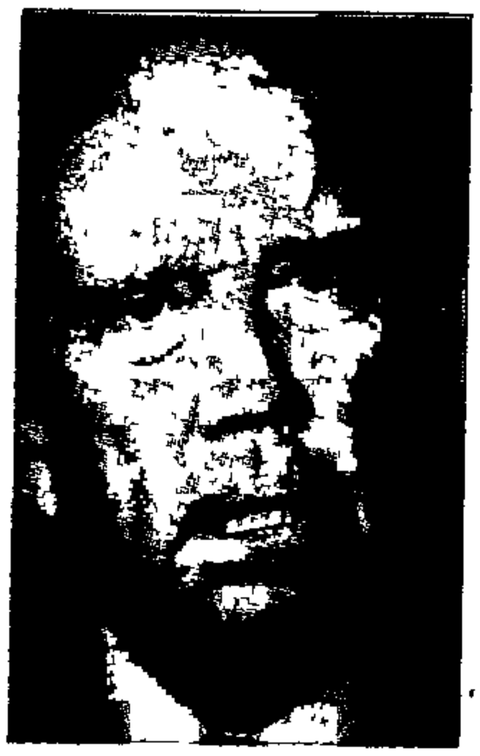
Ernest Nthuzhini is unable to wipe away the memory of gunmen bursting into his tiny home and opening fire on his sleeping children.

It was eight years ago on January 7 1987, but for Nthuzhini it is as if the horror killings took place yesterday.

His children – all between the ages of 3 and 10 – were gunned down as they slept in the outbuildings just metres from house number 1866, the scene of the Kwa-Makutha massacre.

Of the Ntuzhini children, only Zanele, who was six years old at the time, survived – she hid in a wardrobe until the gunmen had left the bloody scene.

On the other side of the wardrobe dividing the room, Ntuzhini and his wife Faith had lain helpless.



ACCUSED: General Magnus Malan on trial over massacre

This week, as General Magnus Malan and 10 other heavyweight military men appeared in court in connection with the killings, Ntuzhini's anger resurfaced

"I can't talk about forgiveness until the truth is known How can there be forgiveness and reconciliation when we don't know the truth?" he asked

For him, the worst was being unable to defend his children "It's through God that my wife, Zanele and I survived, but I cannot tell you what it's like to be unable to protect my own kids."

Unable to live with the memories in KwaMakutha, the Ntuzhinis moved away shortly after the killings.

But for Thabisile Ndwalane, the only memories of her parents are in the form of some faded photographs taken in happier times when her family was whole.

Unlike her older sisters and brother, Thabisile (10) has no recollections of those times. She was only two when her parents, Edward and Maggie Ndwalane, were killed

The Ndwalanes had left their four children in their Lamontville home to attend a church prayer meeting in KwaMakutha.

"It was the last time we saw our parents alive," says Phindile, the eldest of the Ndwalane children. She was 12 at the time.

Suddenly orphaned, and baffled by the disappearance of their parents, the children, all between the ages of 2 and 12, were sent to live with Maggie Ndwalane's spinster sister Florence Ngqwangi.

Says Ngqwangi: "It has been a struggle. I have suffered to send these children to school and feed them."

"We're pleased that they have managed to trace the alleged killers," says Phindile, who is now in Std 8.

"If they were still alive we could have had a comfortable life. We are still angry."

The children's aunt has also suffered because of the killings. Now in her sixties, she battles every month to keep the household running and send all four children to school on a state pension.

"There's nobody working in this house. Sometimes I sell fish and vegetables to make extra money."

Meanwhile, house number 1866 still stands in KwaMakutha and the new occupants, Steve Simanane and his family, say that they are extremely happy there.

But a gaping hole on the front wall is a cruel reminder of the tragedy that took place eight years ago.



STILL ANGRY: Thindile (left), Sindidile and Thabisile Ndw being raised by their aunt, Florence Ngqwangi (front) She on her pension

loody massacre linger

Star 4/11/95 (254)



STILL ANGRY: Thindile (left), Sindidile and Thabisile Ndwalane, orphaned in the attack, are being raised by their aunt, Florence NgqWangi (front) She is battling to keep the family going on her pension PHOTOGRAPH PATRICK MTOLO

Political parties at loggerheads over generals' prosecutions

Accusations of double standards and victimisation are just two issues that have put political parties at loggerheads since the arrest of General Magnus Malan and 10 other high-ranking military men this week.

The National Party and the Freedom Front, labelling the arrests a political ploy on the part of the ANC in the light of the elections, believe military men who served under the previous government should be granted political amnesty

"There is an understandable swelling of rage in NP circles because a different set of rules is applied to members of the previous government and ANC leaders," said spokesman Fanus Schoeman.

The handling of the case would prove the biggest test for the integrity of President Mandela and the ANC, he said.

The Freedom Front's Genl Constand Viljoen accused the ANC of applying double standards and of victimisation.

Criminal case

It was against the spirit of the Government of National Unity for one group to be singled out for the conflicts of the past and the other groups to be exempted by not being criminally charged, he said.

ANC spokesman Dumisane Makhaye said the KwaMakutha attack, in which women and children were killed, was "an outright criminal case".

"It is stretching the imagination too far to say that women and children holding a night vigil were an immediate threat to the state," he said.

The NP and Freedom Front were "beginning to panic because they know that this matter does not end with the case of the generals", Makhaye said.

The KwaMakutha killings were in a totally different category from the matter of torture at ANC training camps.

"Dealing with people who were sent into the camps on clandestine missions by the enemy is different from dealing with people holding a night vigil," Makhaye said.

Of calls to "forgive and forget", he said: "Unless we are saying we should grant amnesty to all murderers sitting in jail in all categories, we cannot forgive and forget the KwaMakutha killings."

Kevin Humphries of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy said prosecuting the generals could result in a "tit-for-tat" situation, with the right wing stirred up.

"This is probably not very helpful to the country now," he said.

He believed the truth had to be disclosed if South Africa was to move forward. "There is much confusion as to whether the arrests were politically motivated, but what is clear is that this move is the beginning of the breakup of the deadlock over such issues."

Malan rejects amnesty

(254) Star 4/11/95

Durban – Former defence minister Magnus Malan says he will not apply for amnesty because he is not guilty

"If you're implying I should ask for amnesty, I say no. I'm not guilty," he said in an interview with Durban's Capital Radio

"I haven't been involved, therefore I'm there (in court) to prove my point," he added.

Malan and 10 other ex-security force officers were this week charged with 13 murders relating to a hit-squad attack on the KwaMakutha home of an ANC-aligned activist, Victor Ntuli, in January 1987

A security source told Reuters the security bosses are alleged to have been involved in sanctioning the paramilitary training of a group of Inkatha supporters by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi Strip during the 1980s.

The trainees later returned to KwaZulu Natal where some of them were allegedly involved in hit-squad activities, including the KwaMakutha massacre, the source said.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said in a statement last week: "Indictments relating to the alleged roles of the suspects in the establishment of an offensive paramilitary force for Inkatha, which was allegedly responsible for the attack in KwaMakutha, will be served on the suspects in due course."

Malan and the 10 other accused were all released on bail of between R3 000 and R10 000 on Thursday and ordered to appear in the Durban Regional Court on December 1, when a trial date is expected to be set

Malan told Capital Radio the charges against him were "one of the biggest, if not the most humiliating, situations I've ever been in"

"I'm a moderate. I believe in the democratic system in South Africa. I believe in reconciliation and I'm a Christian," he said.

Malan said he had acted within the law during his time as the country's minister of defence.

"You didn't consider yourself above the law," he said

Malan said the timing of his arrest "is a good indication it was a political ploy".

Asked how he felt about the Freedom Front's support for him and the other accused, he replied: "I say just leave this out of party politics

"Let politicians get on with their jobs and leave us alone." – Reuters

'No amnesty – I'm innocent'

Malan faces his 'most humiliating' moment

ARG 4/11/95 (254)

DURBAN. — Former defence minister Magnus Malan, arrested in connection with a massacre near Durban, said he would not apply for amnesty because he was not guilty

"If you're implying I should ask for amnesty, I say no. I'm not guilty," he said in an interview.

"I haven't been involved therefore I'm there (in court) to prove my point," he added.

General Malan and 10 other ex-security force officers are charged with 13 murders relating to a hit-squad attack on the KwaMakutha home of an ANC-aligned activist, Victor Ntuli, in January 1987

A security source said security bosses are believed to have been involved in sanctioning the paramilitary training of a group of Inkatha supporters by the Defence Force in the Caprivi Strip during the 1980s.

The trainees later returned to KwaZulu-Natal, where many joined the KwaZulu police. Some were allegedly involved in hit-squad activities including the KwaMakutha massacre, the source said

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said in a statement last Sunday. "Indictments relating to the alleged roles of the suspects in the establishment of an offensive paramilitary force for Inkatha, which was allegedly responsible for the attack in KwaMakutha, will be served on the suspects in due course."



□ **LEAVING COURT:** Magnus Malan.

General Malan and the 10 other accused have been released on bail of between R3 000 and R10 000 and ordered to reappear in Durban Regional Court on December 1, when a trial date is expected to be set.

General Malan said the charges against him were "one of the biggest, if not the most humiliating situations I've ever been in".

He added: "I'm a moderate. I believe in the democratic system in South Africa. I believe in reconciliation and I'm a Christian," he said, repeating a statement he made to reporters shortly after his court appearance.

General Malan said he had acted within the law during his time as defence minister.

"You didn't consider yourself above the law. It was the rule of the country that was your guideline," he said.

General Malan said the timing of his arrest "is a good indication that it was a political ploy".

Asked how he felt about the Freedom Front's support for him and the other accused, he replied. "I say just leave this out of party politics. Let politicians get on with their jobs and leave us alone." — Reuter.

IFP head won't say sorry

Butheleзi blamed

By WALLY MBHELE

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will not apologise or withdraw his statements that he blamed former ANC president Oliver Tambo and the ANC for the KwaMakhutha massacre

Speaking on behalf of Buthelezi, the IFP secretary general, Ziba Jiyane, told City Press his organisation would not apologise until all the arrested were found guilty in open court

He was referring to former Defence Minister Magnus Malan and other top former SADF officers who were arrested this week as well as other military officers and police, an IFP offical and KwaZulu policemen who were arrested earlier

All will appear together on 13 counts of murder in the Durban Regional Court on December 1

Malan and ten former senior SADF officers are accused of helping to form an IFP Caprivi trained hit-squad which was allegedly responsible for the gruesome murder of 13 people, including seven children, in KwaMakhutha in 1987

And as the crisis around this SADF-trained alleged IFP hit-squad deepened, Buthelezi on Friday threatened to sue those who insinuated that he was involved in helping with the formation of hit-squads

Jiyane told City Press he saw no reason why Buthelezi should apologise or withdraw his statements until an objective investigation into the murder of more than 430 IFP leaders and thousands of IFP members had also been made

At the time of the KwaMakhutha massacre Buthelezi issued a strongly worded press statement, blaming the ANC, its former president, Oliver Tambo, and the United Democratic Front

"I cannot see it (violence) being resolved short of the president of the external mission of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, calling off the vendetta which his organisation and the UDF are waging against me and Inkatha," said Buthelezi at the time

Buthelezi said it was clear that "this violence was bound to lead to counter-violence and the whole bloodbath could go on indefinitely unless Tambo puts a stop to these attacks"

The family of Willie Ntuli, a UDF leader, was almost wiped out in the grisly pre-dawn massacre in 1987, hardly a year after IFP trainees had completed their course in the Caprivi and returned to KwaZulu/Natal

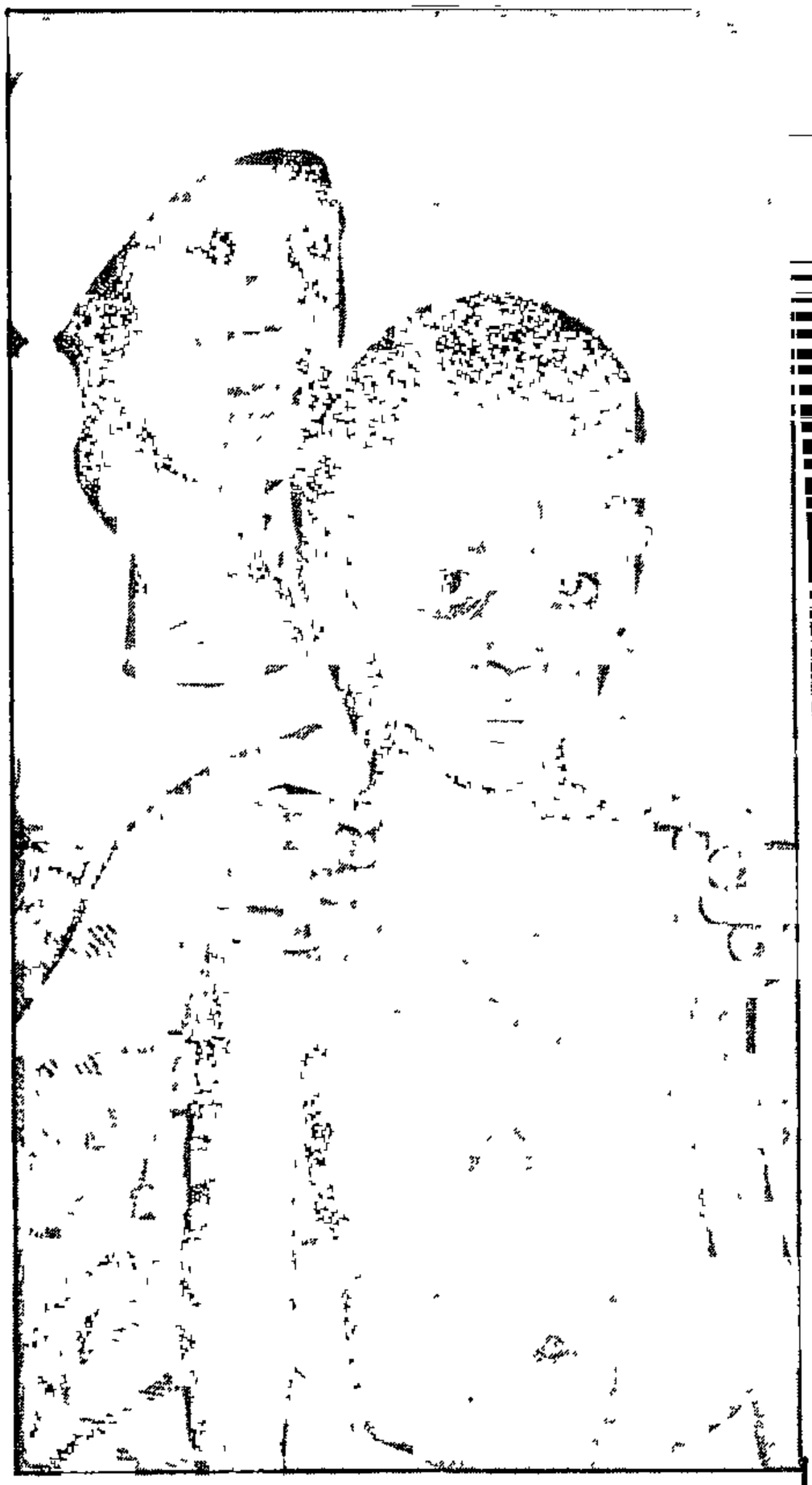
The police blamed "terrorists" for the massacre, saying that AK-47 weapons were used and that only the ANC received such weapons from Russia

They said a group of suspected terrorists in a vehicle were seen near the Ntuli home shortly before the attack

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman at the time, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said "The police are determined to track down the perpetrators of this cold-blooded, senseless and callous deed"

This week Jiyane described the Investigation Task Unit – led by detective Major Frank Dutton – as an ANC front which was bent on destroying the IFP

Jiyane said the IFP had a right to its own suspicions The arrests, he said, did not augur well for democracy and reconciliation.



HORRIBLE MEMORIES . . . Mbuso Ntuli pictured with his mother, Ethel, at the time when his father, Willis, and three sisters were massacred.

ANC for killings

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa accused Buthelezi of persisting in laying the blame for political violence at the door of the ANC despite mounting evidence to the contrary

"The attempts to discredit a legitimate criminal investigation is once more a demonstration towards the victims of violence that these parties have little sensitivity to their suffering," said Ramaphosa

■ Among those arrested with Magnus Malan are former SADF chief, General Jannie Geldenhuys, former chief of staff of intelligence, Vice Admiral Dries Putter, and former chief of the army General Kat Liebenberg, and those arrested earlier include former military intelligence officer Brigadier John More, former Natal chief of security police, Colonel Louis Botha, IFP deputy secretary general, MZ Khumalo and four Caprivi trained KwaZulu policemen

Stark reminder for Mbuso

CP 5/11/95

(254) (R4)

By SIPHO KHUMALO

AMID the media and security spectacle on the "Day of Generals" in the Durban Regional Court a young emotionless man to whom the whole process brought back haunting memories sat outside court no 12.

While the spotlight was on the generals who are alleged to have had a hand in the grisly massacre of 13 people at the Ntuli homestead in KwaMakhutha in 1987, one of the survivors, Mbuso Ntuli (21), sat quietly outside the court on a bench

"I have failed to gain entrance into the court. This is despite the fact that I told the police guarding the door that the trial had to do with the members of my family," said Mbuso in an interview with City Press

But what does he think about the whole spectacle?

"What I am happy about is that a clear picture is beginning to emerge as to who was behind the massacre In the past I suspected the wrong people

"But I believe there are still others. I would like them to be arrested and be brought to court for trial," he said

Mbuso and his mother, Ethel, are the only remaining members of the Ntuli family His father, Willis, and three sisters were killed on the scene when people armed with automatic weapons stormed their house and killed 13 people in 1987

His brother, Victor, a leader of the KwaMakhutha Youth League, then a United Democratic Front affiliate, was killed later in 1990 when his hunters finally caught up with him outside the local hall

"Victor and I survived the massacre because after a number of attempts on our lives my father took us to a hide-out.

"Victor received a call where we were hiding and then broke into tears I realised there was something wrong but he did not tell me what had happened and was prevented from going home," he said

Mbuso, who was 13 at the time, went home.

"When I arrived the bodies had been removed but there was still blood all over the place and huge holes in the walls

"To me the situation resembled a scene from a movie and it was like I was dreaming I could not accept the fact that real people could be so ruthless and it took me days to believe that my people had died"

After failing to gain entrance to a number of schools around Durban and after his brother had been gunned down he left the country in 1990. He returned in February

And what now for Mbuso?

Arrests were right move, says McNally

(254)

ST 5/11/96

By CARMEL RICKARD

NATAL Attorney General Tim McNally has strongly defended his decision to prosecute former Defence Minister Magnus Malan and 10 other top brass, as well as the timing of their arrest.

Mr McNally was responding to comments by General Malan that, with their arrest for murder, democracy in South Africa was moving into its "darkest hour".

In an unusual move, Mr McNally issued a three-page statement defending his decision and saying that the prosecution had "a number of positive features"

These included the fact that the trial would give "practical content" to the principle that nobody was above the law It demonstrated the concern of the law for the rights of ordinary people "subjected to an alleged abuse of power"

It "confronts the philosophy of certain people that killings such as those at Kwamakutha are justified in times of 'war' and draws attention to the duty of the security forces to protect all the citizens they serve"

Mr McNally said it would also ensure that "a shaft of judicial light" would penetrate what had previously been "under Top Secret wraps"

He defended the timing of his decision to prosecute saying it had nothing to do with the elections

There was no evidence to suggest that the decision had any impact on the elections, and if he had delayed the announcement until after voting day he could have been "legitimately criticised" for favouring certain parties which may have been prejudiced if the announcement had been made earlier

Most significantly, Mr McNally spelt out that he decided to go ahead with a prosecution of the generals because of the "cogency of the evidence" placed before him "This evidence consists of affidavits and army documents . constituting a solid prima facie case which will be detailed in the indictment to be served on the accused on December 1"



GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN

He added that the decision to prosecute had not been influenced in any way by political or other pressures and that he had had no contact with either the Minister of Justice or the Minister of Safety and Security on the case

Finally, he said that he did not contemplate charging anyone else unless new evidence came to light to justify a review of his decision

FATHER CAN FORGIVE BUT WILL NOT FORGET

By ANDRE JURGENS

ON FRIDAY a survivor of the Kwamakutha massacre made a reluctant journey back to the graveyard where his five murdered children lie

Holding back tears, Ernest Thusini said simply "I forgive their killers"

Just 24 hours before, he had refused to make the journey to the Durban magistrate's court to see former top military men, including former Minister of Defence Magnus Malan, appear in connection with the brutal slaying of his children and eight others

He breaks down every time he relives the attack He can still smell the stench of blazing guns tearing 13 people to ribbons as he lay helpless on the floor of a humble outbuilding in Kwamakutha, near Amanzimtoti

He survived the massacre, but could never accept that the police could not find the killers

The court appearance of the 11 high-ranking defence force officials has helped settle his mind

He said "If there is ever to be any reconciliation I forgive them, as long as the truth comes out and the law takes its course"

He forgives but he will never forget the night of January 21, 1987

"I woke up to the sound of continuous gunfire The bullets flew everywhere it felt as if someone picked us up and threw us off the bed onto the floor

"When my wife Faith



BEREFT . . . five of Ernest Thusini's six children were killed **Picture: RICHARD SHOREY**

started screaming I tried to calm her I knew if the attackers heard her they would finish us off we just lay there, listening, for hours.

"The terrible thing I can never forget is the silence of the children I couldn't do anything to help them because we could hear the killers talking outside

"We were terrified and just lay there on the floor I knew I had lost the children."

At 5am Ernest went for help He was too afraid to look at his children.

"I left my wife lying there and walked straight out of the house I could not take seeing the bodies I just wanted to get out"

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5/11/95

Year-long probe led to arrests

AP 5/11/95 (254)

By DESMOND BLOW

A CLOAK and dagger investigation of more than a year led to the arrest this week of former Minister of Defence Magnus Malan and other top former SADF generals for the massacre of 13 civilians, including children, in KwaZulu-/Natal in 1986.

City Press learned that a crucial file about hit-squad activities that went missing in June when the special Investigation Task Unit (ITU) raided Military Intelligence headquarters contained evidence that could have implicated Malan and others.

There was speculation at the time that a "tip-off" had led to the file vanishing, and that people in high places were aware of the investigation.

People involved in the investigation refused to say yesterday whether the file had been recovered, but City Press was informed that certain documents did become available after the file went missing.

This is borne out by a statement by KwaZulu-/Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally yesterday that his decision to prosecute was based on affidavits and army documents placed before him that constituted a prima facie case which will be detailed in the indictment



CHARGED ... Magnus Malan.

to be brought before the court when the trial begins on December 1.

There was support for Malan and his co-accused when they were charged in Durban on Thursday from top former SADF and police officers, including former Commissioner of Police General Johann van der Merwe.

In his statement last weekend Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said that following the findings of the Goldstone Commission and the announcement by General Roy During that hit-squads existed in the KwaZulu police, he had decided to appoint a Board (known as the Investigation Task Board) comprising three civilian lawyers to oversee the investigations of the ITU.

He said he held discussions with the Commissioner of Police, General Johann van der Merwe, who supported the initiative. He had also called for comment from KwaZulu/Natal Safety and Security MEC, the Rev C J Mtetwa.

City Press understands that the task force had a painstaking task in keeping their investigations secret as people they were investigating appeared to be forewarned, as in the case of the missing military file that told of the Caprivi camp for the alleged IFP "Hit squad".

Attorney-General McNally said in a statement in Maritzburg yesterday that the prosecution of the generals demonstrated the concern of the law for the rights of ordinary people subjected to an alleged abuse of power.

He said the prosecution of General Malan and other senior military officials proved that nobody was above the law.

"It confronts the philosophy of certain people that killings such as those at KwaMakhutha are justified in times of 'war' and serves to draw attention to the duty of the security forces to protect all the citizens they served," he said.

Regarding the timing of his decision to prosecute, McNally said it had been taken on October 26. It had been his intention to have the 11 new accused appear on October 30 with others already before the court.

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Top brass and soldiers in dock

A PHALANX of retired police and army generals listened in shock this week as bail conditions were announced for former defence minister General Magnus Malan and 10 of his former colleagues. They appeared in the Durban magistrate's court in connection with the 1987 massacre of 13 people in Kwazulu Natal.

By MARLENE BURGER

A TOP-SECRET file seized after an eight-hour search of Military Intelligence headquarters earlier this year appears to have been the missing link in the chain of command of alleged Kwazulu Natal hit squads.

The file contains details of a secret subcommittee of the omnipotent State Security Council, brainchild of the former State President P W Botha, the architect of the total onslaught policy.

Chaired in 1986 by Lieutenant-General Kat Liebenberg, one of the 18 men accused of conspiring to set up state-sanctioned hit squads in Natal, the subcommittee apparently approved the 1986 training by Military Intelligence of some 200 recruits at the secret Hippo base in the Caprivi.

The subcommittee would have reported to the then-Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, and its members included several of the top military officers indicted in Durban on Thursday for the murders of 13 people at Kwamakutha in January 1987 — shortly after the first group of trainees had returned from the Caprivi.

Those allegedly linked to the hit-squad conspiracy and arrested in the past four months are:

● General MAGNUS MALAN, strong man of the security forces for 15 years from 1976. He was at the centre of two judicial inquiries headed by Mr Justice Louis Harms. The 1989 probe into cross-border irregularities involving the Transkei turned the spotlight on General Malan's relationship with Pretoria lawyer Albert Vermaas, who is still awaiting trial in connection with counterfeit money.

The 1990 Harms inquiry into alleged hit squads exposed the existence of the shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau, which General Malan claimed he had only become aware of in November 1989, though at least one document bearing his signature and referring to the CCB is dated a year earlier.

General Malan retired from politics as Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry in February 1993.

● General KAT LIEBENBERG, who retired as SA Defence Force chief in October 1993, has a history of involvement in alleged "dirty tricks". As chief of the army in 1986, he was party to the bizarre Operation Katzen, a plan to turn the entire Eastern Cape region into a pro-government Xhosa statelet.

As director of operations in 1980, he was closely involved with the defence force's secret support of Renamo in Mozambique, Unita in Angola and the establishment of the notorious 32 Battalion.

● General JANNIE GELDENHUYS was chief of the SADF from 1980 to 1990.

Towards the end of his 36-year military career, he played an invaluable role in negotiations leading up to South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia.

● Vice-Admiral DRIES PUTTER holds the distinction of being head of the SA navy twice, retiring the first time in 1985 and again in 1990. In between he did a stint as chief of staff intelligence, the post he held when the Caprivi trainee scheme was instituted.

● Major-General TIENIE GROENEWALD, Freedom Front senator and the face of the Afrikaner volkstaat dream, was an air force fighter pilot, military attaché in London for three years and chief of air staff intelligence before being appointed in 1982 by P W Botha as security adviser to the State Security Council.

● Brigadier JOHN MORE, arrested in June, is a serving SANDF officer seconded last year to the Armscor subsidiary, Denel, as marketing director. In 1986, as Military Intelligence's special tasks officer, he was a pivotal figure in Operation Katzen.

● Colonel LOUIS BOTHA, a security policeman in Natal during the 80s, was exposed in 1991 as the bagman who carried at least R250 000 siphoned from the police secret fund to Inkatha to fund rallies. He allegedly "cleaned up" the Kwamakutha massacre scene.

● M Z (ZAKHELE) KHUMALO left Eschel Rhoodie's notorious Information Department to become personal assistant to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in 1976. In 1991 he resigned as deputy secretary of the IFP after accepting full responsibility for SA police funding. Re-elected to the same post two years ago, Mr Khumalo allegedly recruited the 200 Caprivi trainees.

● Major-General NEELS VAN TONDER, retired chief director intelligence operations; Brigadier COR VAN NIEKERK, former director Special Tasks 2 and still serving in the SANDF; Colonel JAN VAN DER MERWE, retired former MI security officer; Colonel JOHANNES VIKTOR, serving SANDF member; Lieutenant-Colonel DAN GRIESEL, serving MI operative and Major JAKES JACOBS, retired Natal Command intelligence officer who trained the Caprivi recruits.

The SANDF on Friday declined to divulge the ranks or positions of these six officers in 1986 and 1987.

● PETER MSANE, a unit leader among the Caprivi trainees, PRINCE MKHIZE, CELUKWANDA NDLOVU and MARTIN KHANYILE, all Caprivi trainees and Kwazulu police members.

The foot soldiers who tripped up generals

By CYRIL MADLALA

ST 5/11/95

THE court appearance this week of 11 former high-ranking military men has its roots in the recruitment of about 200 IFP-supporting men in 1986 to undergo covert military training in Namibia's Caprivi Strip

The operation was so secret that even the trainees did not know where they were, or that it was Military Intelligence that honed their killing skills

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the then acting Kwazulu police commissioner, Sipho Mathe, claimed the training had been conducted by a private security company whose services had been procured by Chief Buthelezi's then personal assistant, Zakhele Khumalo

General Mathe said that at the time there was a dramatic intensification of ANC revolutionary activity

They were informed that a unit of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe was being trained to cross the border to assassinate Chief Buthelezi and to destroy Kwazulu government buildings.

Death threats were also directed at Kwazulu cabinet ministers, their deputies and other VIPs and officials

Among the "loyal young Zulus" selected for training were the four now facing murder charges in connection with the trainees' first major operation, the Kwamakutha massacre in January 1987 Peter Msani, Nicholas Ndlovu, Martin Khanyile and Prince Mkhize

The training included the use of various weapons,

When the IFP neglected its foot soldiers the hit squad network was exposed One by one operatives volunteered to expose hit squad operations. They identified their commanders, including political commissar Daluxolo Luthuli; who identified his handlers, who identified their alleged bosses, who joined the foot soldiers in the dock

Men with a mission

(254) ST 5/11/95

BY CYRIL MADLALA

THE investigation Task Unit worked patiently and with extreme caution to build its case against the generals

Appointed last year by Safety and Security Minister, Sydney Mufamadi, against a background of persistent allegations that hit squads were behind the violence in Kwazulu Natal, its primary objective is to prosecute those behind the hit squads

Since allegations pointed to possible involvement by members of the Kwazulu and the South African Police, a civilian investigation task board was appointed to oversee it

The Danish and Dutch governments have each seconded a senior police officer to ensure the investigations are conducted properly and fairly.

Other members of the police force see the investigation unit as an elite band, a group of untouchables who are not accountable to normal police structures

Senior officers of the unit include

● The head, Colonel Frank Dutton, who commanded the Natal investigation team attached to the Goldstone commission

He was the investigating officer in the Trust Feeds case, in which policemen were convicted of involvement in a massacre

He also headed the investigation that resulted in the conviction for murder of Samuel Jamile, a deputy minister in the former Kwazulu government,

● Lieutenant-Colonel Clifford Marion, second in command of the unit He was formerly commander of the detective branch at Mountain Rise police in Maritzburg and second in command of the city's riot investigation unit,

● Major Phillip Scholtz, who heads the team's field unit He was part of the team which collected evidence that led to the hit squad trial of Israel Hlongwane, Romeo Mbambo and Gcina Mkhize, and

● Two advocates seconded from the attorney general's office in Durban, Carl Koenig and Shamilla Batohi

Allegations of meddling in Malan case rejected

BD 6/11/95 (254)

CAPE TOWN — Justice Minister Dullah Omar on Saturday rejected allegations that government had interfered in the case of former defence minister Magnus Malan and 10 officers charged with murdering 13 people in KwaMakutha in KwaZulu-Natal in 1987.

Reuter reports that Omar said KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general Tim McNally had decided to prosecute the 11 ex-soldiers in connection with the 1987 massacre without communicating with any politicians or the justice ministry.

"The truth of the matter is that, now that the attorney-general has taken the action he considers appropriate, the government is being asked to interfere in the judicial process. This I am not prepared to do," Omar said.

Malan and his co-accused were not asked to plead when they appeared in court before being released on bail and told to appear again on December 1.

On Saturday Omar rejected calls by the NP and other parties who said the case should be referred to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission expected to probe human rights abuses under apartheid next year.

"Perpetrators have the right to apply for amnesty and the procedures for this are laid out clearly in the act. Any person seeking amnesty must make an individual application and there must be full disclosure of crimes (or) acts for which amnesty is being sought," he said. But, "it should be remembered that there is no guarantee of amnesty."

"We wish, on the contrary, to send a clear signal that every single person who has committed a crime will be held accountable, whether these crimes were committed in the past or in the present," Omar said.

Sapa reports that in an interview with Sunday newspaper Rapport, Malan said there were indications that politicians were trying to interfere in the court case.

He said his only wish was for a free and fair trial, speedily concluded. "I make an urgent appeal to politicians to keep out of the legal process."

He said he would fight to prove his innocence and that of the other accused. "We will fight in the court, democratically and with a fair trial, to prove our innocence."

Malan also said he had never considered carrying out a coup d'etat, despite such requests from the public.

Fivaz feared reaction after generals' arrests

ET 6/11/95 (254)

PRETORIA: Police Commissioner George Fivaz feared that a right-wing backlash against recent and expected arrests of former security force members could destabilise the country, a top-secret document released yesterday said

The document, drawn up by divisional head of the National Crime Investigation Service Lieutenant-General Wouter Grove, was distributed to top Crime Investigation Service officers

Mr Fivaz released the document after claims in Rapport that orders had gone out ahead of the local government elections to spy on and search the homes of Crime Intelligence Service members

Mr Fivaz rejected the newspaper's claims as an "outright lie"

The secret document said Mr Fivaz had on October 30 expressed "grave concern" that arrests of former security force members, including General Magnus Malan, could have serious consequences for the safety of the country

Because of this it was important to analyse possible threats, including:

- The resurgence of right-wing militancy
- The polarisation of security force members around the arrests
- The unification of former security force members
- The possible mobilisation of elements to destabilise law and order.

Recipients were asked to investigate the possible threats and report to the Crime Intelligence Service head in a week — Sapa

'No political meddling' in decision to charge Malan

(254) CTG 1/11/95

DURBAN: There had been no political meddling in the decision to charge General Magnus Malan and 10 other former defence force officers for the murders of 13 people in kwaZulu/Natal, Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar and kwaZulu/Natal attorney-general Mr Tim McNally said on Saturday

Mr Omar and Mr McNally said in a separate statements that the attorney-general had made his own decision to prosecute the former defence minister and the others for the massacre in kwaMakutha near Durban in 1987

"Now that the attorney-general has taken the action he considers appropriate, the government is being asked to interfere in the judicial process. This I am not prepared to do," Mr Omar said

The justice minister rejected National Party accusations of political interference in the case as untrue and "grossly misleading"

Mr McNally said his decision was based on the "cogency of the evidence placed before me"

"The decision to prosecute was not influenced in any way by political or other pressure," he said

"(The case) will cast a shaft of judicial light on what has up to now been under top secret wraps. It gives practical content to a hitherto lofty legal principle that nobody is above the law," he said

Gen Malan and his 10 co-accused were arrested last week and charged with 13 counts of murder relating to an attack on the home of an ANC-aligned activist near Durban in 1987.

Mr McNally said the timing of the arrests had not been intended to influence local government elections, but that any delay in implementing his decision could have opened him up to criticism

Mr Omar slammed the NP for calling for temporary indemnity for Gen Malan and his co-accused when the 11 former officers had not applied for this

"If they want amnesty, they have the right to tell the court that they wish to do so. The accused have refused to apply for indemnity or amnesty" — Reuter

WS

MALAN 'SUPPORTS DEMOCRACY'

'I'll never take part in bid to seize power'

(254) CT 7/11/95

PRETORIA: General Magnus Malan said in an interview yesterday there was a danger that groups not interested in democracy could try to hijack South Africa

FORMER Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said yesterday he would never become involved in any attempt to seize power in South Africa by undemocratic means

Gen Malan, who is facing 13 murder charges in kwaZulu/Natal along with 10 former senior SA Defence Force officers, said the chances for political hijacking in South Africa by groups who were not interested in democracy might be a real threat

"But I support democracy and although I might disagree with certain things, I would only support democratic means to bring about change. I am not available to leftist or rightist radicals"

Gen Malan said he was concerned "about our new-born democracy's" chances of survival

"I believe that we as South Africans simply must establish this democractic system successfuly"

On the charges against him, Gen Malan said "I am not worried I know that in respect of the charges against me I have nothing on my conscience."

Gen Malan, who makes his next court appearance on December 1, said "What bothers me in this instance is that I am being accused of a despicable deed, namely the murder of children and innocent people, which happened during the violent era of the eighties

"I ask that justice be done speedily and fairly That is why I personally went to court in Durban — so that the case could be expedited, not delayed," Gen Malan said

On the other hand, the ANC had admitted some of its members might have been responsible for the Shell House shootings Yet there had been no word of a decision to prosecute in this case

Gen Malan said he would be prepared to testify before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

He wholeheartedly supported President Nelson Mandela's quest for reconciliation in South Africa —Sapa

TUESDAY
★NOVEMBER 7, 1995

Viljoen sees Mandela over arrests

(264) CT 7/11/95

JOHANNESBURG: Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday he had met President Nelson Mandela and two cabinet ministers for talks on the arrest of 11 former military officers in connection with a 1987 massacre in kwaZulu/Natal

"It was a meeting in connection with the idea of reconciliation and how the court case is affecting reconciliation," he said after the talks at Mr Mandela's private residence in Houghton

"We are going to have further meetings. This is an ongoing process But I have no more to say and would rather wait until we have further meetings (before elaborating)," Gen Viljoen added

He said the talks, which lasted about 90 minutes, included Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar and Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi

Mr Viljoen was accompanied by party MP Dr Corné Mulder

Mr Mandela's spokesman, Mr Parks Mankahlana, declined to comment on the talks

Gen Viljoen said last week he believed the indictment of Gen Malan and the others conflicted with the reconciliation clauses in the interim constitution, but he dropped an action to head off their arrests after they said they wanted to prove their innocence.

President Nelson Mandela said yesterday he was not intimidated by fears expressed by Gen Viljoen that security forces might join the right-wing if the prosecution went ahead

Mr Mandela strongly reiterated that he would not interfere in the case — Sapa

ANC wants to uproot sexism in the military

Studies show that soldiers are the most sexist of men, defence committee is told

Star 8/11/95 (254)

SAPA
Cape Town

Traditional sexist attitudes by male soldiers towards women should be counteracted in modern military training, the ANC said yesterday.

In a submission to Parliament's joint standing committee on defence, which was discussing a draft defence White Paper, the party said traditional military training placed much emphasis on masculinity and "being a man". This created attitudes of sexism, whether subtle or otherwise

Because male soldiers were isolated from the rest of society, their discussions and thoughts about women reduced females to typical sex objects Studies had shown male soldiers were the most sexist of men.

The ANC said if the defence force were to be transformed, this sexist aspect of training would have to be strictly addressed.

"It is vital how soldiers relate to women in civil society," the ANC said.

Studies had shown that violence against civilian women by enemy troops was a strong factor in wars

The ANC said military training should also address the issue of sexual orientation, which is often swept under the carpet. The constitution prohibited discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.

Meanwhile, tabled at the same meeting, the importance of approval for the navy's planned purchase of four corvettes was highlighted in the first publicly released annual report of the SANDF.

In a letter accompanying the report, SANDF chief Gen Georg Meiring said it had in the past been a classified document with restricted circulation, but in the new era of openness it was being more widely distributed

"In this way we aim to familiarise the public with the challenges facing the new united SANDF, as well as the successes achieved," he said.

The report said the navy's major aims for 1995/96 were the purchase of the corvettes, progress in the strike craft life-extension programme, and shipborne communications

Turning to the air force, the report said the full-time force stood at 13 296 personnel, a 33% cut over the past five years. The aircraft fleet remained at 475

The report said the army's full-time personnel strength was 55 291

Meiring said in a foreword to the report that the world remained unstable and unpredictable – Sapa.

Denel signs deal with French group

(254) Star 9/11/95

South Africa's Denel group and Franco-German helicopter builder Eurocopter have signed an agreement in Paris for the manufacture, commercialisation and product support of helicopters, Denel said yesterday.

The South African group, which relies on defence equipment for nearly 50% of its domestic business and 27% of its exports, said French and South African aeronautical industries complimented each other in terms of helicopter support and manufacturing.

Denel said derivatives of the Puma range of helicopters, such as the locally developed Atlas Oryx, the workhorse of the South African Air Force, were of particular interest.

France supplied South Africa with military equipment and technology including helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft during the apartheid era.

Earlier this year South Africa failed to secure a large British order for its Rooivalk attack helicopter, but Asian and Gulf countries are interested. – Reuters.

Force prepares for role as regional 'lion'

Stephané Bothma

(254) BD 9/11/95

PRETORIA — All indications are that the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) will become more involved in southern African regional security management, according to SANDF chief Gen George Meiring

"Our own region is not very stable and extremely vulnerable to dormant accelerators such as drought, overpopulation, poverty, famine and endemic diseases which, if not managed correctly, will lead to serious instability in the region, with disastrous consequences," Meiring said in the foreword to the SANDF's annual report — the first to be made public

It was in SA's interest that, in a world "where the lamb and the lion were ostensibly preparing to lie down next to one another", SA should be the lion, he said

According to the report, significant backlogs existed in the defence force "if the functions of the SANDF, as prescribed in the constitution", were examined.

The backlogs included.

- The reduced preparation level of the conventional forces, which was affecting operational preparedness;
- The limited force levels of certain major weapons systems, resulting in restricted air defence, no surface anti-submarine warfare capability and a limited capacity to protect marine resources in SA's exclusive economic zone, and
- The gradual erosion of technology, which now made the country more dependent on foreign equipment

The SANDF would become more involved in helping police fight crime, Meiring said

It was envisaged that its contribution to the reconstruction and development programme would increase.

Counter-intelligence threat grows

(254) BD 9/11/95

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — Internal radical and reactionary groups and the low morale of security force employees had a distinct effect on the counter-espionage threat posed to SA's military classified information, personnel and equipment, the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) said in its 1994/95 annual report.

"An analysis of reported information indicates that the (counter-intelligence) threat intensified during the past year and will remain high at least for the short term," the intelligence division of the SANDF said.

Feedback from security monitoring during the past year indicated a deterioration in the level of military security in the SANDF and at Armscor, and in the application of military security measures.

More information from foreign intelligence services and internal radical and reactionary groups, as well as the fact that members of the SANDF and Armscor were susceptible to exploitation emanating from low morale and socioeconomic circumstances, were the main contributing factors.

Morale-impairing factors included the psychological climate in SA, uncertainty caused by changes, frustration over unfulfilled aspirations and expectations and labour unrest.

"It is expected that, despite efforts and measures implemented to rectify this situation, it will remain a problem in the short and medium term."

With SA's resturn to free interaction at international level, the counter-intelligence section of the SANDF had expanded its liaison with foreign intelligence services to promote the exchange and procurement of military intelligence.

The purpose of the subdivision was to provide military counter-intelligence services to the defence ministry, the SANDF and Armscor.

Denel discloses helicopter deal

Z6 (254)

Stephane Bothma

BD 9/11/95

PRETORIA — Local armaments and commercial manufacturing group Denel had signed an agreement with the Franco-German helicopter builder Eurocopter for the manufacture, maintenance and upgrading of helicopters, it said yesterday.

In terms of the agreement, the technical capabilities of Denel-Atlas Aviation and the capabilities of Eurocopter would be combined to enter new markets with products such as the Oryx medium transport helicopter, Denel communications chief Paul Holtzhausen said yesterday

At this stage, no monetary value could be placed on the agreement which was signed in Paris yesterday, he said.

Denel relies on defence equipment for nearly 50% of its domestic business and 27% of its exports

Eurocopter is owned by France's Aerospatiale (70%) and Daimler-Benz Aerospace (30%)

The Oryx, which is an upgraded model of the well known Puma helicopter, is built by Denel-Atlas and is used extensively by the SA Air Force.

Denel is setting its sights on the important Middle East market, making its assault with the Oryx and the locally developed Rooivalk attack helicopter.

The Oryx will be shown outside SA for the first time at the November 12-16 Dubai '95 Airshow

"With Rooivalk's international debut at the previous Dubai show, Denel wanted to demonstrate its belief in the potential of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) market," said Denel CE Johan Alberts.

"Denel's defence systems found a ready market in the Middle East because they were developed for environmental and operational conditions similar in many respects to those found in this part of the world," Alberts said

Local defence systems had been developed in close co-operation with the SA Defence Force in order to develop aerospace, artillery and other systems compatible with battle-proven military and operational doctrine, and this gave these systems an edge in the UAE and other Middle East markets, he said.

According to Alberts, the Rooivalk's development programme had brought about improvements to the aircraft since its last showing in Dubai and Malaysia.

Sapa reports that the Rooivalk has yet to win any foreign orders, although East Asian and Gulf countries have expressed interest.

SA military industrial changes 'realistic'

(254) BD 9/11/95

CAPE TOWN — The transformation of SA's military industrial complex to serve redefined national security needs as well as moral and political values was obviously ambitious, but realistic, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal said yesterday

Speaking in Cape Town at an international conference on democracy, human rights and economic development in southern Africa, he said rather than resisting this agenda Armscor was actively assisting, saying in the media that political priorities would determine arms industry policy.

"Our moral and political conclusions about the conduct of war will obviously affect the product range that we will countenance. The most obvious case is our erstwhile nuclear capacity, as to which good riddance," Asmal said.

— Sapa

SANDF integration headache continues

BD 9/11/95 (254)

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — The SA National Defence Force has under-spent almost R700m on its 1994/95 budget because of unforeseen problems with the integration process

Approval has been granted to use this money in the next financial year to continue the process of integrating an estimated 35 000 non-statutory force members into the defence force, the SANDF annual report states

It is the first time the SANDF's annual report is not classified

The report claims the integration process was plagued by many problems from the outset with a "high media coverage and presidential, ministerial and parliamentary involvement"

Initially, only 22 000 non-statutory force members were expected for integration, but the latest indications are that it could now be as many as 35 000

One of the most significant problems encountered is communication Different cultures and backgrounds complicate the problem and make it more difficult to get the right messages down to ground level

A further impediment to the process was the additional administrative workload without additional expertise allocated, the phenomenon of mistrust, lack of discipline, uncertainties about temporary appointments and a culture of entitlement "The latter is sometimes found at ground level, where the emphasis on rights becomes so strong that it does not take cognisance of any responsibilities towards colleagues, the defence force or the community."

By March 31 this year, only 10 907 members of the non-statutory forces had been integrated By the same time, 11 600 members of former TBVC forces were integrated

The report said there had been a substantial drop in skills levels and experience in the SANDF's middle management due to personnel moving to the private sector for financial reasons

The SANDF inspectorate said commitment and dedication appeared to be completely lacking at lower levels of the force, resulting in increased incidents of vehicle accidents, arms theft, shooting incidents, alcohol abuse and general poor conduct

Adding to the problems were new regulations which made it extremely difficult to take immediate disciplinary action, the report added

The inspectorate observed that the personnel training and development strategy would have to be reviewed, and that investment in personnel training and development effort would have to be increased to maintain the required standards

Military trial statistics in the report showed an increase in offences These included 5 908 trials for absence without leave last year (3 352), absence from duty 1 411 (1 173), disobeying lawful commands 1 393 (1 070) and drunkenness 955 (559)

The report showed that the SANDF's full-time uniformed force stood at 75 479 832 asians, 39 473 blacks, 6 982 coloureds and 28 192 whites About 21 695 civilians were also employed There were 605 185 part-time force members

The SANDF has 10 lieutenants-general, all white males, 38 majors-general of whom three are black men, and 166 brigadiers, four of whom are women Women constitute 14% of the SANDF

"An increase will depend on women's interest in a career in the SANDF and will be a natural process "

The reports stated that the newly established defence secretariat, headed by defence secretary Pierre Steyn, would consist of 656 posts of which 589 would initially be filled by existing defence headquarters personnel to be transferred to the secretariat

Permanent SA ban on export of landmines

ALIDE DASNOIS, Business Editor

SOUTH Africa has banned the export of landmines (254)

Kader Asmal, who chairs the cabinet committee charged with deciding on arms exports, said the moratorium on the export had now become a permanent ban.

Professor Asmal, Minister of Water Affairs and chairman of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, was addressing a conference on human rights and economic development organised by the University of the Western Cape's Community Law Centre in Sea Point yesterday ARG 9/11/95

The export of mercenaries was also attracting the government's critical attention, he warned.

No more landmines would be exported from South Africa, "ever", Professor Asmal said, to applause from delegates.

The cabinet committee was drawing up criteria for exports of other arms.

"We will not sell to governments which violate human rights. We will not sell arms where the balance of power in the country could be affected. We will not sell arms where the balance of power in the region could be affected because we don't want to become part of the arms race."

But it was not possible, Professor As-

● Turn to page 5

Permanent ban on landmine exports

ARG 9/11/95

● From page 1

mal said in reply to a question, to ban arms exports completely.

This would leave democratic governments in the region at the mercy of the world's other arms producers.

Also, the arms industry employed 30 000 people and experience in other countries had shown conversion of arms production to civil use was difficult.

On mercenaries, Professor Asmal said the export of people should be dealt with in the same way as arms exports.

Professor Asmal said civilian control over the arms trade was an imperative.

"Asking the generals to determine arms policy is like asking the cats to determine pigeon policy." (254)

Arms policy could be driven by humanist goals.

The transformation of the country's military-industrial complex to serve new moral and political values was ambitious but "utterly realistic", he said.

Apparently naive political and legal objections to particular wars or military tactics had saved millions of lives by creating new standards for war.

Denel wins chopper deal with Europeans

ARG 9/11/95 (254)

SOUTH Africa's Denel group and Franco-German helicopter builder Eurocopter have signed an agreement in Paris for the manufacture, commercialisation and product support of helicopters

The South African group said French and South African aeronautical industries complemented each other in terms of helicopter support and manufacturing.

Denel said derivatives of the Puma range of helicopters, such as the South African-developed Atlas Oryx, the workhorse of the South African air force, were of particular interest.

France supplied South Africa with military equipment and technology during the apartheid era. — Reuter.

(254)

Denel signs manufacturing and support agreement with Eurocopter in Paris

ET (BR) 9/11/95

Johannesburg — South Africa's Denel group and Franco-German helicopter builder, Eurocopter have signed an agreement in Paris for the manufacture, commercialisation and product support of helicopters, Denel said yesterday

The South African group, which relies on defence equipment for nearly 50 percent of its domestic business and 27 percent of its exports, said French and South African aeronautical industries complemented each other in terms of helicopter support and manufacturing

Denel said derivatives of the Puma range of helicopters, such as the South African-developed Atlas Oryx — the work-horse of the South African Air Force — were of particular interest

France supplied South Africa with military equipment and technology including helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft during the apartheid era — Reuter

MAIL & GUARDIAN
November 10 to 16 1995

Caprivi 200 and the litany of terror

(254) MHG 10-16/11/95

Atrocities allegedly committed by members of the Caprivi hit squad have emerged as evidence in the Malan murder trial **Eddie Koch** reports

MEMBERS of the "Caprivi 200" — an elite South African Defence Force (SADF)-trained unit of paramilitary warriors at the centre of the Magnus Malan murder trial — were involved in a series of massacres which played a key role in stoking up sectarian violence between Inkatha and the African National Congress (ANC)

Human rights organisations, lawyers and investigators have details which show how members of the squad carried out numerous atrocities in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Transvaal (now Mpumalanga Province) after they were given clandestine training by members of the SADF's special forces in 1986.

Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally has decided to charge former Defence Minister Magnus Malan and 10 other security force officers only with complicity [illegible]



Black Cats Ex-gang members in a house which was firebombed by existing Black Cats

PHOTOGRAPH GUY ADAMS

man who fell was not dead The one KZP (a Caprivi trainee identified as Nhlanhla Khawula) ran forward and shot him in the head. Then he opened the coffin and shot the dead body many times "

● Esikhaweni near Empangeni In the middle of 1992, Caprivi hitmen Romeo Mbambo and Israel Hlongwane are involved in attacks on the homes of ANC supporters that leave four people dead Their colleague Gcina Mkize is involved in two other murders at the same time All three are convicted of murder and sent to prison in 1995

When the *Mail & Guardian* (then *The Weekly Mail*) first exposed the Caprivi 200 — so-called because the brigade was trained by SADF in the Caprivi Strip while Namibia was still under South Africa overrule — it reported that officers from the Chief of Staff Intelligence and the Fifth Reconnaissance Commando in Phalaborwa played a major role in setting up the unit These were the same sections of the South African military that played a major role in Renamo's rebel insurgency which crippled the economy of Mozambique.

of 13 civilians at KwaMakutha, a massacre allegedly carried out by members of the Caprivi 200, because he appears to have strong evidence to link the generals and officers to operational aspects of this attack

The litany of terror inflicted by the Caprivi 200 includes first-hand accounts from sources who once worked inside the ranks of the death squad, which indicate it was set up by the same men in military intelligence who co-ordinated Renamo's low-intensity civil war in Mozambique — and that the hit squad became a prototype for the kind of third-force units which caused mayhem in parts of the country during the run-up to last year's elections. The attacks include

● Mphophomeni near Howick In December 1986, Caprivi hitman Vela Mchunu and a group of accomplices abduct three members of the National Union of Metalworkers — Phineas Sibiya, Simon Ngubane and Fiomenah Mnikathi — and assassinate them in the middle of the night on a lonely country road near the township These murders signal the start of internecine violence between members of the ANC and Inkatha that has become endemic in parts of the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands

● Clermont near Durban In late 1986, KwaZulu homeland minister Samuel Jamile instructs Mchunu, also code-named Alfred Masango, and an accomplice called Vusumuzi Mbeje to murder political opponents in the township Jamile is convicted of murder in 1990 and during the trial Mchunu admits to killing other ANC supporters at an Inkatha camp located in the KwaZulu-Natal township of Mpumalanga

● KwaMakutha south of Durban Early in 1987, three Caprivi trainees are accused of machine gunning the home of a United Democratic Front leader during a night-time attack which leaves 13 people, including six children, dead

● Edendale and other townships in the greater Pietermaritzburg area At various stages in 1987 many of the trainees are allocated to various Inkatha strongmen, including David Ntombela, in the region, Inkatha Youth League defector Mbongeni Khumalo tells a 1992 hearing of the Goldstone Commission

● Immediately after that (the arrival of the Caprivi men) the worst kind of violence Pietermaritzburg has ever experienced takes place People are murdered, houses are burned and drivers who refuse, for fear of their lives, to drive through certain areas are brutally killed People are forced to align themselves openly by joining Inkatha There is in short a forced membership drive at that stage

● Hammarsdale near Durban. Sporadic attacks throughout 1987 and 1988 led by Caprivi commander Daluxolo Luthuli, who has since defected from Ulundi and is a witness for the ITU, result in numerous township residents being murdered

'The entire operation of the Caprivi trainees was manifestly masterminded, planned and funded by various members of the Defence Force'

● The Sasol plant in Secunda In 1987, Caprivi graduates Captain Xesibe and Peter Msane head a team of colleagues to the fuel-from-coal refinery in the eastern Transvaal where an ANC-aligned trade union is engaged in militant strike activity The men work as ordinary labourers but it is alleged, during a Goldstone Commission hearing, that the men "were to be used for launching and instigating attacks on strikers"

● KwaMakutha south of Durban Early in 1991 a member of the Caprivi unit called Cyril Qedukwazi (The End of Knowledge) is charged with the murder of KwaMakutha residents Raphael and Winnie Mkize

● Wesselton near Ermelo Late in 1990, Luthuli leads a group of Caprivi graduates from Ulundi to the Eastern Transvaal township where tension is running high because of a rent boycott organised by the ANC-aligned civic organisation

They recruit more than 30 members from a local group of gangsters called the Black Cats and take them to a secret base on a farm near Mkuze in northern Natal where they are trained by Luthuli and his Caprivi colleague, Peter Msane, to shoot with pump-action shotguns and 9mm handguns The gang members are then sent back to Wesselton where they bomb the offices of a local human rights lawyer and kill members of the ANC branch

● Wesselton near Ermelo In August 1990, eight Caprivi killers — including Luthuli and men known as Zweli, Nhlanhla and Lucky "Sugar" Hlongwane — take part in a grisly attack on the funeral of an ANC supporter killed earlier in the month by members of the Black Cat gang During the funeral procession one of the pall-bearers is shot and wounded

This is how a member of the Black Cats later described the incident to the Goldstone Commission "The

[redacted]92, advocate David Soggot told a hearing of the Goldstone Commission established to investigate the activities of the Inkatha paramilitary unit that. "The entire operation relating to the training and deployment of the Caprivi trainees was manifestly masterminded, planned and funded by various members of the Defence Force It was also clear from General Kat Liebenberg's evidence (presented at an earlier stage in the hearing) that, prima facie, the Head of Military Intelligence would have been aware of the operation

"It is pointed out that this operation was carried out in conjunction with Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the KwaZulu Police Force and there must exist in consequence a considerable body of documentation, correspondence, books of account, memoranda and reports capable of proving that then and now the SADF constitutes a most important single source of political violence in the Republic "

Judge Richard Goldstone issued a report after this hearing, one of the first investigations to be conducted by his Commission of Inquiry into the causes of political violence in South Africa, which dismissed these allegations about the role of the Caprivi 200 The trial of the generals due to begin next month will decide the correctness of that judgment.

The shape of SA's arms policy

CT 13/11/95 (254)

HOW DOES the Mandela government see the future of South Africa's controversial arms industry? Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry **KADER ASMAL**, who is chairman of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, outlined his approach to his task in Cape Town last week in an address to an international conference on human rights and economic development

MORAL, political and legal responsibility each requires that we grapple with, rather than wash our hands of, the hard issues of war and of arms production Seemingly naive moral, political and legal objections to particular wars and to particular military tactics have in fact saved millions of lives this century by establishing over time new standards for war and for military strategies

The immunity of medical personnel on battlefields and the role of the Red Cross in armed conflicts are obvious examples

Another reason for my interest in the merchants of death is the imperative of civilian control over the arms trade Asking the generals to determine arms policy is like asking the cats to determine pigeon policy If we are to avoid such absurdities, the new democratic government must be firmly in the driver's seat And it is

Arms policy can be – and must be – driven by a mature and humanistic approach Most of those who supported the decades-long armed struggle against apartheid were obviously serving a moral imperative – even if some individuals in the arms supply chain were merely engaging in a nihilistic pursuit of profit

Hard issues arise for progressive policymakers in regulating the arms trade because industrial mechanisms are necessary to sustain military readiness Because of this, there is an ever-present risk that the military-industrial machine will overwhelm the moral compass that ought to guide it The tail might wag the dog This is most obviously the case where state resources are diverted to arms production in a process that some have called "military Keynesianism" Even among governments rhetorically committed to rolling back the frontiers of the state, this dynamic can trigger a relentless state-funded military expansionism

Short of straightforward state handouts – indeed, precisely in the effort to avoid them – a second risk arises The arms industry, told to wean itself off the fiscus, turns to the claim that it must be allowed to operate on a so-called "commercial" footing, potentially erasing exactly the moral, political – sometimes even legal – concerns that should be paramount As a concrete way forward, I would like briefly to identify some guiding principles in restructuring the military-industrial complex to match the political ethics of the new South Africa



SPELLING IT OUT: Kader Asmal explains his ideas for the future of SA's arms policy

❑ **No Sacred Cows** A crucial question is whether our military industrial infrastructure, inherited from apartheid, ought to survive intact Our approach should not be limited only to figuring out how to maintain existing output capacity Ethically-driven restructuring of the inherited arms industry may require downsizing and cessation of some activities

❑ **Product Review** Our moral and political conclusions about the conduct of war will obviously impact on the product range that we will countenance The most obvious case is our erstwhile nuclear capacity – as to which, good riddance!

Similarly, land mines and other products that indiscriminately harm civilians are unlikely to survive the new South Africa's ethical scrutiny In the area of the provision of military services, the apparently booming South African private sector trade in mercenary services is certainly attracting critical attention from policymakers

❑ **Citizen Priorities** Citizen armies are justifiably out of fashion and compulsory conscription has thankfully been terminated In the new military ethics the arms trade must serve – rather than feed upon – the citizenry Apart from retooling its product line for new tasks such as disaster relief and international peacekeeping, the South African arms industry must become more representative of the country as a whole

❑ **Broader Industrial Strategy.** One aspect of the new citizen-driven basis for the arms industry is so important as to require special mention Some of South Africa's most sophisticated technology is locked up in the arms business The world-class technology that produced the Rooivalk and the G5 and G6 guns must be made more broadly available to the private sector This will benefit the global competitiveness of South African industry beyond the arms sector

❑ **Regional, Continental and South-South Co-operation·** Among the flaws in the argument for complete abolition of the South African arms industry is the fact that such a course would immediately leave South African, regional, and Pan-African military security at the mercy of the world's other arms producers These producers are predominantly rich Western nations which habitually impose aggressive conditions on arms sales We might become client states of our military patrons This could severely compromise South Africa's existing and potential role as a leader on the world stage

Arms policy can and must be driven by a mature and humanistic approach. Land mines and other products that indiscriminately harm civilians are unlikely to survive the new South Africa's ethical scrutiny.

This agenda – the transformation of South Africa's military industrial complex to serve redefined national security needs and a new set of moral and political values – is obviously ambitious But more striking than that is the fact that it is utterly realistic Rather than resisting this agenda, Armscor is actively aboard, openly saying in the press that political priorities will determine arms industry policy

The novelty of this achievement should not be overlooked In other countries, some far more prosperous than South Africa, there are suggestions – sometimes hyperbolic and sometimes credible – that the military industrial complex runs the economy

In South Africa there is no risk of that When former Defence Minister Magnus Malan recently claimed that his arrest marked the darkest day for South African democracy, his threat seemed more perplexing than ominous Unperturbed, most South Africans simply turned the page to read the local-government election results

The democratic government's unfettered ability to reshape our military-industrial complex in the image and likeness of the new South Africa is one of the more profound triumphs of the new democracy

Soldiers 'to be disciplined' after IFP rally actions

BD 14/11/95 (254)

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Four arrested SA National Defence Force members — who were part of an ANC crowd which allegedly caused disruptions at an IFP rally in Estcourt on Sunday — would face disciplinary action, SANDF KwaZulu-Natal commanding officer Brig Chris Le Roux said yesterday.

IFP defence spokesman Philip Powell said the IFP had informed police last week that the party had received information that local ANC structures had "hired" SANDF members — who were former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members — to assassinate IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the rally in Okhahlamba, near Estcourt.

Powell said the arrests raised a question of whether the IFP information was correct.

"At best, these members are guilty of violating the constitutional provision of neutrality At worst, we have a group of SANDF members recruited directly to assassinate Buthelezi," Powell said

Le Roux said the four SANDF members were on official leave, but had been dressed in brown SANDF uniforms at the time of their arrest He confirmed that the four had been arrested, and that there would be an in-depth investigation into the allegations against them. They would face disciplinary action in terms of the military disciplinary code, Le Roux said

Powell said the four had acted in direct violation of SANDF orders which stipulated that soldiers could not participate in political activities in uniform.

Powell said the four were part of an ANC group which hurled insults and threw stones at IFP supporters proceeding to Buthelezi's rally. ANC supporters had reached a declaration of peace signed with the IFP in Estcourt last week It was clear that the ANC had abandoned negotiations in favour of the "Matabele option" of "physically obliterating" the IFP, Powell claimed

Powell said the incident highlighted the need for Defence Minister Joe Modise to launch an independent investigation into the role MK members, integrated into the SANDF and the police, were playing in destabilising KwaZulu-Natal.

PRODUCTIVITY SA

the most



Health officials' fate will be determined by auditor

BD 14/11/95

Sello Motlhabakwe

THE fate of three senior Northern Province health and welfare ministry officials, suspended yesterday, would depend on an independent auditor's report, spokesman Tshepo Moshima said.

Health and Welfare MEC Joe Phahla announced yesterday the suspension of three top officials in his ministry for allegedly authorising about 45 promotions of provincial hospital personnel without ministerial sanction.

Moshima said an investigation conducted by the department on an alert from a number of hospital administrative department heads had uncovered the irregular promotions.

Among the personnel promoted were hospital clerks and nurses whose rankings were upgraded from senior professional nurse to chief professional nurse in September this year. The promotions were backdated to July 1993 with full benefits. The promotions emanated from the former Lebowa government offices.

Moshima said the irregular promotions as well as procedural promotions would be reversed by the department until the conclusion of the auditor's investigation.

He said the preliminary investigation had revealed that the three officials, two of whom were principal personnel officers and one a senior personnel officer, had promoted themselves and the 45 other staff members who were all from the former Lebowa homeland administration.

KwaZulu-Natal to get police reinforcements before voting

Nicola Jenvey

Apla defence force intake far lower than expected

(254) Star 15/11/95

Only 539 former Azanian People's Liberation Army members had reported for integration with the national defence force at the De Brug assembly point near Bloemfontein by Friday, the defence force said yesterday

An internal SANDF bulletin said an intake of 1 170 had been expected Only 203 of 250 recruits expected from the Eastern Cape reported. Of these 53 were rejected.

Reasons for the rejections included names of prospective recruits not appearing on the official Apla lists, and no valid identification documents.

Some recruits younger than 21 could not prove parental consent.

Reported Apla terror threats in the province were met with a security alert – Sapa.

'Witch hunt' fears raised by FW about Malan trial

(254)

ARG 16/11/95

AMSTERDAM. — The trial of ex-South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan on political violence charges raised fears of a "witch hunt" against defenders of the former government, Deputy President F W de Klerk has said here

The trial of General Malan and 10 former senior military officers "raises the question of... double standards", Mr De Klerk told a news conference on the last day of an official visit to the Netherlands yesterday.

The 11 are due to appear in court on December 1 to face charges relating to the murders of 13 people in KwaZulu-Natal in 1987.

Many prominent members of the ANC who were granted immunity from prosecution for crimes committed in the fight against apartheid were in an "exactly comparable position" to General Malan, Mr De Klerk said.

"If trials are to go ahead then that immunity must be removed if we are to have even-handedness," he added.

There was a "serious risk" that instead of achieving its aim of reconciliation, the soon-to-be appointed Truth Commission could "rekindle the bitterness".

He said if the commission was misused as a witch hunt, elements within the security forces would press for information in their possession to be investigated in the same detail. — Reuter.

'People's army' sought by SANDF

Star 17/11/95 (254)

A R69-million package to encourage about 200,000 South Africans to do part-time military service was announced by Defence Minister Joe Modise yesterday

Incentives for part-time soldiers will include a volunteer service bonus and occupational allowances, he told a media briefing in Pretoria

SA National Defence Force chief Gen Georg Meiring said the defence force hoped to get about 200 000 part-time volunteers. At present the target appeared to be within reach, and the incentives would prompt more applications

The new system provided for part-time volunteers to receive the same daily pay and allowances as full-time members, on the condition that they had completed their training and were willing to serve for at least 12 days a year

The daily pay of a private, airman or seaman would be R47 plus a service allowance of R13 a day. Those doing duty in an operational area would get another R20 a day

The amounts in the case of a colonel were respectively R233, R9 and R45

Volunteer soldiers would get an extra service bonus of R303 a year. After four years of service this would increase to R455

They would also be paid occupational allowances depending on their specialist qualification, in the same way as full-time members

While in service, volunteers would be entitled to SANDF medical benefits, group life insurance and access to sport and recreational facilities

SANDF chief of staff Vice-Admiral Piet Loedolff said R69,2-million of the defence force budget had been set aside for the incentives

Modise said a voluntary part-time system was the only way of providing affordable defence for South Africa The existing permanent component of the SANDF would be rationalised from about 135 000 to 90 000 members by 1999

Meiring said the new system was effective from August 1 this year – Sapa

SANDF's part-time soldiers to be paid at permanent force levels

BD 17/11/95 (254)

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — A new incentive scheme to prompt "the country's finest sons and daughters" to volunteer for the SA National Defence Force part-time component was disclosed by Defence Minister Joe Modise yesterday.

The package of service benefits would place part-time soldiers on par with their full-time colleagues as far as status, pay and treatment were concerned, Modise said at a defence ministry news briefing.

More than R69m had been budgeted for this year to increase the salaries of part-time soldiers. This amount would be increased about 75% next year to pay roughly 200 000 people expected to volunteer for part-time service.

SANDF chief Gen Georg Meiring said an important aspect of the new system would be incentives for employers willing to allow their staff to attend annual military camps. Details were still being discussed with captains of industry and organised labour nationwide, he said.

Volunteers would be expected to sign up for at least five years, but the period of active service each year would be as short as possible, Meiring said.

A service bonus would be payable to volunteers who served 12 days a year for four years.

Additional operational deployment allowances would also be paid.

Modise said a voluntary part-time system was the only way of providing affordable defence for SA.

"A part-time system is cost effective because the trained members are used only when required. Even if the running costs of part-time units are the same as for full-time units, they cost much less because they are paid only when actually in service."

He said the new system represented a radical change from the previous system in that it offered more freedom and flexibility, but also much more risk, involvement and responsibility.

Volunteers, employers and the defence force would have to agree on the duration and timing of volunteers' periods of service.

The quality of volunteers was important. They had to be patriotic, loyal, hard-working, trustworthy, responsible, fit and have the potential to be trained to use expensive and dangerous weapons and equipment, the minister said.

However, it was important that the existing skills and capabilities of the part-time component were retained.

"It is impossible to replace the skills of current part-time members and of other trained military personnel," Modise said.

Plan for part-time army

CT 17/11/95 (254)

PRETORIA. A R69 million package to encourage about 200 000 South Africans to do part-time military service was announced by Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise yesterday

Incentives included a volunteer service bonus and occupational allowances, he said here

Volunteers will qualify for the same pay and allowances as full-time members, on condition they complete their training and are willing to serve 12 days a year.

In-service volunteers would be entitled to SANDF medical benefits, group life insurance and access to sport and recreation facilities.

A voluntary part-time system was the only way of providing affordable defence for South Africa, as a large full-time force was too expensive, Mr Modise said.

SANDF chief General Georg Meiring said full-time personnel should comprise only one-third of the total defence force. — Sapa

Peace group alleges Armscor cover-up

(254) AAG 18/11/95

JOHANNESBURG — A South African peace group has accused the government and defence establishment of covering up the true extent of the country's involvement in the development of "thinking" anti-personnel mines

But state arms procurement agency Armscor said while the Denel arms group was researching the development of so-called "smart" mines which disarmed themselves, no decision had been made to manufacture them

The Ceasefire Campaign, a South African peace group, said it believed there was a deliberate attempt to cover up the situation regarding the development of such mines in South Africa, which has banned the export of all mines

The group accused the South African military, the government and defence industry of covering up the true extent of the country's involvement in smart-mine technology

Ceasefire Campaign spokesman Douglas Torr said that in talks earlier this year involving non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the main players in the military and defence industry, no mention was made of the fact that South Africa was already developing smart-mine technology

"Although members of NGOs, supporting a total ban on anti-personnel landmines, referred to smart-mines, there was no response to this," Mr Torr said in a statement.

He said subsequent statements by South African foreign affairs officials and Defence Minister Joe Modise that Pretoria would try to develop new technology for self-destructing and self-deactivating mines obscured the truth

The Defence Ministry said Mr Modise was not available and it would be wrong to link any state agency with landmine research, which was being carried out by commercial companies. Denel officials could not be reached.

Armscor spokesman Bertus Cilliers said electronics built into the smart, anti-personnel weapons, which were intended "for defence", enabled the short-life mines to be deactivated automatically after a set period of time

"So far, it is restricted to research and development, there is no manufacture," Mr Cilliers said, adding he could not put any timetable on possible plans to bring them into service.

He said the Naschem company, which was researching the explosives side of smart-mine technology, was a former Armscor subsidiary which had been passed on to the Denel group in 1992

The United Nations estimates that some 110 million landmines are hidden and yet to be cleared in some 64 countries They kill or maim over 20 000 civilians every year, many of them children — Reuter

New-look SA army calls on volunteers, not conscripts

(254) ARG 18/11/93

Own Correspondent

COMPULSORY military conscription is out, and that's official

South Africans have now been urged to do part-time military service under a new army system where they will receive the same payment and bonuses as full-time soldiers

Their only duty will be to volunteer at least 12 days a year after signing up

Speaking in Durban yesterday, corporate communications officer of the Durban Light Infantry Bill Olivier said: "The army is no longer limited and all we want is a well-trained team of soldiers on the ground, irrespective of race or gender The system of benefits will also be very different from the past"

One of the main reasons for the major change in the military system was the economy, which no longer allowed for the expenditure necessary to support a full-time army. "In addition, there are still other major cutbacks to be made in the defence budget as that money is needed elsewhere," said Colonel Olivier.

Employers were urged to allow their workers to volunteer as it was valuable to have employees with some military training.

"We are also very pleased that President Mandela has pledged his support for the new system," said Colonel Olivier

From a core group of at least 130 000 permanent force members, the

Nelson rallies the top brass

ST 19/11/95

(254)

By CYRIL MADLALA

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has told the country's military generals he will not be blackmailed by threats of violent reaction to the prosecution of former Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and other military and police heavyweights

President Mandela took the extraordinary step of speaking to the military's top structure, the Defence Command Council, on the eve of his departure to New Zealand last week

An internal defence force bulletin reported Mr Mandela as saying "Radicalism must be avoided at all costs, irrespective of the origin thereof."

The defence force chief, General Georg Meiring, told the president there were elements trying to exploit the arrests to sow hatred and division within the force.

Such subversive elements should not be allowed to succeed.

Nevertheless, it was "a painful matter" for the council that so many former and present colleagues had been arrested in connection with alleged third-force activities, General Meiring said.

The Defence Command Council consists of the heads of the different security forces, including the army, navy and air force

As commander-in-chief of the armed forces, Mr Mandela occasionally meets the council, but last week's meeting was one of a series of briefings with political, business and

To Page 2 ➪

Mandela meets generals

➪ From Page 1

church leaders on the controversial arrests

The briefings followed an outcry from the right wing and the National Party that the prosecutions threatened the government of national unity

General Malan and 10 other senior officers have been arrested in connection with the massacre of 13 people in Kwamakutha, Kwazulu Natal, in 1987

General Meiring said he would believe in their innocence unless it was proved otherwise

He assured the president the defence force would conduct itself in a neutral manner at all times

"Nothing will be done to in any way prejudice a fair trial or to interfere with the independence of the judiciary," he said

But a military expert said right-wing defence force members realised the process of change in the country could not be reversed, and were trying to use the prosecutions to "play a low-key stumbling block role within the army"

The defence force bulletin said Mr Mandela told the council he was "immensely perturbed" by the arrests of such prominent people

But he would not interfere with their right to defend themselves in court

He wanted to secure the defence force's co-operation and commitment to allow the law to take its course without damaging South Africa

He said General Malan's trial should be looked at as being in the best interests of the whole country, and not from racial and partisan perspectives

"Failure to do so has already led to deep divisions," Mr Mandela said

However, the head of the parliamentary defence committee, Tony Yengeni, ruled out any serious threat from disgruntled defence force members

General Malan and 19 others will appear in the Durban regional court on December 1 when they are expected to be served with an indictment detailing their alleged roles in the massacre

The accused include former defence force chief General Jannie Geldenhuys, former chief of the army General Kat Liebenberg and former military intelligence director General Tienie Groenewald.

(254) ST 19/11/95

Call it general amnesia

Former Defence Minister Magnus Malan knows more than most about interference in the judicial process, says JEREMY GAUNTLETT

GENERAL Magnus Malan is about to stand trial for murder. This relates to a single incident in Kwazulu Natal in which 13 people died Freshly fingerprinted, he rails from the court steps against "democracy's darkest hour" He also warns against "political interference in the judicial process"

What this means is obscure Surely not the hasty endeavours by F W de Klerk to obtain indemnity· the general himself previously scorned that route

If he means that the Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, has told Attorney General Tim McNally to prosecute him, and that the latter has meekly agreed, he should say so That improbable scenario — the minister and Kwazulu Natal's highest law officer seem not to be intimate — would be serious indeed

What General Malan does not disclose is that he knows more than most about interference in the judicial process. Whether convicted in Kwazulu Natal or not, it seems that he will escape trial, and perhaps even investigation, in relation to deaths perpetrated during the 15 long years he headed the army and then its ministry. Time and again, when prosecutors or civil litigants took on the army, he blocked the courts

These are a few examples The facts are taken from the court judgments

●In 1978, 152 civilians — including women and children — were seized by the army in its infamous raid on Cassinga in Angola They were held secretly and without trial by the army in detention camps for six years When their existence and location were discovered in 1984 and habeas corpus was sought, General Malan opposed the application He provided a report on the basis of which his colleague, the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetzee, certified in terms of Section 103 of the Defence Act that these captives were held in good faith and in the "combating of terrorism"

That certificate was set aside as invalid

●In 1986, Immanuel Shifidi, an elderly man, was murdered at a lawful public meeting in Windhoek The evidence was that 26 soldiers of 101 battalion, armed with knives, sticks and even bows and arrows, were transported to Windhoek to attack members of the public at the meeting The attorney general tried to prosecute a number of them, including high officers, some of whom still serve Again, a certificate was issued stopping the prosecution Mr Coetzee stated that the killing was "done for the purposes of . the prevention or suppression of terrorism in an operational area ". Mr Coetzee could not so act without a report from General Malan. General Malan obliged, but he refused to disclose his report to the court

This certificate was also set aside by the court

●In 1985, Frans Uapota was killed by members of the army outside a shop The Namibian attorney general prosecuted the soldiers General Malan was prepared to certify that the killing was done to "suppress" terrorism This was held by the courts to be "misleading information" The true facts (a pathologist and trauma surgeon both said) were that Mr Uapota suffered nine broken ribs, a ruptured spleen, a fracture of the neck, and strangulation with a noose Once again the Supreme Court held that General Malan had abused his power to stop a prosecution, and set aside the certificate

●In 1988, the End Conscription Campaign sought to interdict General Malan (and through him the army) from a campaign of harassment General Malan first attempted to impose secrecy on the court The initial order granted in this regard was set aside and the minister was ordered to pay punitive costs Then General Malan said that martial law prevailed in South Africa in 1988 and that the issue was beyond the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court This too failed

The court then detailed a number of acts of harassment in its judgment, and noted that the minister himself not only admitted "that these actions were officially undertaken by the SADF, but also that similar actions — all of which they alleged to be legitimate and lawful — will be undertaken in the future" The court granted the interdict

There are other examples It was after all General Malan, Denis Herbstein reminds us (*The Devils are Among Us*), who instructed the police to set up the infamous Koevoet Its role in killings, assaults and torture are documented in the inquest records of Namibia

General Malan is surely right, if forgetful There must be no interference in the judicial process in his case

● *Jeremy Gauntlett, SC, appeared as counsel in all the cases mentioned*

(254) ST 19/11/95

Setback in drive to export SA's weapons

ST 19/11/95 (254)

By PETER De IONNO

SOUTH AFRICAN arms industry officials claim that a R4-million drive to increase exports to the Middle East was stymied by the cancellation of a visit by a delegation to be led by the Minister of Defence, Joe Modise, to the Dubai 95 Aerospace Exhibition.

Last-minute attempts by industry leaders to get just one member of the delegation to attend failed, and officials waited in vain at Abu Dhabi airport for the arrival of Mr Modise's deputy, Ronnie Kasrils.

A spokesman for the ministry said Mr Modise and Mr Kasrils had other "matters of state" to attend to.

Industry officials familiar with the Middle East said it was impossible for marketing managers to meet decision makers without the support of senior politicians.

Rafique Gangat, South Africa's chargé d'affaires to the United Arab Emirates, said the failure to send high-level political and military representatives to the exhibition put South Africa's industry at a severe disadvantage.

He was also scathing about outdated information from Armscor that had confused Gulf officials — such as stating that Armscor chairman Johan Moolman and chief executive Tielmann de Waal would be at the show.

Both men left the corporation at the end of August.

'Arms trade cannot be blind to human rights'

(254) BD 20/11/95

DEPUTY President Thabo Mbeki told a meeting between government and the state arms procurement agency Armscor the arms trade could not turn a blind eye to abuses of human rights, Armscor said yesterday

Armscor said senior Cabinet ministers and public servants at Friday's meeting came out strongly in support of its continued existence.

It quoted Mbeki as saying: "The changed circumstances demand transparency and popular participation.

"The arms trade cannot turn a blind eye to abuses of human rights."

During the apartheid era SA's arms deals were a closely-guarded secret, but they have become more public since last years all-race elections.

SA has banned arms trading with several countries, including Nigeria, which earlier this month hanged nine minority rights activists.

Armscor said delegates at the Pretoria meeting, attended by seven ministers and 20 senior officials, agreed that a balance had to be found between the excessive secrecy of the past and transparency when considering recipient needs for confidentiality.

Defence Minister Joe Modise was among ministers at the conference, which was closed to the media.—Sapa

(254) 20/11/95

De Klerk may have to resign

Sowetan

THE arrest and prosecution of General Magnus Malan and other former senior officers of the army may produce evidence that could force deputy president FW de Klerk to resign.

This is the view of researcher Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, in a quarterly review for the South African Chamber of Business.

Schlemmer said the prosecution "reflects badly on the strategic foresight of the previous government's negotiators.

"While the conclusion is reached that the danger of a rightwing rebellion of sorts is overstated, other implications are grave. Among these is that things may be said which will put De Klerk under pressure to resign," he wrote. – *Political staff*

MONDAY
NOVEMBER 20, 1995

'Arms trade can't ignore rights abuse'

CT 20/11/95 (251 254)

JOHANNESBURG: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki told a meeting between the government and state arms procurement agency Armscor the arms trade could not turn a blind eye to abuses of human rights

Armscor said in a statement at the weekend that cabinet ministers and senior public servants at a meeting on Friday strongly supported Armscor's continued existence.

It quoted Mr Mbeki as saying: "The changed circumstances demand transparency and popular participation in government The Arms trade cannot turn a blind eye to abuses of human rights"

South Africa has banned arms trading with several countries, including Nigeria.

Armscor said delegates at the meeting had agreed that a balance had to be found between the excessive secrecy of the past and transparency when considering 'the recipient countries' needs for confidentiality

The arms procurement agency said that Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Mr Kader Asmal, who heads the national conventional arms control committee, countered critics who said four levels of control on arms deals slowed down the approval of permits.

It quoted Mr Asmal as saying he had seen hundreds of permits processed to the value of R547 million to 64 countries

Critics

Extra controls on arms deals were brought in following the abortive sale of a shipment of AK-47 assault rifles and other weapons to Yemen while end-user certificates indicated they were destined for Lebanon

Armscor chairman Mr Ron Haywood called on the government to support a competitive industry that made a major contribution to the economy — Sapa

President to see PW about trial

(254)

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CT 21/11/95

(252)

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela is to meet former president Mr P W Botha this morning to discuss the Truth Commission and the prosecution of General Magnus Malan and 10 other top former military officers on 13 counts of murder.

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen is also to attend the meeting at Mr Botha's home in Wilderness.

News of the potentially explosive encounter came soon after the announcement that eight Capetonians — including Archbishop Desmond Tutu — were among those on the shortlist for the 25-member Truth Commission.

Between 11 and 17 of the candidates are to be chosen by Mr Mandela to sit on the commission after he has consulted the cabinet next Wednesday.

Presidential spokesperson Mr Parks Mankahlana said last night that Mr Mandela "deemed it desirable" to discuss with Mr Botha the prosecution of senior military officers who served under the former government.

The Truth Commission was also likely to feature in the discussions, scheduled to last up to two hours, he said.

Truth Commission

General Viljoen, who had been highly critical of the decision to prosecute the former military top brass, was accompanying Mr Mandela because "he has been involved in a number of constructive discussions with the President and in this regard constitutes a valuable partner in working towards resolving the problems of the country".

A third of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission candidates chosen for the shortlist from 49 nominees are from Cape Town. One is from kwaZulu/Natal.

The other seven Cape Town candidates are: director of Justice in Transition Dr Alex Boraine; Dutch Reformed minister the Rev Murray Coetsee, UCT political scientist Professor André du Toit; Ms Glenda Wildschut of the Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture; former Black Sash president Mrs Mary Burton, and Father Michael Lapsley, who lost both hands in a letter-bomb.

Panel chairperson Dr Fink Haysom said in a statement yesterday that the selection panel had been concerned that kwaZulu-Natal was represented adequately on the shortlist. He asked Mr Mandela to consider figures respected in the province for the commission.

The panel said it had not included the Rev Frank Chikane, head of South African Council of Churches, in the list as it had not received his guarantee of availability in time. However, he had since said he would be available and Mr Mandela would be advised of this.

The selection panel said it had not included Mr Justice Edwin King of the Cape Supreme Court in the shortlist, but would recommend he sit on an Amnesty Committee.

From now on, civilians will exercise ultimate control over our armed forces



In the eighth part of a series on important legislation to emerge from Parliament, Political Correspondent Patrick Bulger examines the Defence Amendment Act.

Star 22/11/95 (254)

The Interim Constitution provides for the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) to be created out of the amalgamation of the former SADF, the armed wings of former liberation armies and the TBVC and homeland militaries

The constitution provides that the president of the Republic will also be the commander-in-chief of the SANDF and that the Minister of Defence will exercise political control

The constitutional provisions have made it unnecessary thus far to introduce a new defence act to replace the principal act dating from 1957.

While a defence white paper is being drawn up to allow for a more comprehensive legislative framework for the military to function within a democracy, the 1995 Defence Amendment Act was introduced as a first step towards establishing civilian control over the soldiers and the way they spend public monies

The act introduces more detail to the defence hierarchy by introducing a civilian defence secretariat and assigning it some of the powers and functions that were traditionally the preserve of the chief of the defence force

In doing so, the act attempts to undo a trend which became especially marked in the 1980s when high-ranking soldiers ran the entire defence force and rose, in the case of former defence minister, General Magnus Malan, to high political office through the ranks of the army

As the memorandum on the objects of the act states, "it has been the declared aim and policy of Government to establish actual civilian control over the newly established NDF"

The act formalises a "balanced model" approved earlier by the cabinet in anticipation of the legislation which enables a secretary for defence to act independently and interdependently of the chief of the defence force, who retains military executive control over the military

The first secretary of defence appointed as from April 1 1995 is Pierre Steyn, who is assisted by secretariat members, some of whom are seconded members of the SANDF The law stipulates that the secretary must not be a member of the SANDF

There was some controversy in Parliament when members of the joint standing committee on defence objected to the fact that so many serving SANDF members had been appointed on contracts

> **Security clearances and access to all info for civilian staff**

ranging from a year to three years to the "civilian" secretariat.

These objections were overcome by assurances that such appointments were temporary and that civilian trainees would in effect understudy the experienced incumbents

The defence secretary is responsible to the minister of defence as the "principal adviser with regard to defence policy matters" and any other matter investigated by the parliamentary standing committee on defence. He is also the chief accounting officer of the armed forces, a task previously performed by the chief of the SANDF

As the chief accounting officer, the defence secretary can issue instructions to the chief of the SANDF and monitor compliance with the financial directives issued

The act also provides that even as civilians, the members of the defence secretariat will be given security clearances and access to whatever information they need to perform their tasks

The act then goes on to set out and further elaborate on what the constitution has already laid down will be the tasks of the chief of the SANDF

He is the principal adviser to the minister on any "military, operational and administrative matter" within his competence, he is responsible for formulating military policy and for ensuring that orders and directives issued by the secretary of defence are carried out He is responsible for supplying necessary information to the secretary, he is in charge of staff, training and the maintenance of an "adequate military response capability with respect to peacekeeping operations" and finally the maintenance of discipline within the defence force

At the insistence of the auditor-general, the act also provides a general exemption for members of the defence force from paying toll duties

It also makes it an offence for any person to subject a member of the defence force to "unreasonable delay" at a wharf, landing place, bridge, pont, ferry, toll-bar, gate or point. However, the chief of the defence force may also determine that the defence force's movements are indeed subject to the payment of the above toll fees and that such expenditure shall be authorised

Future legislation will have to determine just what role the SANDF will play and whether the cost of maintaining a highly sophisticated military capacity in an era of uncertain peace can be justified

Mutinous soldiers held

~~15~~ (254)

Protesting SANDF members were arrested in Pretoria yesterday after refusing to continue with their training because of money owing to them. Star 22/11/95

The 321 soldiers were arrested at Voortrekkerhoogte by military police after they demanded their back-pay, approved by the Cabinet earlier this year.

However, Northern Transvaal Command spokesman Col Daan Boshoff said it would take a while to complete the necessary administrative processes.

The arrested soldiers are being held at jails in Gauteng – Pretoria Correspondent



Old habits . but the wagging finger does not rule any more P W Botha addresses a press conference with President Mandela at his retirement home in The Wilderness, George yesterday. They and Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen discussed "lowering temperatures" over the Truth Commission.

I won't stop Malan trial, Mandela tells PW

Star 22/11/95 (264) (265)

By Mondli Makhanya and Reuters

President Mandela yesterday stood firm in his refusal to interfere in the trial of former military generals, when he rejected former state president P W Botha's calls for a moratorium on the prosecutions

He also turned down a request by Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen that imprisoned Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members be allowed to spend Christmas with their families

Mandela told Botha and Viljoen at Botha s home, in The Wilderness near George, that he wanted to leave to the courts the trial of former defence minister Magnus Malan and 10 other military men

He said the trials should go ahead because it was necessary that people should not be treated differently because they had served in the present or previous governments

"I said that in this case I will not interfere The independence of the courts must be respected That is my position It is inflexible," Mandela said

"Don't awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner," Botha said "But don't awaken at the same time the tiger in the Xhosa people, in the Zulu people, in the Tswana people We are a multicultural people"

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said that while the president was committed to ensuring reconciliation remained on track, he was adamant about not interfering in the administration of justice

"He is saying that nobody is above the law and nobody should be seen to be above the law," said Mankahlana

The president also used his meeting with the two men, who wield considerable clout in right-wing and military circles, to plead with them to "assist him in lowering temperatures" around this question.

Botha had asked Mandela to impose a moratorium on the trials of security force operatives – including Malan and the other generals – until the truth commission begins its work, so that such people could have the option of testifying

Mandela pointed out that the "Malan 11" could apply for amnesty – or he and the others could use the courts to get their trial delayed until the truth commission began its work.

The meeting was the most crucial in a series of briefings Mandela has been holding with role-players about the trial and the impending truth commission. He has been trying to allay fears of a witch-hunt and to prevent instability

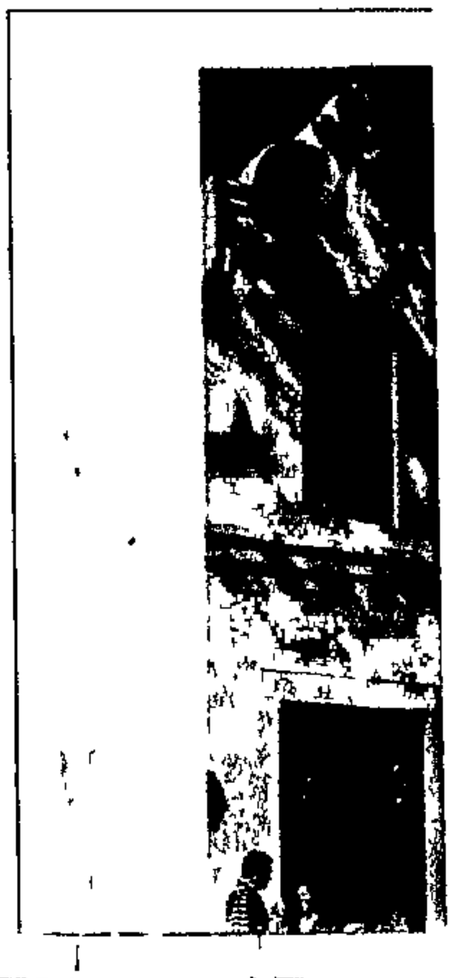
Mandela explained that he was also under pressure from his own supporters, who had endured detention without trial

Botha told a media conference after the meeting that he would not testify to the truth commission and warned the Government not "to awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner"

"I am not going to the truth commission I am not going to repent I am not going to ask for favours. What I did, I did for my country, for my God, for my people and for all the people of South Africa," Botha said.

He added that records in arch-

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lay November 22 1995

'I won't stop Malan trial'

(254) (265)

▶ From Page 1

ives would attest to the fact that he had nothing to hide, or to apologise for

Star 22/11/95

Mandela said he had asked for the meeting with Botha to explain his position on the arrest of Malan and 10 other top military veterans The president said he explained that the arrests were initiated by police and the attorney-general and not by his Government.

Mandela also paid tribute to Botha for having begun, together with him, the process of change in the 1980s

Defence law 'violates' right of access to courts

BD 22/11/95 (254)

Susan Russell

A SECTION of the Defence Act which limits the time period during which a member of the public may institute a claim against the security forces for damages is a violation of the guaranteed right of access to the courts, the Constitutional Court heard yesterday.

The constitutionality of section 113(1) of the Defence Act was challenged on similar grounds in two separate applications heard simultaneously by the Constitutional Court.

In terms of the Act a member of the public suing the defence force must institute action within six months of the event leading to the litigation or else they lose their right to do so. In addition the prospective litigant must give the defence force one month's notice of their intention to sue before instituting action

The first application challenging the provision was argued on behalf of a former member of the SANDF's now disbanded covert Civil Cooperation Unit, Lafras Luitingh, who wishes to pursue a R1,1m claim for payments which he alleges he is still owed by his former employers.

The second application was brought on behalf of an Alexandra youth, Leach Mokela Mohlomi, who instituted action against the defence force after he was shot and badly wounded in the leg by a member of the security forces in May last year.

It was argued on behalf of counsel appearing separately for the pair yesterday that section 113(1) was a violation of both the equality clause in the constitution as well as section 22 which guarantees the right of access to the courts

The court was told that the section violated the equality clause because it unequally favoured the SANDF over litigants, who would not be constrained by the same limitation in civil actions against other parties.

Counsel for Mohlomi, Gilbert Marcus SC, said it was integral to any society that respected the rule of law that it was the courts that were entrusted with dispute resolution.

"The alternative," he said, "is self help and chaos."

Marcus said that although section 133(1) of the Defence Act did not stop a litigant from going to court it did make it more difficult.

An absence of provisions giving the judges hearing the matter in the lower courts a discretion to extend the six month prescription was, on the face of it, a violation of section 22, he said.

The defence force opposed the application. It was submitted on their behalf that the prescribed six-month period was necessary because the SANDF was, and still is, a large organisation with all sorts of administration difficulties. It also had a large staff turnover despite the fact that there no longer was national service These circumstances made it necessary to deal with claims as timeously as possible.

Counsel for the SANDF, J van der Merwe SC, submitted that section 113(1) was reasonable and justifiable

He also argued that the section did not curtail a person's access to the courts.

Zwelethini and ANC hold 'fruitful' constitutional talks

BD 22/11/95

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini held "fruitful" talks with the ANC yesterday on a constitution for KwaZulu-Natal, but was disappointed at the IFP's failure to pitch up for a meeting on Monday.

An ANC delegation led by ANC national chairman Jacob Zuma tabled its constitutional proposals at a meeting at one of the king's Nongoma palaces.

The meeting took place against the backdrop of an invitation by Zwelithini to the seven political parties in KwaZulu-Natal to hold talks with him on the role they envisaged for the monarchy in the provincial constitution

Zwelithini's spokesman Sifiso Zulu said the monarch would present his proposals after studying the parties' views

He was surprised that the IFP, after scheduling a meeting with him for Monday, had failed to turn up

KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose's office said the IFP was not in a position to present its proposals to Zwelithini because the original plan was that the constitutional committee, made up of representatives of all seven parties, would meet the monarch

A royal family source said Zwelithini was disappointed also that the IFP in its proposals had reduced him to monarch of KwaZulu rather than of the whole province

The IFP altered its position to accommodate the NP and DP, whose support it needed to obtain a two-thirds majority for a constitution The NP and DP insisted on the compromise on the grounds that non-Zulus could not be expected to pay allegiance to Zwelithini

However, the ANC and PAC identified Zwelithini as the constitutional monarch of the whole province

Plot to kill Phosa to be probed

Kevin O'Grady

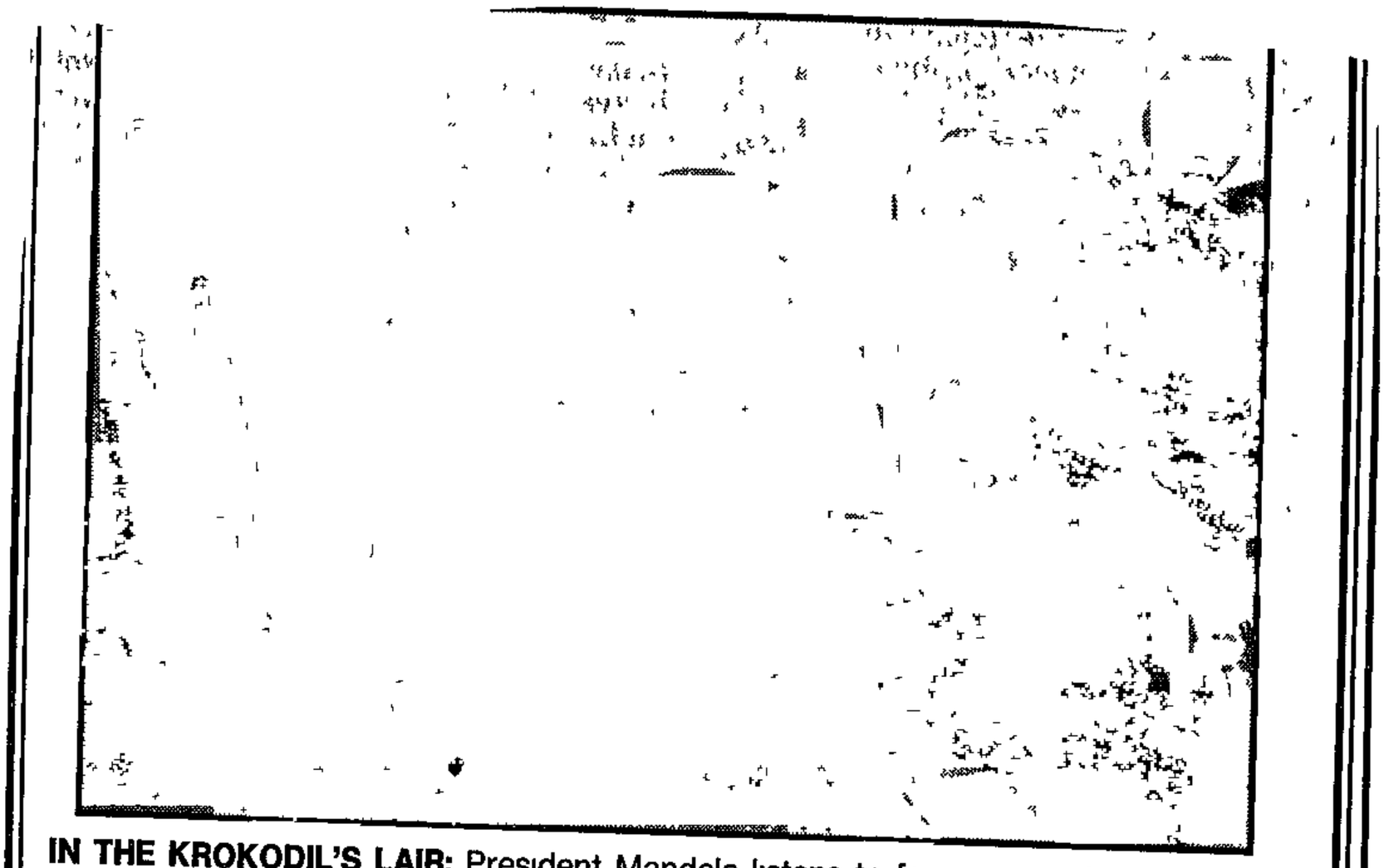
NATIONAL police commissioner George Fivaz has ordered a top-level investigation into gun-running activities in Mpumalanga, and into an alleged plot to assassinate the province's premier, Mathews Phosa

Phosa said yesterday he had met both Fivaz and Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to discuss the alleged involvement of policemen and soldiers in gun-running syndicates in Mpumalanga.

"We agreed the investigation started by Mpumalanga should be continued with vigour and anyone found to be involved should be arrested and prosecuted," Phosa said.

There had been a "huge flood of arms" from Mozambique.

It was also agreed at the meeting that there was substance to allegations of a plot to assassinate Phosa. A senior policeman had been appointed to head both investigations.



IN THE KROKODIL'S LAIR: President Mandela listens to former president P W Botha as he addresses a Press conference after the meeting between the two men and former Defence Force chief Constand Viljoen.

Mandela rules out role in trial of the generals

(254) ARG 22/11/95

Political Correspondent
CLIVE SAWYER reports
from the Wilderness

PRESIDENT Mandela has spelt out firmly to rightwingers, including former president P W Botha, that he will not intervene in the murder trial of Magnus Malan and other former senior security force officers

Mr Mandela was speaking yesterday at the end of a 2½-hour meeting with Mr Botha and Freedom Front leader and former defence force chief Constand Viljoen.

The meeting, at Mr Botha's house Die Anker in the Wilderness, was part of a series of consultations by Mr Mandela to smooth the process of reconciliation while allowing prosecutions following conventional police investigations to take their course

There have been claims that trials like those of General Malan could provoke a rightwing backlash

Yesterday, Mr Botha added his voice to these claims, warning Mr Mandela not to awaken "the tiger in the Afrikaner"

"I am not going to the Truth Commission I am not going to repent I am not going to ask for favours What I did, I did for my country, for my God, for my people and for all the people of South Africa

"Don't awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner But, don't awaken at the same time the tiger in the Xhosa people, in the Zulu people, in the Tswana people We are a multi-cultural people," said Mr Botha

General Viljoen asked Mr Mandela to put a moratorium on prosecutions until the Truth and Reconciliation Commission had been established

Mr Mandela said he would leave everything to the courts

"I will not interfere in the independence of the courts That is my position and it is inflexible"

He made it clear that people who wanted indemnity would be treated no differently from the way that African National Congress freedom fighters had been by the previous government, with indemnity being contingent on full disclosure of alleged offences

He dismissed suggestions that the prosecution of General Malan and the other officers was politically motivated

To imply this reflected on the integrity of the police and of Kwazulu-Natal attorney-general Tim McNally

Mr Mandela issued a warning of his own, that the process of liberation was irrevocable

"Our people fought for and gained independence without asking the permission of anyone

"We have now tasted freedom and they will, . to keep their freedom, pick up stones and bring down bombers and crush military tanks, so determined are they"

Mr Mandela said people should resist thinking with their blood, but should do so rather with their brains.

McNally to take on the generals

ARG 22/11/95 (254)

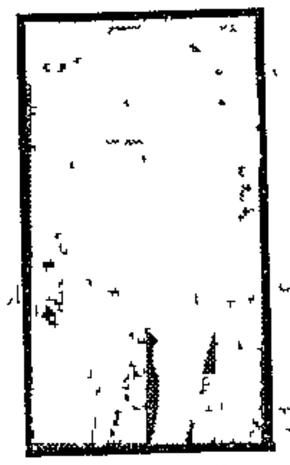
☐ Attorney-general leads case against Magnus

Staff Reporter

KWAZULU-Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally will personally lead the prosecution team in the multiple murder case against former defence minister Magnus Malan when it gets under way in the Durban Supreme Court on March 4 next year.

A total of 20 accused, including General Malan and 10 high-ranking former security officers, will be served Supreme Court indictments and notices of trial at their next regional court appearance on December 1.

Mr Malan will be represented by former Transvaal Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, now in private practice



Tim McNally

The case emanates from the alleged "Third Force" massacre of 13 people, among them several women and children, at Kwa-Makhutha in January 1987.

The accused will also face charges relating to the role they played in helping the Inkatha Freedom Party establish an offensive paramilitary unit

Mr McNally's announcement on the trial date comes a day after President Mandela met former president P W Botha and Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen at Mr Botha's retirement home in the



Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus Chief Photographer

PAST AND PRESIDENT: Former president P W Botha lets his finger do the talking, watched by his house guest President Mandela. The President called on Mr Botha at his home in the Wilderness.

ARG 22/11/95 (254)

[illegible] cerness to discuss the [illegible] and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Mr Botha warned President Mandela not to "awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner" and expressed fear the prosecution was politically motivated

But Mr Mandela replied he would leave everything to the courts

And Mr McNally said today "Mr Botha need have no fear that the accused will be prosecuted 'in the wrong way' It is planned that I will personally lead the prosecution team"

General Malan is the first cabinet member of the former National Party government to be charged in court for alleged crimes associated with the struggle between the forces which upheld apartheid and those which opposed it

The list of witnesses to be called was being finalised, and Mr McNally refused to respond to speculation that Deputy President F W de Klerk and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be on it

"The witnesses will be finalised in the indictment," was all he would say

General Malan and his 10 co-accused will be added to the list of nine others accused of murder in connection with the KwaMakhutha massacre on January 21, 1987, when unknown men armed with AK 47 rifles stormed the home of United Democratic Front leader Victor Ntuli

General Malan's arrest and first court appearance earlier this month set off a flurry of activity in top police circles, who feared a rightwing backlash

Speaking to reporters outside court, General Malan described himself as a democrat and a Christian, saying South Africa was entering its darkest hour.

Mr Mandela yesterday dismissed with contempt suggestions that General Malan's prosecution was politically motivated

This implication reflected on the integrity of the police and Mr McNally, he said

● See page 29

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ral Constand Viljoen
PICTURE: AP

'DON'T AWAKEN THE TIGER,' BOTHA WARNS

I will not testify – PW

ET 22/11/95

(192) (254)

IN A MEETING with President Nelson Mandela — at his retirement home in the Wilderness — former president P W Botha has said he will refuse to testify in front of the Truth Commission and has warned the President "not to awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner".

FORMER South African president Mr P W Botha has bluntly told told President Nelson Mandela in their first public encounter yesterday that he will not repent nor testify to the Truth Commission and he warned Mr Mandela not to awaken the "tiger" in the Afrikaner.

Mr Botha said he would not testify as he had acted for "God, his people and all the people of South Africa".

Mr Mandela responded: "Our people have tasted freedom and they will pick up stones, bring down bombers and crush military tanks to keep their independence and their freedom."

The exchange took place at Mr Botha's home in Wilderness yesterday at Mr Mandela's request and was also attended by Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen.

Their meeting was intended by Mr Mandela to explain his position on the arrest of former defence minister General Magnus Malan and 10 other top military veterans

They face murder charges relating to the killing of 13 people in kwaZulu/Natal in 1987 and are scheduled to appear in court, for the second time, in Durban on December 1

Mr Botha, president when Gen Malan was defence minister and Gen Viljoen chief of the defence force, said "I am not going to the Truth Commission I am not going to repent. I am not going to ask for favours. What I did, I did for my country, for my God, for my people and for all the people of South Africa"

Mr Botha appealed to Mr Mandela to declare a moratorium on the prosecution of apartheid's leaders.

After the meeting, which appeared to have been amicable, Mr Botha said he was concerned about unspecified "tendencies" in South Africa's new democracy. "The president is calm and I am calm, but he must stop the rot in this country," Mr Botha said.

HOT TOPIC AS MAYOR SERVES PRESS
PAGE 4

The meeting lasted for two hours and 20 minutes

Mr Mandela confirmed after their talks that Mr Botha had "asked me to impose a moratorium on all prosecutions until the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has been established, so people can decided what to do in regard to allegations against them"

Mr Mandela said it was not the first time Mr Botha had sought a moratorium and added "I would like to leave everything to the courts"

Mr Botha said all the decisions of his government were recorded in archives which would prove he had nothing to apologise for.

Mr Mandela said he explained to Mr Botha the arrests were initiated by police and the attorney-general and not by his government.

"The independence of the courts must be respected That is my position It is inflexible."

Mr Mandela said no one should be treated differently because of the position they hold or had held under a previous government.

"There is no reason whatsoever why the police or the attorney-general should not take action against people simply because of their position."

He had pointed out this was not the practice in democratic countries and had referred to the impeachment of former president Richard Nixon by the United States congress and the jailing of two corrupt Italian premiers.

Mr Mandela said he had been warned that there could be "repercussions" if the generals were found not guilty after they had been humiliated by being brought before the court He said he and 155 freedom fighters had been freed after a 4½-year prosecution in the treason trial of the early 1960s

"I was ruined as an attorney. We did not create any trouble because we respected the decision of the court

"I gave a warning that our people fought and gained independence on their own without asking permission from anybody We have now tasted freedom and I can assure everybody that they are so determined to keep their independence, their freedom that they will pick up stones, bring down bombers and crush military tanks, so determined they are" — Sapa-Reuter

● See Page 3

McNally tries to reassure PW over Malan prosecution

(254)

Durban – Former president PW Botha need not fear that ex-defence minister Magnus Malan and 19 other murder accused would be prosecuted "in a wrong way", KwaZulu Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally said yesterday

McNally said in a statement he would lead the prosecution team next year in the Durban Supreme Court trial of Malan and 19 others charged with the 1987 murder of 13 people in an attack in KwaMakutha.

He was responding to reports quoting Botha as having warned President Nelson Mandela at a meeting on Tuesday that if Malan and other former security chiefs "are prosecuted in a wrong way, then things can lead to disaster"

In his statement, McNally said "It is planned that I will personally lead the prosecution team."

He said indictments and notices of the trial would be served on the 20 accused at their Durban Regional Court appearance on December 1

"The notices of trial will indicate Monday, March 4, 1996, as the date on which the trial commences in the Durban Supreme Court," he said.

Malan and 10 other top former military officers were arrested and charged on November 2 when they appeared in the Durban Regional Court. They were all released on bail of between R3 000 and R10 000.

The other accused include Brig John More, Col Louis Botha, "MZ" Khumalo and six IFP recruits – Reuters

Star 23/11/95

McNally to prosecute generals

A-G says there need be no fear of case being handled 'in the wrong way'

By *Sowetan* Correspondent

KWAZULU-NATAL attorney-general Tim McNally will personally lead the prosecution team in the multiple murder case against former defence minister Magnus Malan and others when it starts in the Durban Supreme Court on March 4

A total of 20 accused, including Malan and 10 high-ranking former security officers, will be served with Supreme Court indictments and trial notices at their next regional court appearance on December 1

The case involves the alleged "third force" massacre of 13 people, among them several women and children, at KwaMakhutha, in January 1987

The accused also face charges relating to their role in assisting the Inkatha Freedom Party to establish an offensive paramilitary unit

McNally announced the trial date one day after President Mandela met former president PW Botha and Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen at Botha's retirement home in the Wilderness to discuss the pending case and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Botha warned Mandela not to "awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner" and expressed fear that the prosecution was politically motivated

But Mandela replied that he would leave everything to the courts

And McNally said yesterday "Mr Botha need have no fear that the accused will be prosecuted 'in the wrong way' It is planned that I will personally lead the prosecution team"

Malan is the first cabinet member of the former National Party government to be charged in court for alleged crimes associated with the struggle between the forces who upheld apartheid and those who opposed it

The list of witnesses is being finalised, and McNally refused to respond to speculation that Deputy President F W de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be on it

"The witnesses will be finalised in the indictment," was all he would say. Malan and his 10 co-accused will be added to the list of nine others accused of murder in connection with the massacre in 1987

Malan's arrest and first court-appearance earlier this month led to a flurry of activity in top police circles, sparked off by fears of a rightwing backlash

THURSDAY
NOVEMBER 23, 1995 ★

'PROSECUTION WON'T BE DONE IN WRONG WAY'

PW Botha assured on Malan murder trial

(254) CT 23/11/95

DURBAN: The prosecution in the trial of General Magnus Malan and 19 others for the alleged murder of 13 people in 1987 will be led by kwaZulu/Natal attorney-general Mr Tim McNally himself.

KWAZULU/NATAL attorney-general Mr Tim McNally said yesterday former president Mr P W Botha need not fear that ex-defence minister General Magnus Malan and 19 other murder accused would be prosecuted "in a wrong way"

He said in a statement he would lead the prosecution team in the Durban Supreme Court trial of Gen Malan and 19 others charged for the murder of 13 people in an attack in kwaMakutha in 1987.

He was responding to a report quoting Mr Botha as having warned President Nelson Mandela at a meeting on Tuesday that if Gen Malan and other ex-security chiefs "are prosecuted in a wrong way, then things can lead to disaster"

Mr McNally said "It is planned that I will personally lead the prosecution team Mr P W Botha need have no fear that the accused will be prosecuted 'in a wrong way' "

He said indictments and notices of trial would be served on the 20 accused at their Durban Regional Court appearance on December 1

"The notices of trial will indicate Monday, March 4, 1996, as the date on which the trial will commence in the Durban Supreme Court," he added

Gen Malan and 10 other top former military officers were arrested and charged on November 2 when they appeared in the Durban Regional Court. They were all released on bail of between R3 000 and R10 000

The other accused include Brigadier John More, a former military intelligence officer, ex-security policeman Colonel Louis Botha, Inkatha's deputy secretary-general Mr Zakhele "M Z" Khumalo and six IFP recruits who received paramilitary training in the Caprivi Strip in 1986.

The six were later incorporated into the former kwaZulu Police and were allegedly involved in hit-squad activity against Inkatha's political opponents

At Tuesday's meeting Mr Mandela told Mr Botha and General Constand Viljoen he would not stop the trial despite threats of a possible right-wing backlash The independence of the courts had to be respected — Sapa-Reuter-AFP

eat of right-wing action fails to impress

Mystery witness protected overseas

(62) (254) MG 24-30/11/95

A key witness, who could provide explosive evidence in the trial of General Magnus Malan and other officers, is under protection overseas

SEVERAL men, including at least one white former officer, are overseas on a witness protection programme and will be key players in the murder trial of General Magnus Malan and his co-accused.

According to senior political sources, one of them could emerge at the trial as important as policeman Charlie Kloppers, alias Q, was when the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry made startling claims about the Third Force just before last year's democratic elections.

The *Mail & Guardian* knows the identity of the witness who will testify against his former bosses.

He and others on the witness protection programme overseas will give evidence to support information contained in a top-secret file which was handed to Natal's elite investigative Task Unit earlier this year by military intelligence officers in the South African National Defence Force.

Three weeks ago the M&G published details of some of the allegations contained in the documents which will be put to Malan and his colleagues — that a secret sub-committee of the State Security Council established a military training project in the Caprivi Strip for at least 200 Inkatha members

Now a string of witnesses who are under state protection will be called to support the allegations in the secret file.

The indictment will be handed down to Malan, in his capacity as former minister of defence, and nine senior officers in the former SADF next Friday. Also joined in the indictment are six former KwaZulu policemen accused of killing 13 people including six children at KwaMakhuta in 1987.

Among other prominent figures who feature on the list of the accused are Inkatha Freedom Party secretary general MZ Khumalo

There are 27 witnesses named so far. Among the less well known are:

- Brigadier Willem van Deventer, still serving in counter intelligence within the Department of Military Intelligence.
- Brigadier Hattingh Pretorius, former officer commanding Natal Command.
- General Benade, a former secretary of General "Kat" Liebenberg, who is accused of chairing the secret sub-committee which allegedly facilitated the Caprivi 200 project.
- National serviceman at the time, Jakoos Olivier.
- Colonel Anton Niewoudt who worked for both South African and Ciskeian military intelligence and who retired recently.
- Brigadier Hennie Blignaut, formerly of military intelligence who left the SADF and now works in Angola for the controversial military company, Executive Outcomes
- General Jan Buchner, former head of the KwaZulu Police and a former senior security policeman who specialised in interrogating suspected ANC members.
- Detective Warrant Officer Mbhele who originally investigated the KwaMakutha massacre.

Several key witnesses with important

President tames

MG 24-30/11/95 (254)

Eddie Koch

MINUTES after PW Botha this week warned Nelson Mandela against waking the tiger of Afrikaner nationalism, a brown tabby cat wandered into the press conference and began rubbing itself affectionately against the legs of assembled journalists

The incident served to underscore the president's view that threats of a right-wing backlash over the Magnus Malan murder trial are exaggerated and that it is best to leave the justice system unhindered to deal with a more serious threat — escalating hit-squad violence in KwaZulu-Natal

There is little doubt Mandela is treating the Malan trial as one of the most delicate issues on his political agenda of late It has raised the spectre of counter-revolution and the most serious rupture so far in the government of national unity

A number of measures have been put in place to deal with disgruntled right-wingers Last week, Mandela told former Defence Minister Joe Modise not to attend a military exhibition in Dubai in case of problems in the army's ranks

Police Commissioner George Fivaz instructed one of his generals to survey the attitudes of police officers about the trial. And the president has been holding a series of briefings with businessmen, diplomats, police, army generals and church leaders to explain his determination not to interfere in the course of this explosive trial

But Mandela has also taken a firm stance against the right by refusing to accept PW Botha's demands for a moratorium on all political trials Apart from the fact that he is loath to interfere in the functioning of the judiciary, the president is convinced there is no serious threat of mutiny or counter-revolution from the far-right

Mandela also made it clear to Botha and Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen, during the visit to the old president's home in the Wilderness this week, that he was deeply concerned by reports that elements of the third-force network allegedly set up in the mid-1980's by some of the accused in the upcoming trial were still actively stoking up violence in KwaZulu-Natal — and that there was little chance of any reprieve while these activities continued.

"All of this talk about awakening wild tigers is from people who are living in a theme park from the past. There is no fear in the president's office that anxiety amongst a range of right-wing people will translate into coherent and organised resistance," says secretary for Safety and Security Azhar Cachalia.

"The president has made it clear he does not have the power to interfere in a criminal case and in that sense he is not using the trial to curb violence in Natal But we have consistently pointed out there is a culture of impunity amongst the killers in that province and, because of the trial, they will be increasingly aware they will be arrested and prosecuted"

Mandela's tough stance has been bolstered by what he sees as the strength of the documentary evidence and the array of witnesses, including senior defence force officers, who will be presented in court to back the attorney-general's case (see accompanying story).

There are strong indications the accused now know the extent of the evidence lining up against them, and the president has used this to suggest that Viljoen and other right-wing leaders run the risk of embarrassing themselves if they express too much

Armscor attracts attention in Dubai

BD 24/11/95 (254)

Stephane Bothma

PRETORIA — The SA defence industry's participation in the Dubai military exhibition had resulted in the unusual conclusion of two "off-the-shelf" contracts, Armscor acting MD Erich Esterhuyse said yesterday.

About 35% of SA's military and related exports was already going to the Gulf region, but Armscor believed that its successful participation in the exhibition would have a host of additional long-term benefits.

The Denel-Atlas built Oryx helicopter was displayed outside the country for the first time in Dubai.

According to Esterhuyse, the Oryx helicopter was received with the same enthusiasm as SA's state-of-the-art Rooivalk attack helicopter last year.

Esterhuyse said the clients had asked him not to disclose details of the two contracts concluded in Dubai, but said the off-the-shelf purchase of military equipment was highly unusual.

"This is an indication that SA defence and related equipment is very highly regarded worldwide.

"Internationally, we compete on quality rather than on price," he said.

The SA exhibition won joint first prize with the US for the best international stand at Dubai.

This was a clear indication that the country was highly competitive and able to be an international player, Armscor chairman Ron Haywood said.

SA's defence industry was well-represented at Dubai with 27 local companies showing 250 products.

The SA exhibits, including the Rooivalk helicopter and G5 long-range mobile howitzer, will be flown in an Antonov cargo aircraft directly from Dubai to Malaysia, where Armscor will participate in the Langkawi International Maritime and Aerospace exhibition from December 5 to 10.

Although no details were given, Armscor believed that a number of large contracts would be signed at the Malaysian show.

"Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam and Brunei are very important potential customers for Armscor," Esterhuyse said.

SANDF general appears in court

Sowetan 24/11/95 (254)

Chief of staff Nyanda reveals details of his arrest and interrogation

By Josias Charle

CHIEF OF STAFF of the South African National Defence Force Lieutenant-General Siphiwe Nyanda made a surprise appearance in the Pretoria Supreme Court as a state witness in the Eugene de Kock trial yesterday

He testified about a range of issues, including "Operation Vula", smuggling of weapons into the country, his arrest and subsequent interrogation for six weeks as well as the mysterious disappearance of two Operation Vula operatives

Nyanda told the court that he was second in command of the operation that was led by current Minister of Transport Mr Mac Maharaj

He said the operation started in 1988 and involved the smuggling of cadres and large quantities of weapons into the country

Asked by Mr Justice Willem van der Merwe, who is sitting with two assessors, what kind of weapons were brought in, Nyanda said they included limpet mines, RPG-7 rocket launchers, plastic explosives, detonators, TNT explosives, handgrenades and AK-47 rifles The weapons were brought through Botswana

Nyanda told the court that two of their key people went missing during the operation They were Commander Charles Ndaba and Mr Mbusi Tshabalala He (Nyanda) had been in contact with both men until they mysteriously disappeared in 1990

"I was arrested on July 11 1990, several days after the two went missing I had been visiting a safe house in Natal and on my return noticed several police cars following me Along the way they stopped me and about 10 armed policemen stormed out of the cars with their firearms pointed at me

"They handcuffed me and took me to the police station," said Nyanda, who was yesterday being questioned by state advocate Dr Torie Pretorius

He said he was held in custody for six weeks during which time he was questioned about Operation Vula

"During my interrogation I realised that the police knew the names of the people involved and I played along as I realised there was no chance "

Nyanda said when he appeared in court Ndaba and Tshabalala were not there He knew both men were in police custody although this was denied by the police He has never heard since what happened to them

(254) ST 26/11/95

Att-eee-ntion, troops, you're in the army now

By PETER De IONNO

SA ARMY chiefs this week ordered a "back to basics" crackdown on military indiscipline to stem a dramatic rise in the offences of being absent without leave, disobeying orders and drunkenness.

In the nine months to the end of September, cases of soldiers being AWOL doubled from last year to 9 640. In the same period 793 soldiers were charged with disobeying orders, an increase of 50 percent

The statistics do not include 321 soldiers arrested on Tuesday who may face charges of mutiny for refusing to continue with training at the Voortrekkerhoogte Technical Services Training Centre in a protest over pay

Soldiers being drunk on duty numbered 514, also an increase of 50 percent.

The figures were released by Major-General Johan "Dippies" Dippenaar, Chief of Army Staff Personnel, who said: "Discipline is not up to standard, but it is not going to be allowed to slip further. The message has gone out that the military law must be applied strictly, and without exception, whenever an offence occurs."

His warning was underlined by Major-General "Bertie" Botha, the deputy Chief of the Army, who said the return to hardline enforcement of discipline was "essential to stop the erosion of standards".

"We cannot claim to be a professional army if we let these things go unchecked," General Botha said.

He said the most worrying aspect of the increase in offences was "a tendency for soldiers to act as group when disobeying orders"

"People have been taught that they can apply group pressure to get what they want," he said. "Those tactics cannot be tolerated in the defence force "

Neither general was prepared to blame the increase in indiscipline specifically on the integration of the former Umkhonto weSizwe and Apla guerrilla forces and the armies of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei into the defence force, but the process — described by General Botha as "emotional, traumatic and difficult" — overshadows every corner of the SA National Defence Force.

"In the majority of these cases, we are talking about newcomers out of the non-statutory forces but not exclusively," General Botha said.

Referring to the wave of walkouts, strikes and demonstrations which characterised the first months of the integration a year ago, he admitted that the army had initially "gone softly" on disciplinary matters because of the political sensitivities after the general election and legal uncertainties about the status of non-statutory force members.

Colonel Dan Boshoff, spokesman for Northern Transvaal Command said the Voortrekkerhoogte trainees, comprising mostly former MK and Apla cadres, were arrested after being warned twice they could be charged with mutiny. About 250 other trainees refused to join the protest.

The arrested men are being held in detention until a preliminary inquiry is completed. It is understood the men demanded immediate payment of three months, back pay for the former MK guerrillas agreed by the Cabinet in March this year to compensate them for long delays at the Wallmanstal assembly point last year.

Tony Yengeni, chairman of the parliamentary defence portfolio committee, said the incident had dealt a serious blow to the integration and demanded that the men be released immediately and unconditionally.

● Brigadier Herman Wallis, director of logistics at the SA Medical Services, and Major Alice Jansen van Rensburg, have been dismissed for "unseemly behaviour and conduct prejudicial to military discipline". They were found having sex in a military vehicle after a formal mess function at One Military Hospital in March.



MILITARY MANOEUVRES . . . integration of forces has been tricky but is not to blame for lack of discipline in the ranks Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

State lining up secret witnesses for Malan trial

ST 26/11/95

By MARLENE BURGER

(254)

TIM McNALLY, the attorney general of Natal, has confirmed that a number of secret witnesses will testify against former Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and two retired defence force chiefs facing 13 murder charges.

Mr McNally, who will lead the prosecution, said on Friday "several" key witnesses, including former SADF members, were in a witness protection programme.

Commenting on speculation that some of the accused had turned state's evidence, Mr McNally said he was preparing for Friday's court appearance "on the basis that all 20 accused will be charged".

General Malan, General Jannie Geldenhuys and General Kat Liebenberg are accused along with former security policeman Colonel Louis Botha, Inkatha Freedom Party deputy secretary Zakhele Khumalo, six members of the Kwazulu Police and another nine serving or retired military officers with the murder of 13 people at Kwamakhutha in January 1987.

The indictment against the 20 accused will be handed down in the Durban Supreme Court on Friday.

The state has produced a list of nearly 30 potential witnesses, including former National Intelligence Service head Dr Niel Barnard, former Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Witkop Badenhorst and Kwazulu Police commissioner General Jac Buchner.

The trial will start in the Durban Supreme Court on March 4 next year.

McNally refuses to confirm key witness in Malan murder trial

Star 27/11/95 (254)

Opperman is named as the secret witness

believed to be in London on a protection

programme because he fears for his life

KwaZulu Natal attorney-general Tim McNally yesterday refused to confirm that Maj J P Opperman was the secret key witness in the KwaMakhuta murder trial of former defence minister Magnus Malan and former defence force officers

Afrikaans Sunday newsnewspaper Rapport named Opperman (37) as the secret witness believed to be in London on a witness protection programme because he feared for his life

McNally said Opperman was named in the context of a bail application as one of the people the accused were not to contact

"He was named in court some time back in the context of a bail application when Gen Malan was also named as a witness before being made an accused

"The prosecutor at the time made a mistake in calling them and others witnesses They in fact were people with whom the other accused were not to make contact

McNally said witnesses would be revealed when Malan and the other co-accused next appear in court on Friday to hear the indictment

The trial itself is expected to start in the Durban Supreme Court on March 4 next year

Rapport said Opperman was directly involved in the training of 200 alleged Inkatha Freedom Party members at the Hippo military base in Caprivi, who were then deployed in the KwaZulu Natal police force Several are facing charges with Malan

At the Hippo base Opperman reportedly worked under Brig John More and Brig Cor van Niekerk, co-accused with Malan, at the base

Opperman's evidence would probably be as important as that Maj Chappies Klopper gave in former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock's trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court, the newspaper said –Sapa

Indemnity could halt former officers' trial

BD 28/11/95 (254)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — Former SADF head Magnus Malan and other former senior military officials could yet escape prosecution — but only if they applied for and were granted indemnity by the truth and reconciliation commission

Justice spokesman Sue de Villiers said yesterday legislation stipulated that the commission could ask for a criminal trial to be postponed while it heard an application for indemnity

Since the trial of Malan and others was due to resume in March next year and the commission was due to start sitting at about that time, it was technically possible for the former military officers to apply to the commission and avoid standing trial

But this could happen only if they made an application to the commission themselves, she said

After applying to the commission, Malan and others would have to convince the body's amnesty committee that they had made full disclosure and that the crimes they might have committed were politically motived

If the committee decided to grant them amnesty their trials would then become superfluous.

Reacting to the recent debate on the issue of indemnity between the ANC and the NP, De Villiers said there was a vast difference between the granting of amnesty to 118 ANC members in 1990 and the case of Malan and his former colleagues.

The 118 ANC members, including current Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils, were never granted indemnity, but only immunity from prosecution, and this immunity had been extended every year, De Villiers said

This immunity would expire a year after the truth commission was established If those covered by this legislation wanted indemnity, they would have to apply to the commission, De Villiers said

Other ANC members, such as foreign affairs deputy director-general Robert McBride, who received formal indemnity but had not submitted to hearings, might have amnesty under "relatively easy terms".

But this amnesty had been granted in order to secure a negotiated settlement for the country in the context of an unstable political situation

That context ought not to be forgotten, De Villiers said

Comment: Page 14

'I know my conscience is clear' declares Malan

(252) (254) ARG 28/11/95

PRETORIA.— Former defence minister Magnus Malan declared his innocence today on charges that he ordered the murders of 13 people in 1987 — and said he feared his prosecution could cause economic turmoil.

"I do know that my conscience is clear," he told a meeting of foreign correspondents.

"I have no knowledge of the circumstances and details of this atrocity that took place about nine years ago," he said.

"At no stage did the State Security Council indicate, plan or decide on murder actions.

"But should any member of the previous State Security Council be charged with these or similar deeds, such action might cause turmoil in South Africa, politically and economically," said General Malan.

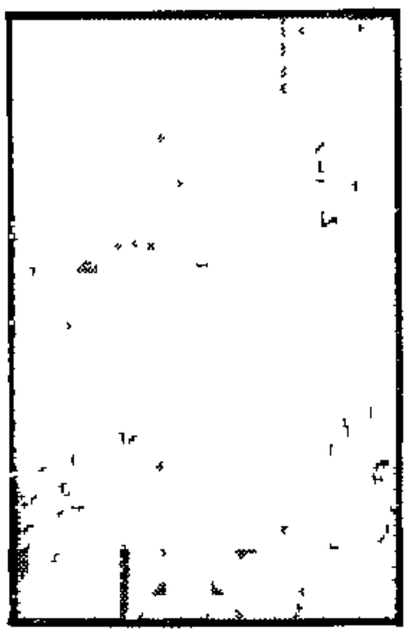
He said he was concerned that there would not be equal treatment of the two sides in the war over apartheid.

He cited the failure so far to prosecute anyone in connection with the Shell House massacre last year, in which at least eight Zulu marchers were killed outside the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters.

"We are charged with a deed .. where we plead our innocence.

"Against this, the ANC admitted publicly that last year, when peace prevailed, they issued orders to defend their political headquarters with rifle fire. The result was that demonstrators were killed in cold blood by the ANC. No legal action has been taken in this case."

General Malan and other top former Defence Force officers are to appear in court on Friday. — Reuter.



Magnus Malan

No one above the law, says Mandela as Malan warns of destabilisation

(257) (254)

Former defence minister claims prosecutions are a political ploy by the ANC

Star 29/11/95

By Patrick Bulger
Political Correspondent

The pending trial of former defence minister Gen Magnus Malan continued to evoke controversy yesterday as President Nelson Mandela warned that nobody, no matter how high his position, would be spared prosecution if there was evidence of his involvement in human rights abuses.

Mandela, talking to reporters at the Union Buildings in Pretoria after a meeting with the country's leading political scientists, did not indicate whether more arrests were imminent.

Earlier, also in Pretoria, Malan told a Foreign Correspondents Association breakfast that turmoil could result if the prosecutions went ahead, AFP reports. The ANC, reacting to Malan's statement, said "South Africans of all persuasions



Magnus Malan ... denies knowing about hit squads.

are tired of threats of violence, mayhem and turmoil by General Malan and the National Party."

The prosecution of Malan and 10 senior military figures featured prominently at Mandela's meeting with the political scientists The academics included professors Alf Stadler, Tom Lodge and Themba Sono of the University of the Witwatersrand

Mandela said after the meeting that he was "not prepared to defend anybody", no matter what position they held The discussion focused on fears expressed by some commentators and academics that the prosecutions could destabilise society.

"We are a government that has established a culture of transparency in this country and anybody – no matter what position they hold – who is found to have committed a crime which is not covered by the parameters we set to define what a political offender is, must be brought to the courts and prosecuted.

"He must be accountable for what he did. We are looking at the matter not only from the point of view of those who committed these offences We are also looking at it from the point of view of the relatives of the victims of those crimes It is proper to look at both sides," Mandela said.

Sono, who was asked whether he felt the prosecutions would destabilise society, said Malan was entitled, if found guilty, to approach the president for a pardon.

Malan at the FCA breakfast described the arrests as a "political ploy". He denied knowing about hit squads and said the State Security Council had never planned murders.

"Should any member of the previous State Security Council be charged with these or similar deeds, such action might cause turmoil in South Africa, politically and economically," he said.

Malan and the other accused are to be formally charged on Friday

CSIR board: six named

BD 29/11/95

Susan Russell

TRADE and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel announced yesterday the names of six new Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) board members They join four members of the previous board.

New members are UCT's Energy for Development Research Centre head Anton Eberhard, Peninsula Technikon's School of Science director Dhiro Gihwala, Nampak manufacturing development manager Khlomotso Phihlela, Wits deputy vice-chancellor Friedel Sellschop, IBA councillor Lyndall Shope-Mafole and the University of the North's head of biochemistry, Errol Tyobeka.

Those remaining are Anglo deputy chairman Les Boyd, SABC chairman Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, Sappi executive chairman Eugene van As and Altron chief Bill Venter

Malan warns of turmoil if murder trial proceeds

BD 29/11/95 (254) (252)

PRETORIA — Former defence minister Magnus Malan warned yesterday of "turmoil" in SA if government went ahead with a trial in which he and 10 apartheid era military officers are to be charged with murder

Malan told foreign correspondents the prosecutions were a "political ploy" by the ANC, and claimed former security force members were being unfairly targeted.

He and the officers will formally be charged on Friday in the Durban Supreme Court with 13 counts of murder relating to a 1987 massacre in the KwaZulu-Natal township of KwaMakhutha

According to government sources, the charges stem from a decision in the mid-1980s by the former state security council, headed by Malan, to train IFP members as a death squad to counter the growing popularity of the then-banned ANC

Malan denied knowledge of any death squad and said that at no stage did the state security council "indicate, plan or decide on murder actions".

Malan said he was worried the court case would "antagonise moderate mainstream citizens of the country" and urged the ANC "to let bygones be bygones"

He noted that the announcement of the prosecutions came on October 29, several days before South Africans went to the polls in the country's first all-race local government elections, and that the trial proper was due to begin on March 4 next year, only a few weeks ahead of local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal.

Justice Minister Dullah Omar, however, denied there was a political motive behind the prosecutions.

"I very much regret that he (Malan) makes that statement," Omar said. "He is completely wrong. I wish people would refrain from making statements of that kind."

The ANC yesterday brushed aside the warning by Malan

"The stability of our country hinges not on the whim of the NP and a few individuals. Our democracy is premised on the will of the majority," it said in Johannesburg

Malan had been charged by the attorney-general on the basis of evidence put at his disposal by law enforcement agencies, and the ANC had no influence over these agencies, it said

"Instead of resorting to political bluster, Gen Malan should gracefully take his seat in the dock and prove his innocence." — Sapa-AFP.

Limited military role ratified

BD 29/11/95 (254)

Tim Cohen

CAPE TOWN — The parliamentary defence committee yesterday ratified sections of the defence White Paper which placed limitations on the role of the defence force in maintaining internal stability.

The White Paper proposes the SANDF be deployed only "in the most exceptional circumstances"

The committee agreed that resources for maintaining internal stability should be used to enhance the capacity of the police. As a matter of urgency, the defence and safety and security departments would establish a task force to devise strategies for the withdrawal of the SANDF from an internal policing role.

During its deliberations on the White Paper, the committee reconfirmed its support for the proposition that "SA does not now, and will not in the future, have aggressive intentions towards any state"

The issue of gay and lesbian soldiers in the defence force was also raised during the discussions, with ANC members suggesting their rights ought to be protected The committee decided to discuss the issue in depth today.

The committee largely ratified a new section in the second draft of the paper on the "new world order" outlining new trends in the worldwide strategic environment.

The section stated that the vast majority of armed conflicts were taking place within rather than between states, arising from internal divisions.

There was a tendency towards greater interdependence, regionalism and internationalism. New regional blocs and international organisations had been formed with an emphasis on the facilitation of interstate trade.

The paper proposed the establishment of a regional arms register which recorded information on imports, exports, production and holdings of conventional arms and light weaponry.

It suggested that "it may be worthwhile to establish a small peace operations centre to develop and co-ordinate planning, training, logistics, communication and field liaison teams for multilateral forces".

Sapa reports the ANC and the NP clashed on a clause which required the defence force to broadly reflect the composition of SA. NP committee members argued the clause could lead to women soldiers outnumbering men ANC members said they saw no problem with women playing a greater role.

ANC dismisses claims of 'witch-hunt'

BD 29/11/95

Ingrid Salgado

THE ANC yesterday reprimanded national executive committee member and Environmental Affairs and Tourism Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa for publicly alleging there was a "witch-hunt investigation" against "populists" within the party.

Given the seriousness of the allegation, Holomisa should have used avenues within the organisation to draw attention to his claims, the ANC said

The ANC viewed opting for public statements before requesting investigation of such matters by the executive or national working committees in a very serious light.

Holomisa had alleged the party was conspiring to expel certain members of the former Transkei Defence Force who had been "dubbed populists".

Party spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa rejected Holomisa's allegations. There were "no factions bent on marginalising so-called populists". No internal disciplinary action against Holomisa was being contemplated, he said.

Combat women – parties clash

ARG 29/11/95 (264)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

PROPOSALS which could mean that at least half the defence force would have to be women have sparked a row between the African National Congress and National Party

There were sharp differences on the issue during a discussion yesterday by the parliamentary joint standing committee on defence on a draft defence white paper

A clause proposes that the composition of the defence force be "broadly representative" of the composition of South Africa, meaning affirmative action and equal opportunities would be introduced

The proposal brought objections from NP members of the committee, who were opposed to a combat force of which at least half would have to be women

NP MP Frik van Deventer provoked indignant gasps from some women ANC members of the committee when he said women soldiers could be indisposed because of being "mommies-to-be".

Among the women ANC committee members are veterans of the liberation struggle. Thenjiwe Mtintso (ANC) said further discussion should be postponed until a workshop could be held.

Mark Wiley (NP) said he did not need to be given a lecture about being non-sexist

"My concerns are about cost-effectiveness"

A mixed-gender army would double costs because it would mean having to repatent all military equipment, Mr Wiley said

Elsewhere in the white paper, which the committee is scheduled to finalise tomorrow, a clause requires the Department of Defence to acknowledge the right of women to compete for all ranks and posts, including combat positions

The committee yesterday was able to reach agreement on several issues

It approved clauses requiring the defence force to have "a primarily defensive operation and posture"

The primary role of the defence force would be to defend South Africa against external military aggression

Deployment in internal policing would be limited to exceptional circumstances and subject to parliamentary approval and safeguards

South Africa was committed to international goals of arms control and disarmament

Force levels and military spending would be subject to approval by parliament and would have to take account of the social and economic goals of the RDP

SA committee supports ban on anti-personnel landmines

(254) BD 29/11/95

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — SA should support a total ban on anti-personnel landmines including "smart mines", but should retain its landmine research and development ability, the foreign affairs parliamentary select committee resolved yesterday

SA should also more rapidly expand its rehabilitation and landmine clearing operations in co-operation with neighbouring countries on a non-commercial basis, the committee said

The resolutions will be taken to a conference on the prohibition on the use of certain conventional weapons, which may be deemed excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effect, to be held in Geneva in January.

In October SA agreed to the ban on so-called dumb or long-life anti-personnel landmines, but supported the continued development of smart or short-life landmines which have a built-in self-destruct mechanism.

However, the foreign affairs committee yesterday supported a ban on anti-personnel mines and said SA should take a unilateral stand on the issue at the Geneva convention

The Ceasefire Campaign addressed the committee at the Union Buildings yesterday and accused foreign affairs, the SANDF, the defence ministry and Denel of being involved in a cover-up of the extent to which a smart mine development programme exists in SA

Ceasefire spokesman Douglas Torr told the committee "The SA position on the landmine issue serves to illustrate the lack of a coherent foreign policy based on democracy, human rights, international peace and social justice"

Torr said arguments against short-life mines included evidence that self-destructing and self-deactivating mines were unreliable, and it was unlikely developing countries would be able to afford smart mines

NE

EX-MINISTER 'NEVER APPROVED ARMS FOR IFP'

'What we did was a disgrace' — Malan

CT 29/11/95 (254)

PRETORIA: Former defence minister General Magnus Malan yesterday confessed some of his regrets and some secrets of the apartheid years.

GENERAL Magnus Malan, one-time scourge of Cubans, communists and the African National Congress, said yesterday he wished he had thought of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

Gen Malan, 65, also told foreign correspondents he regretted having had to keep South Africa's 1975 invasion of Angola a secret

Gen Malan said he had never approved the supply of weapons to the Inkatha Freedom Party although other government agencies might have provided guns to the kwaZulu homeland administration

Asked if the "third force" which the ANC has long blamed for stoking violence existed, Gen Malan said "The answer is No . If you start talking about hit-squads, I don't know of any hit-squads that have been trained, or that existed within the SADF during my time

"I never saw, I never discussed, I was never informed about any so-called hit-list If you have a hit-squad you have to have a hit-list."

Discussing his regrets over the apartheid years, Gen Malan said "At one stage I was very annoyed at the way certain things took place

"What we did against Alexandra, I think it was a disgrace I saw the people, the conditions in which they were living

"If we could have had an RDP programme functioning on all cylinders during that period, that's the type of thing I'm sorry I didn't do "

Asked if he was prepared to testify before the Truth Commission, Gen Malan said "I haven't really got anything I can think of that I can confess But if the Truth Commission should ask to have more detail on certain things then I'm quite prepared to do it . "

Gen Malan said he had never lied about South Africa's invasion of Angola "We just never told you what was happening That's the difference I feel very sorry . that's something that I have to confess was terrible " — Reuter

MPs slate Armscor for not disclosing arms sales info

CT 30/11/95 (254)

ARMSCOR came under fire from MPs yesterday for failing to disclose arms sales information to the UN

Defence Ministry adviser Mr Laurie Nathan told Parliament's joint standing committee on defence that South Africa submitted a report on 1994 arms exports to the voluntary UN register for the first time this year.

"But South Africa is the only one of about 90 countries that censored its report because agreements with clients preclude disclosure," he said

Mr Nathan said Armscor reported sales in two of the seven categories of heavy offensive weapons monitored by the UN, but declined to say how many items were exported or to name the client states

"What's more, the report was made to the UN without ever being made to the South African people or to Parliament We only heard about it from the UN," he said

"This is astounding," said committee chairman Mr Tony Yengeni "How can Defence Ministry policy contradict the constitution and our own legislation?" he asked.

Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils said the cabinet would have to review the issue — Reuter

Vote for English only in army

254

CT 30/11/95

PARLIAMENT'S powerful Joint Standing Committee on Defence voted yesterday to make English the sole language in the defence force — and to prohibit discrimination against gays and lesbians.

It voted to demote Afrikaans and make English the sole language of command, control and instruction throughout the defence force.

Voting to resolve a dispute for the first time since it was created last year, the ANC-dominated committee decided by 16 votes to four to include a one-language policy in the draft White Paper on defence.

Minutes later, the committee voted again to overrule the National Party and write into the White Paper a prohibition on discrimination against gays and lesbians.

ANC representative Lindiwe Sisulu, said later the decisions would not bind the government, but would carry considerable weight — Reuter



Why the Malan case is different

Star 30/11/95 (ES) (254)

Confession and revelation of the truth is fudamental to reconciliation, argues Allister Sparks

Much confusion has been sown about the forthcoming trial of Gen Magnus Malan and 10 former colleagues on charges of murder

The essential issues need to be clarified if they are not to generate the kind of racial bitterness P W Botha predicts

The confusion relates to allegations of one-sided justice If Malan is to be prosecuted for acts committed by government forces during South Africa's revolutionary war, says Deputy President F W de Klerk, then so should Joe Modise who was commander of the ANC's revolutionary army

And if Robert McBride and Barend Strydom can be pardoned and released, ask other less partisan voices, why are the generals not given amnesty?

Isn't it all running counter to President Mandela's policy of national reconciliation?

These are understandable questions, but they miss the essential points that make the Malan case different

Taking the last first, revealing the truth of what happened in our long and dirty conflict is fundamental to reconciliation. Mandela has been consistent about this.

All the great religions teach that there must be confession and atonement before there can be forgiveness and reconciliation. Nor do you have to be a religious person to understand the commonsense of it. You cannot forgive someone if you don't know whom to forgive, and resentments will be spun into the kind of deep-rooted national myths that future wars are made of if the truth of evil deeds remains buried and confession denied.

As for McBride and Strydom, both stood trial and were convicted They were pardoned only after that. The facts of what they did are known to the public.

So it must be with all others who committed crimes against humanity during the time of conflict.

What of Malan and Modise? Some analysts have suggested that the difference between them is that the ANC obtained amnesty for its leaders before they re-entered the country in 1991-92, while the NP government in its arrogance failed to do likewise

While this is true, it is a technicality that does not go to the heart of the matter. The real difference is that the allegations against Malan and the 10 others relate to the birth of the so-called Third Force, which has been behind the KwaZulu Natal violence that has so ravaged this country and continues to be the most serious factor threatening our future

It is therefore a case of the most profound contemporary relevance, quite apart from the light it may throw on deeds done in the past.

The specific charges against Malan and his colleagues is that they were responsible for the massacre of 13 people – mostly women and children, six of them under the age of 10 – at KwaMakhuta on the night of June 21 1987.

It remains for the prosecution to produce evidence to support its charges and for this to be tested in court, but the essence of its allegation is that the massacre was carried out by a hit-squad formed as a result of a decision taken by a special sub-committee of the State Security Council – then under the overall control of PW

Evidence gathered by the Goldstone Commission and other hearings presents a picture, albeit incomplete, of what was going on around that time.

With the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983, Inkatha's long dominance of black politics in Natal began to be challenged for the first time. This led to growing conflict, which peaked in 1987 when the UDF made spectacular gains in the Natal Midlands particularly

The Inkatha leadership turned to the government for help, and the appeal allegedly went to the secret sub-committee. A number of actions followed heavy police reinforcements were moved into the Natal Midlands, a top security policeman, Brig Jac Buchner, was appointed head of the Security Branch, then made commissioner of the KwaZulu Police Force, and a decision was allegedly made to launch a campaign of destabilisation against the UDF, modelled on South Africa's association with Renamo

Two hundred Inkatha men were taken to a secret military base in the Caprivi Strip. There they were given guerrilla training by the former SADF's top commando specialist, Col Jan Breytenbach, and a former ANC guerrilla leader, Daluxolo Luthuli (a nephew of former ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli), who had defected to Inkatha

On their return the 200 were split up and deployed in a number of KwaZulu Police Force stations, where each formed and trained a hit squad

According to three members of these hit squads, interviewed during their own murder trial for the BBC television series *Death of Apartheid*, the units received orders from Ulundi to assassinate political opponents

It is one of these hit squads that allegedly carried out the attack at KwaMakhuta – apparently with the aim of assassinating a UDF leader named Victor Ntuli who, it turned out, was away at the time The attack wiped out everyone else in the house

There were hundreds of such attacks over the years, leading to counter-attacks that escalated into Natal's bloody civil war in which thousands died – and continue to die – and which for a time spread into the townships and even the commuter trains of the Witwatersrand.

The media called it "black-on-black violence", a baffling phenomenon that blurred the picture of a struggle for freedom and gave the impression of an innate savagery on the part of black people which boded ill for the country's future

Miller 'set to amend local government Bill'

Farouk Chothia

BD 30/11/95

ULUNDI — KwaZulu-Natal local government MEC Peter Miller had agreed to amend the Provincial Local Government Bill substantially to ensure that it dovetailed with the IFP's local government model, IFP national council member Walter Felgate claimed yesterday.

But Miller refused to confirm or deny this. He said he was still to hold discussions with IFP leaders over the Bill.

Felgate and Miller held a joint news conference earlier yesterday in what appeared to be a public relations exercise to downplay the row that has strained relations between them.

The two issued a joint statement saying they had held "frank and detailed discussions" and it was agreed that amendments to the Bill would be drafted for Miller's consideration.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised Miller on Monday for "shying away" from decisions of the IFP national council and reflecting a model different to that of the IFP's in the Bill.

Felgate said in a later interview that Buthelezi's criticisms were "very helpful". It made him and Miller "sit up and take note" and ensure that the Bill met the requirements of the IFP national council.

Felgate said Miller's Bill had been drafted by "technocrats and politicos" from the "old era" who had a "natural inborn resistance" to change.

Felgate said that Miller was not like them. Miller supported IFP policy and agreed that major amendments should be made to the Bill so that rural people could be empowered.

Felgate said while all traditional leaders would have ex-officio representation on the councils, elected representatives would also serve on them.

Comment: Page 12

Mediation is first step, says Felgate

BD 30/11/95

Farouk Chothia

ULUNDI — The IFP would return to the Constitutional Assembly only after international mediation had been completed, IFP national council member Walter Felgate said yesterday.

He said an undertaking from the ANC that it agreed to mediation would not result in the IFP joining the assembly. The IFP did not "trust" the ANC and believed the ruling party would renege on its word.

Felgate said the IFP's priority was to reach a constitutional settlement in KwaZulu-Natal. It was close to reaching an agreement with the NP. The IFP believed that once an agreement had been reached, Deputy President FW de Klerk would join Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the government of national unity to demand that President Nelson Mandela honour the mediation agreement.

The completion of a constitution in KwaZulu-Natal would make the issues on which there needed to be mediation "crisp and clear", Felgate said.

The IFP believed that mediation could take place in January if the ANC agreed. It would not last more then "a couple of days".

Once the IFP returned to the assembly, it would make a joint effort with the NP to prevent the ANC passing its centralised constitutional vision in favour of federal principles.

NP KwaZulu-Natal leader Danie Schutte said negotiations in KwaZulu-Natal were "very positive". De Klerk had always believed there should be mediation. The ANC's failure to honour the agreement was the underlying reason for tension in KwaZulu-Natal.

Schutte said an option was to hold mediation without the ANC. The KwaZulu-Natal constitution could be placed before mediators to see whether it was "internationally acceptable".

Schutte said there was a general feeling in the country that it was a "luxury for parties outside the ANC to be divided". There should be co-operation when parties shared basic principles.

Sources said the IFP had continued to make concessions over a KwaZulu-Natal constitution in bilateral talks with the NP.

There were indications that it would accept a militia over which both premier Frank Mdlalose and Mandela would have control. The province could summon it to assist in disasters such as a flood, while only Mandela would have the power to summon i to quell any political unrest.

SANDF set to integrate 2 000 IFP-aligned 'troops'

Stephané Bothma

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BD 30/11/95

PRETORIA — About 2 000 KwaZulu-Natal IFP-aligned self-protection unit (SPU) members are to be integrated into the SA National Defence Force over the next two years.

Cabinet secretary Jakes Gerwel told a media briefing at the Union Buildings yesterday that Cabinet had approved the decision to allow the SPU members to become soldiers after discussions with the IFP.

He said 200 SPU members would be integrated during the current financial year, while the rest would join the SANDF in the next financial year.

The SANDF last night said it had agreed in principle to the integration of no more than 2 000 SPU members into the force. The integration would take place on condition that the SANDF and other relevant authorities in KwaZulu-Natal agreed on the names of the people to be integrated and that a certified personnel register be compiled as a first step.

"The process... will be done in accordance with a mutually agreed-upon procedure," SANDF communications chief Maj-Gen Gert Opperman said.

He said the exact time scales for the process had not yet been determined but would be influenced by the availability of funds.

More details would be announced in the next few days, he said.

The SANDF is currently in the process of integrating an estimated 35 000 MK and Apla non-statutory force members into the defence force.

Meanwhile, all prisoners whose death penalties had not been commuted by the previous government would have their cases referred back to their trial courts for re-sentencing, Gerwel said.

ARG 30/11/95

Malan will see case indictments tomorrow

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Former Minister of Defence Magnus Malan will join all of his co-accused in the dock for the first time tomorrow when he and 19 others, including top generals, are handed their indictments

Kwazulu/Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally, who will be heading the prosecution in the trial, confirmed the indictments would be served on the men and the contents could come as a surprise to some of the accused.

But he added there would be no other surprises from his side.

He confirmed that several State witnesseswere in a witness protection programme.

When they appear in the Durban Regional Court, the former defence minister, along with 10 former senior SADF officers and alleged KZP hit squad members, will be served with notices of trial and indictments relating to the deaths of 13 people in KwaMakhutha in 1987

They will also be warned to appear in the Supreme Court, Durban, on March 4 next year, for the start of the trial.

Meanwhile, Department of Justice spokeswoman Sue de Villiers has said that if General Malan or any of his co-accused decided to apply for amnesty they could do so any time after the Truth Commission is set up. If they were granted amnesty charges could be dropped.

In an interview this week General Malan said he was prepared to appear before the Truth Commission but did not think he had anything to confess

The upcoming trial has caused a major stir in political circles, with dire warnings of a rightwing backlash.

This week Mr Mandela warned that no-one would be spared prosecution if there was evidence of involvement in human rights abuses

On trail of mother of dirty tricks

ALLISTER SPARKS

MUCH confusion has been sown about the forthcoming trial of General Magnus Malan and 10 former colleagues on charges of murder The essential issues need to be clarified if they are not to generate the kind of racial bitterness P W Botha predicts

The confusion relates to allegations of one-sided justice If Gen Malan is to be prosecuted for acts committed by government forces during South Africa's revolutionary war, says Deputy President F W de Klerk, then so should Joe Modise, who was commander of the ANC's revolutionary army

And if Robert McBride and Barend Strydom can be pardoned and released, ask other less partisan voices, why are the generals not given amnesty?

Isn't it all running counter to President Mandela's policy of national reconciliation?

These are understandable questions, but they miss the essential points that make the Malan case different

Confession

Taking the last first, revealing the truth of what happened in our long and dirty conflict is fundamental to reconciliation. Mandela has been consistent about this.

All the great religions teach that there must be confession and atonement before there can be forgiveness and reconciliation. Nor do you have to be a religious person to understand the commonsense of it You cannot forgive someone if you don't know whom to forgive, and resentments will be spun into the kind of deep-rooted national myths that future wars are made of if the truth of evil deeds remains buried and confession denied.

As for McBride and Strydom, both stood trial and were convicted. They were pardoned only after that. The facts of what they did are known to the public. So it must be with all others who committed crimes against humanity during our time of conflict.

What of Malan and Modise? Some analysts have suggested that the difference between them is that the ANC obtained amnesty for its leaders before they reentered the country in 1991-92, while the National Party government in its arrogance failed to do likewise.

While this is true, it is a technicality that does not go to the heart of the matter The real difference is that the allegations against Gen Malan and the 10 others relate to the birth of the so-called Third Force which has been behind the kwaZulu-Natal violence that has so ravaged this country and continues to be the most serious factor threatening our future.

It is therefore a case of the most profound contemporary relevance, quite apart from the light it may throw on deeds done in the past.

The specific charges against Malan and his colleagues is that they were responsible for the massacre of 13 people – mostly women and children, six of them under the age of 10 – at kwaMakhuta on the night of June 21, 1987

It remains for the prosecution to produce evidence to support its charges and for this

ET 30/11/95



MAGNUS MALAN: Allegations against the general relate to the birth of the Third Force.

to be tested in court, but the essence of its allegation is that the massacre was carried out by a hit-squad formed as a result of a decision taken by a special sub-committee of the State Security Council – then under the overall control of President Botha.

(254)

Evidence gathered by the Goldstone Commission and other hearings presents a picture, albeit incomplete, of what was going on around that time

With the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983, Inkatha's long dominance of black politics in Natal began to be challenged for the first time This led to growing conflict, which peaked in 1987 when the UDF made spectacular gains in the Natal Midlands in particular

Guerilla

The Inkatha leadership turned to the government for help and the appeal allegedly went to the secret sub-committee. A number of actions followed heavy police reinforcements were moved into the Natal Midlands; a top security policeman, Brigadier Jac Buchner, was appointed head of the Security Branch, then made Commissioner of the kwaZulu Police Force, and a decision was allegedly made to launch a campaign of destabilisation against the UDF modelled on South Africa's covert support for Renamo in Mozambique

Two hundred Inkatha men were taken to a secret military base in the Caprivi Strip There they were given guerilla training by the SADF's top commando specialist, Colonel Jan Breytenbach, and a former ANC guerilla leader, Daluxolo Luthuli (a nephew of former ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli), who had defected to Inkatha

On their return, the 200 were split up and deployed in a number of kwaZulu Police Force stations, where each formed and trained a hit squad.

According to three members of these hit squads, interviewed during their own murder trial for the BBC television series, *Death of Apartheid*, with which I was involved, the units received orders from Ulundi to assassinate specified political opponents

It is one of these hit squads that allegedly carried out the attack at kwaMakhutu – apparently with the aim of assassinating a UDF leader named Victor Ntuli, who, it turned out, was away at the time. The attack wiped out everyone else in the house.

There were hundreds of such attacks over the years, leading to counter-attacks that escalated into Natal's bloody civil war in which thousands of people died – and continue to die – and which for a time also spread into the townships and even the commuter trains of the Witwatersrand.

The media here and abroad called it black-on-black violence, a baffling phenomenon that blurred the picture of a struggle for freedom and gave the impression of an innate savagery on the part of black people which boded ill for the country's future.

Legitimate

Now it appears it may not have been black-on-black violence at all, but white instigated, State promoted – the mother of all dirty tricks

We have to know the truth about this; what really happened and who was responsible It is far too big a thing, with results that are still too current, to sweep under the carpet, or try to dismiss as a legitimate part of a fight for one's country

Defence integration speeds up

(254) ARG 30/11/95

JOHANNESBURG. — The integration process in the SA National Defence force is moving at a quicker pace, with 14 734 members out of an initial strength of 17 824 having been selected for placement in the army, navy, air force, and medical services

According to an information bulletin issued by Defence headquarters on Tuesday, 1 567 former members of the MK and Apla non-statutory forces accepted demobilisation, while resignations, losses and absent without leave number 1 157.

There are 1 273 soldiers still in assembly areas, with another 965 enroute to them, while 13 322 are undergoing training at bridging units.

The army has accepted a total of 16 277, the air force 164, the navy 300 and the medial services 1 083.

The integration process has resulted in the appointments of two lieutenant-generals, a major general, eight temporary major generals, 17 brigadiers, four temporary brigadiers, 49 colonels, three temporary colonels, 121 lieutenant-colonels and a temporary lieutenant-colonel.

The state's case against generals

ARG 1/12/95 (254)

DURBAN — Former defence minister Magnus Malan and other officers were linked to secret plans for operations against backers of the African National Congress and its allies in the 1980s, prosecutors said today

The allegations were detailed in an indictment put to General Malan and 19 others, among them former key officers, in the heavily guarded regional court here

They are to be tried for an attack on the home of ANC supporters at Kwa-Makhutha in KwaZulu-Natal on January 21 1987, in which 13 people were killed, most of them women and children

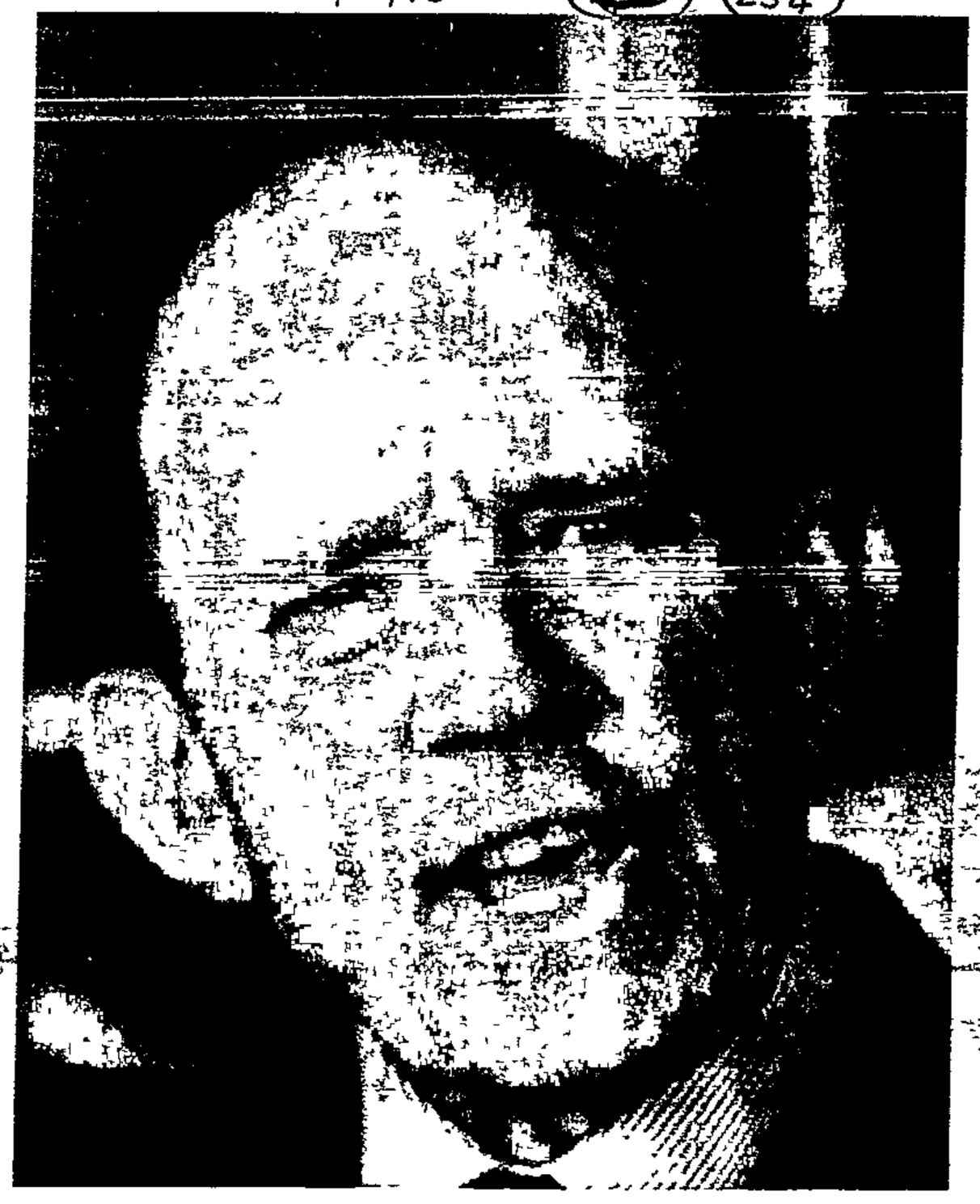
General Malan warned the government on Tuesday that it risked political and financial turmoil by putting him on trial for murder

The 20, who have not been charged – and have not been asked to plead, are due to stand trial in the Supreme Court here on March 4 next year They are all out on bail

Political leaders are largely split on racial lines over the trial, which will begin soon after the first formal sittings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

General Malan, who has proclaimed his innocence, has said he will be prepared to give evidence to the commission but wants the case to proceed through the courts and does not plan to apply for amnesty

The State alleges in the indictment that six of the accused, KwaZulu homeland police trained in offensive opera-





PROTEST: PAC demonstrators stand outside the magistrate's court in Durban today during the appearance of Magnus Malan and 19 others.

RETURN OF THE LEGEND

key officers, in the heavily guarded regional court here.

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The State alleges in the indictment that six of the accused, KwaZulu homeland police trained in offensive operations in Caprivi by the then South African Defence Force, carried out the attack using AK 47 assault rifles provided by two other accused.

MORE REPORTS ON PAGE 3

Among the 20 charged with the murders is Inkatha's deputy secretary-General Zakhele "M Z" Khumalo, then personal assistant to party leader and longtime rival of President Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Khumalo is alleged to have provided the party's link to the defence force.

The indictment said General Malan, four other ex-military generals, a vice-admiral, six senior army officers, a police colonel and Mr Khumalo were not at the scene of the attack but were involved in a covert operation which led to the massacre.

The State alleges that all were responsible in one way or another for "Operation Marion" — the name of the military's programme of support for Inkatha in the 1980s — and were responsible for "planning, training, authorising, provisioning of weaponry and transport, funding or avoidance of detection"

Prosecutors allege the operation originated after a series of discussions between Chief Buthelezi and the then chief director of Military Intelligence General Tienie Groenewald and Chief of Staff Intelligence, Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, in 1985.

Both officers are among the accused. Government officials have said Chief Buthelezi may be called to give evidence

The indictment alleges the meetings addressed protection for Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha against a threat from the ANC, which was banned at the time, and the United Democratic Front (UDF), an allied organisation working inside the country.

More than 10 000 people were killed in a bitter turf war between the ANC and Inkatha in KwaZulu-Natal in the decade leading up to the elections in April last year.

The indictment alleges that General Groenewald presented Chief Buthelezi's requirements to General Malan and recommended the defence force should initially train a defensive unit of 50 to 100 men and an offensive unit of 10 to 20 men for Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha.

It lists subsequent meetings outlining plans to establish security structures for Inkatha and to use the IFP as a "more effective organisation against the ANC/UDF"

Prosecutors allege that Mr Khumalo asked military instructors to arrange an "operation" after the Caprivi recruits became restless

Former Durban security branch policeman Colonel Louis Botha is alleged to have ensured police patrols were diverted from the planned murder scene and evidence was subsequently removed. — Reuter



IN COURT: Former head of the SADF Magnus Malan will face trial in March.

Guilty: World's biggest cheat

SINGAPORE. — The sentence of former futures trader Nick Leeson will be handed down early tomorrow, Judge Richard Magnus said here today.

Judge Magnus, a senior district judge, said: "I would like time to consider all this and accordingly adjourn until 9.30 tomorrow morning."

Earlier today, former Barings trader Leeson was convicted of two fraud charges linked to $1,4 billion (R5 billion) in losses that broke British merchant bank Barings.

Leeson pleaded guilty to the two charges.

Leeson could be sentenced to up to eight years in a Singapore jail on the charges, according to legal sources.

But defence lawyer John Koh said in court today: "I understand the prosecution is not seeking any deterrent sentence."

Prosecutor Lawrence Ang said: "I confirm I am leaving the question of sentence to the court. — Reuter.

NEWS FLASH

Malan murder trial date is set for March

ART 1/12/95 (252) (254)

DURBAN — Former Defence Minister Magnus Malan and 19 others will go on trial next March for the alleged murder of 13 people in KwaMakhutha eight years ago, a magistrate ruled today

The 20 accused, including five generals and an admiral, were presented with the indictments but were not asked to plead to any charges and were ordered to appear in the Durban Supreme Court in March for trial

"The case is now transferred to the Supreme Court of Durban for trial on March 4, 1996," said Magistrate Jan Augustyn

The 20 are all out on bail of between R2 000 and R10 000, but Mr Augustyn ordered that bail conditions be amended to satisfy a Constitutional Court ruling handed down earlier this week

The accused had been ordered not to contact any State witnesses in the trial, but in terms of the Constitutional Court decision all accused must be allowed access to court documents and witnesses, unless the State can prove this would lead to intimidation or defeat the ends of justice

"The accused are free to contact people," Mr Augustyn said

Prosecutors did not argue the matter and State advocate Carl Koenig later said the ruling would not harm the State's case

"We didn't argue against the request that the bail condition fall away because we had no legal argument The general rule has been altered and we couldn't legally argue because the law is against us," he said

"This doesn't really hamper us because the witnesses can refuse to speak to the accused Also, a proviso is that if an accused wants to see a witness they have to contact a member of the Attorney-General's staff, who is required to be present," he said

Mr Augustyn also granted a request from the four sets of lawyers representing the accused that a bail condition ordering them to report to police stations each week be eased

"There is a new ruling All accused will now appear on December 4 at their various police stations, and then on January 15 and the 15th of every month after that until the trial has started," he said

All the accused have had to surrender their passports to investigating officer Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Dutton

The 20 arrived at the 12th floor Z Court via the holding cells, having slipped past dozens of reporters who were waiting outside the building

The court was crowded with journalists and members of the public, but there was no sign of former security force leaders who had been at the court to show their support when General Malan and the others first appeared on November 2

The 20 all wore suits or jackets and were crowded into the dock and on to a bench in front of it Armed police searched everyone entering the courtroom for weapons — Reuter



General Jannie Geldenhuys



General Tienie Groenewald



Mr Zakhele Khumalo, Inkatha Freedom Party deputy secretary-general



Vice-Admiral Dries Putter



General 'Kat' Liebenberg, former chief of the army

Names of the accused in KwaMakhutha massacre

DURBAN — These are those indicted today for the KwaMakhutha massacre in which 13 people were killed on January 21, 1987

Military ranks and titles do not appear in the court papers, but were listed in documents supplied earlier by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi

The names follow in the order listed in the court papers

Six former KwaZulu police constables who were trained in the Caprivi Strip Peter Msane, 32, Celukwanda Nicholas Ndlovu, 32, Martin Thulani Khanyile, 31, Prince Phezukwendoda Mkhize, 33, Hloni Andreas Mbuyazi, 32 and Alex Vulindlela Biyela, 31

Melchizedec Zakhele "M Z" Khumalo, 52, Inkatha Freedom Party deputy secretary-general

Colonel Gerrit Cornelis Griesel, 33, former Military Intelligence (MI) operative

Major Gerhardus Mario Jacobs, 39, former Special Operations instructor

Lieutenant-Colonel Jacobus Adriaan Victor, 50, former Intelligence officer at Natal Command

Commandant Jan Hendrik van der Merwe, 45, former MI security officer

Brigadier John Reeves More, 51, former MI officer

Brigadier Cornelius Johannes van Niekerk, 52, former director of Special Tasks

General Pieter Hendrik Groenewald, 59, former chief director of MI

General Cornelius Jacobus van Tonder, 54, former chief director Intelligence Operations.

Vice-Admiral Andries Petrus Putter, 59, former chief of staff, Intelligence

General Andreas Jacobus Liebenberg, 57, former Chief of the Army

General Johannes Jacobus Geldenhuys, 60, former Chief of the SADF

General Magnus Andre De Merindol Malan, 65, former Defence Minister

Colonel Louis Botha, 49, former security branch policeman

The following are the names of the victims in the KwaMakutha massacre as set out in the indictment

Isabel Kubheka, 45, William Ntuli, 58, Linda Edward Ndwalane, 36, Nomusa Ndwalane, 34, Phumele Ndlovu, 22, Jabu Ndlovu, 17, Jabu (surname, age unknown), Nomfundo Prudence Thusini, 10, Phumzile Thusini, 8, Vikile Thusini, 7, Nunu Sithembile Ntuli, 7, Mbusa Thusini 6, Sanele Thusini, 4 — Reuter

Rolls Royce link to lift Denel

CT(BR) 1/12/95 (254)

BY ROY COKAYNE

Pretoria — Rolls Royce says South African aerospace manufacturer Denel can expect to earn about $40 million from its shareholding in the Rolls Royce Trent aero engine It is also considering placing more manufacturing work with Denel

Since 1993, Denel has been a risk and revenue sharing partner in the Trent 800, which powers the Boeing 777 and is ordered by SAA, and the Trent 700, which powers the Airbus Industrie A330

Rolls Royce says orders and options for the Trent engine are worth $4 billion, following recent orders from Singapore Airlines, Gulf Air and Cathay Pacific This month, Rolls Royce also bid to provide the engines for the new 747 and 777 Boeing aircraft which SAA will use for its future long-haul requirements

"The order from Singapore Airlines was a particularly significant endorsement of the Trent as the airline is renowned for the quality of its technical evaluations and we believe the Trent's technical advantages were a major factor in the airline's decisions," said John Kempster, the Africa director for Rolls Royce Aerospace

He said another aspect of Denel's shareholding was manufacturing gearboxes for engines which powered the Boeing 757

Malan to be indicted today

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M+G 1-7/12/95

Mail & Guardian reporter

A TEAM of prosecutors worked around the clock this week putting the final touches to the 40-odd-page indictment against former defence minister Magnus Malan and nine others.

Malan, former Military Intelligence chief General Tienie Groenewald and eight other former and serving officers are charged with murder, attempted murder and conspiracy to murder and will be indicted today in Durban's Supreme Court.

They will, for the first time, appear in court with six former KwaZulu policemen accused of carrying out the KwaMakhuta massacre in 1987

Also in the dock will be Inkatha Freedom Party secretary general MZ Khumalo, a former security policeman Major Louis Botha, and former Military Intelligence operative Brigadier John More

The indictment makes it clear the challenge for the state is to prove the State Security Council's secret sub-committee gave orders in 1986 for about 200 men loyal to Inkatha to be trained in the Caprivi Strip by the then South African Defence Force.

And then the state will have to prove a link between those trainees and the massacre of 13 civilians at KwaMakhuta a year later.

The indictment spells out that the state's strategy will be to prove the link with a series of witnesses who were allegedly involved in the training programme Some of them were from the the SADF Other witnesses include men who allegedly took part in the training and subsequent violence

The state will seek to bolster its line-up of witnesses with a series of top-secret documents from the State Security Council

The indictment names Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, although he is not, at this stage, set down to be called to testify about the origins of the Caprivi 200.

The investigation which has led to this epoch-making trial was headed up by legendary KwaZulu-Natal detective Colonel Frank Dutton and state advocate Carl Koenig.

The men worked together on the Goldstone Commission prior to the establishment of the elite Investigative Task Unit in KwaZulu-Natal.

Foreign nations to compete to develop Soweto

(254) ARG 2/12/95

Back home among the live bomb litter

GLYNNIS UNDERHILL
Staff Reporter

THE army has agreed in principle to share land now occupied by the huge Lohatla military base in the Northern Cape with former residents evicted in 1977 — even though the land is said to be littered with live ammunition which could kill.

The agreement was confirmed yesterday by regional land-claim commissioner, Wallace Mqogi, who said more than 600 families had submitted a land claim for the land which houses the third largest military school in the world.

While the South African National Defence Force is concerned the land is dotted with live ammunition and not fit for human habitation, residents have refused to believe this, he said.

■ A unique agreement has been reached on a land restitution claim on the site of the Lohatla military base in the Northern Cape.

"The problem is this land has been used for military training purposes and there is apparently live ammunition underground which could be hazardous for human habitation," said Mr Mgoqi.

A meeting in Kimberley was held with Minister of Defence Joe Modise, Minister of Land Affairs Derek Hanekom and representatives of former residents of the Gathlose, Maremane and Khosis communities over the land claim

Two days of facilitation between the parties followed and a work group will be set up to try to resolve issues, said Mr Mgoqi

Residents had strong ties to their ancestral land and were refusing other compensation in the former of alternative land or cash, he said.

While being taken on a tour of the area, residents had seen cattle grazing on the land.

"They said that if the cattle were not blown up, why would they be blown up?" said Mr Mgoqi

To clear the area of live ammunition could cost up to R25 million and for the army to buy adjacent farmland could cost up to R46 million.

Re-routing Eskom lines would cost another R20 million, Mr Mgoqi said The total cost of land restitution would amount to R88 million

The military camp was set up with an infrastructure costing R200 million

The first meeting of the working group will take place at the Lohatla base on December 13

Medals for MK ve

ARG 2/12/96

(254)

■ Those people involved in the underground structures, fighting a war of ideas with the apartheid machinery, will be honoured in the same way as members of the armed formations for their contributions in bringing change and democracy to South Africa.

Staff Reporter

FORMER Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) combatants will be honoured for their role in bringing democracy to the country

Opening a conference on the beginnings of the armed struggle in the country, Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said the veterans would be awarded medals for service, merit and valour by the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress

He said medals, which are being designed and pressed by the National Defence Force, would also be awarded to people who had served in the struggle against apartheid in a non-military way, both inside and outside of the country

"Those involved in the underground structures, fighting a war of ideas with the apartheid machinery, will be honoured in the same way as members of the armed formations for their contributions in bringing change and democracy to our country"

He said it was time to clearly identify the nature of MK and how it differed from the old South African Defence Force, especially in the light of the recent events where people are painting them with the same brush

He said the recent arrest of Magnus Malan and other senior former defence force personnel, for the alleged massacre of 13 people in KwaZulu-Natal, had caused newspapers to question the role of MK in the struggle for democracy

Mr Kasrils said the armed struggle might be over, but the struggle for truth continued and South Africans should not allow theorists to tamper and distort the history of the people or to undermine the role of the struggle and MK in achieving change

"The apartheid government sought to rewrite the past and used their hocus pocus and mythologies to create their own versions, but we must not let them succeed, because those who control the past also control the future It may be a difficult task to get our history correct, but we must continue the struggle to find that truth," he said

The conference, which was organised by the Mayibuye centre at the University of the Western Cape, is the start of a process of compiling the literature of the armed struggle in the country and to analyse the events leading up to the start of armed attacks on December 16, 1961

Director of the centre, André Odendaal, said while a lot is known about the formation of armed groups in the country and the role they played in the struggle, the existing literature was thin and in many cases contradictory

"This conference will focus exclusively on the formation of MK and will be followed by another conference next year on the other armed formations The idea is to record and analyse the assessments and thereby contribute significantly to contemporary history debates in the country," Professor Odendaal said

● President Nelson Mandela sent a special message of greeting to the conference yesterday He said former Umkhonto we Sizwe members, who now embraced peace and harmony, were a fitting example of the type of person the militia had sought to produce



□ **NEW DAWN:** Deputy Minister of Defence Ronnie Kasrils opens a conference on the be Africa

SA arms trade 'clear

ARG 2/12/9

(254)

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

STEPS have been taken by the Defence Ministry to prevent a repeat of illicit arms deals, says Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils. "We are determined to clean up South Africa's arms trade and will not rest until this has been achieved"

In an interview with Armscor corporate journal *Salvo*, Mr Kasrils said new appointments to the Armscor board — made in the wake of the report of the Cameron Commission into illegal arms deals — would make the weapons giant more credible and acceptable

He said the defence industry had two roles, to support the defence force and to support the RDP by strengthening the economy through job creation, exports of manufactured goods and the promotion of high technology

Promoting appropriate defence en-

sured peace and security was a contribution to the

Asked about the effect ing of the defence indust fence force, Mr Kasrils sa mand was falling in Wes but was on the rise in the and in the Far East.

The defence sector co rely on large and regul with the South African go

"However, export oppo be increasingly attractive ate sufficient profit to r capability in the place o mand"

With South Africa enter in its defence, a balance be struck between econ ciency in the military

"Efficiency meant supp of national and regional p rity

;or MK veterans

ARG 2/12/96 (254)



/ Minister of Defence Ronnie Kasrils opens a conference on the beginnings of the armed struggle in South

Picture LEON MÜLLER, Staff Photographer

SA arms trade 'clean' — Kasrils

(254) ARG 2/12/95

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Promoting appropriate defence ensured peace and security and as such was a contribution to the RDP

Asked about the effect of the shrinking of the defence industry on the defence force, Mr Kasrils said market demand was falling in Western countries but was on the rise in the Persian Gulf and in the Far East

The defence sector could no longer rely on large and regular contracts with the South African government

"However, export opportunities may be increasingly attractive and may create sufficient profit to maintain local capability in the place of renewed demand."

With South Africa entering a new era in its defence, a balance would have to be struck between economy and efficiency in the military

Efficiency meant supporting the goal of national and regional peace and security

In practice this meant that the defence sector was transforming itself to meet these new demands, and the challenge was to do it without losing capacity, he said.

"Given the problems surrounding arms exports in the past, this is a great advance and offers the way out of a minefield," Mr Kasrils said.

The cabinet had set up a committee to ensure that the arms trade and arms transfer policies conformed to internationally accepted practices.

"If we did not move to such a control system our defence industry would be doomed"

The government, parliament and public opinion would not tolerate a free-for-all arms bazaar based purely on commercial interests Guidelines laid down by the committee were underpinned by a respect for human rights and the need to act responsibly in the sale of arms

Generals in court: State spells out killing plan for trainees

ARG 2/12/95

GREG KNOWLER
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Thirteen people were massacred in KwaMakutha near here in 1987 after a group of highly-trained Inkatha supporters became "restless" and "wanted to practise their training".

This was alleged by the State when a 65-page indictment was served on former Defence Force Minister Magnus Malan and 19 others linked to the KwaMakutha killings before a packed magistrate's court yesterday.

With General Malan in the dock were two other former defence force generals, Jannie Geldenhuys and "Kat" Liebenberg, former Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, and several other security chiefs. They all allegedly are linked to a top-secret plan involving a senior Inkatha offical, Zakhele Khumalo, to eliminate opponents of the former government.

All 20 accused have been charged with 13 counts of murder Magistrate J J Augustyn set down the trial date for March 4 at the Supreme Court.

The State alleged that 10 years ago IFP leader and Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi, then chief minister of the KwaZulu government, had requested security force assistance, believing his life and those of his supporters were being threatened by the African National Congress and the now disbanded United Democratic Front.

In April 1986, the indictment stated, defence force support for Inkatha had been agreed and code-named "Operation Marion". General Malan had wanted to implement the secret plan for the para-military force "without delay".

After several meetings with top apartheid securocrats, 200 Inkatha supporters allegedly had received four months of specialist training at a camp in the Caprivi Strip before being flown back to KwaZulu-Natal

The State alleged that IFP deputy secretary-general Zakhele Khumalo had told military intelligence instructor Johan Opperman the trainees had been getting restless and "wanted to practise".

Victor Ntuli of KwaMakutha was chosen after a dossier on him proved the most comprehensive

Opperman had made arrangements with security officer Colonel Louis Botha to have police patrols diverted from the area where the target lived, and to act as a "sweeper" to make sure no evidence was left behind for the police, the State claimed.

The attack was carried out, but Ntuli was not home at the time. However, the operation had been deemed a success

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Malan indictment tells

Star 2/12/95 (254)



OPEN ANGER: Protesters outside the court yesterday – PHOTOGRAPH NATAL NEWSPAPERS

By ADRIAN HADLAND

Durban – The murder of 13 people at KwaMakhutha in 1987, for which former minister of defence Gen Magnus Malan and 19 co-accused have been charged, had been conceived because a group of state-trained assassins had become restless and bored, KwaZulu Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally alleged in papers before the Durban Regional Court yesterday

The allegation is part of a dramatic 32-page indictment, which was presented by the State to the defendants yesterday, outlining the "substantial facts" and charges ranged against them

The charges include murder, attempted murder and conspiracy to commit murder following the 1987 armed attack on ANC activist Victor Ntuli's KwaMakhutha home

Five children under the age of 10 were among the 13 killed during the incident

Squashed on to two long wooden benches in the packed courtroom yesterday, Malan and his co-accused – including many of the top echelon of South Africa's security and intelligence forces in the 1980s – were called on one by one to accept copies of the indictment.

It was the first time they had seen the extent and details of the State's allegations

In the indictment, McNally states that it is acknowledged that 14 of the accused were not present at the scene of the crime – including Malan and former SADF chiefs Gen Kat Liebenberg and Gen Jannie Geldenhuys. However, "it is alleged that such crimes fall four-square within the scope and mandate of Operation Marion which those accused facilitated by planning, training, authorising, provisioning of weaponry and transport, funding or avoidance of detection".

Operation Marion, it was explained, was the codename given to co-operation between the SA Defence Force and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

From the inception of Operation Marion, the indictment says, "offensive actions (against Inkatha's enemies) were an integral part of the project".

"Those of the accused who were associated with the SA Defence Force appreciated at all material times that such offensive actions included actions amounting to murder".

The indictment goes back to November 25 1985 when the then chief minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, requested a meeting with accused No 14 (former chief director of Military Intelligence and current Freedom Front senator Gen Tienie Groenewald)

At the meeting, Buthelezi – who had been told of threats to his life – allegedly called for protection, information and a KwaZulu defence force

It was later decided that a "defensive" unit of between 50 and 100 people should be trained and an "offensive" unit of between 10 and 20

An "offensive capability" was described as a means by which the United Democratic Front-ANC-SA Communist Party alliance could be prevented from disrupting Inkatha meetings, destroying property and terrorising, injuring or murdering Inkatha members

The proposal was accepted at an extraordinary meeting of the State Security Council, and former cabinet ministers Chris Heunis and Louis le Grange were "mandated to assist in the creation" of the force

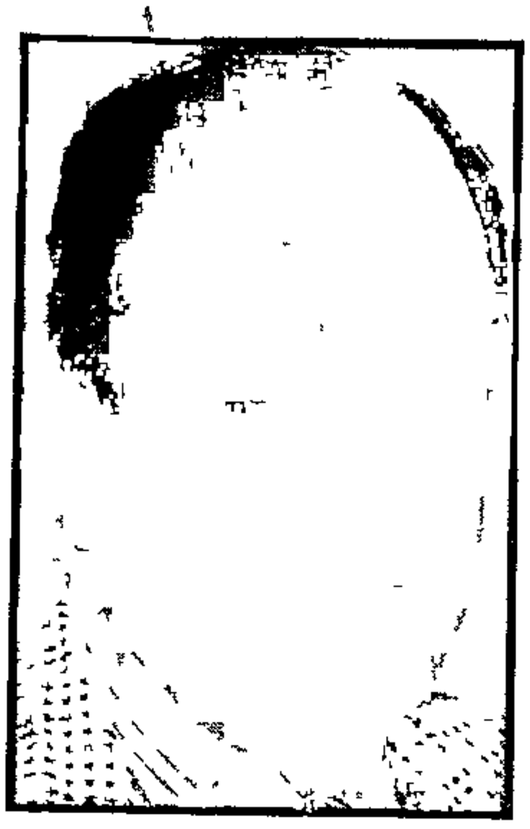
The force was trained at a secret base in the Caprivi Strip, later known as Hippo Camp, with the offensive group being trained in skills such as house penetration, weaponry, explosives and attacks on identified targets



Gen Magnus Malan PHOTOGRAPH AFP

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Indictments handed to the 20 accused in the Kwamakutha killings this week tell the tale of a highly secretive joint government and defence force plan. It capitalised on the political and military insecurities of Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. CARMEL RICKARD reports on the prosecution case as set out in the charge sheet . . . from the first allegations of secret meetings in Ulundi, through 18 months shaping a covert operation, and ending with 13 bullet-riddled bodies at House 1866, Kwamakutha

THE CASE AGAINST THE GENERALS

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CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, was a worried man. It was October 1985, the worst year yet in the undeclared civil war between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front, and he had learnt that there was a plot to kill him and neutralise his organisation.

He asked the chief director of military intelligence in the defence force, General Pieter Hendrik Groenewald, for a meeting

During their discussions, his visitor impressed on Chief Buthelezi the reality of the threat from the ANC and the UDF against him and his organisation

Chief Buthelezi indicated that he was fully aware of the dangers and needed help

After the visit, General Groenewald briefed the chief-of-staff, Intelligence, Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, on what had happened The admiral in turn told the head of the defence force, General Jan Geldenhuys, and suggested an urgent meeting be arranged between Chief Buthelezi and the general or the Defence Minister, Magnus Malan, to "capitalise on the goodwill" shown by Chief Buthelezi.

So, exactly 10 years ago, Chief Buthelezi's "wish list" was formally put to General Malan He wanted protection, information, a Kwazulu defence force, a Kwazulu state security council and a Zulu battalion at Jozini

General Groenewald recommended that the defence force secretly train a defensive unit of 50 to 100 men and an offensive unit of 10 to 20 men for Chief Buthelezi's needs

The top brass moved quickly The next day Chief Buthelezi's request was discussed at an extraordinary meeting in Tuynhuys, Cape Town, of the State Security Council General Malan, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, and the Law and Order Minister, Louis le Grange, were mandated to help Chief Buthelezi create a security force for Kwazulu

The council appointed a special interdepartmental committee to implement its decision to help Chief Buthelezi This committee, in turn, set up a sub-committee to investigate his specific needs, including a paramilitary unit and the possibility of granting him the power to issue firearm licences

Early in January 1986, the subcommittee met in Ulundi and compiled a report listing those of Chief Buthelezi's needs which should be met, among them an offensive paramilitary unit and the power to issue firearm licences

It recommended that the impression be created that Kwazulu was establishing [illegible]

unit He explained that this information was not included as it was "of a departmental nature and due to (its) sensitivity"

The plan, now code-named Operation Marion, was to be "sold" to Chief Buthelezi by Vice-Admiral Putter In the meantime, recruitment of the first 200 Inkatha trainees had begun

These men were told they could join the Kwazulu Police if they succeeded in their training After preliminary screening, they were transported in closed trucks to Durban airport, where the trucks were parked in such a way that the recruits could board the waiting aircraft directly

'Clash of giants' as former colleagues take legal sides

By CARMEL RICKARD

BATTLE lines were drawn in court on Friday between staff of the Kwazulu Natal attorney general and Klaus von Lieres SC, the former Attorney General of the Witwatersrand, who is represent-

whom the accused were not allowed to communicate, he said the Criminal Procedure Act provided that an accused could only be prevented from contacting witnesses, not other people. Yet Mr McNally's officials were quoted in a newspaper as saying that those in the list

[illegible] unnecessarily witnesses



and functions legally

THE sub-committee reported back to the head committee, which accepted its decisions, but decided that the question of the paramilitary unit should be "investigated at the highest political level and cleared with Buthelezi"

The head committee also wanted Mr Heunis and General Malan to discuss the unit with Chief Buthelezi The general was informed of this recommendation the next day

The idea of discussions between Chief Buthelezi, Mr Heunis and General Malan was also given the go-ahead by the State Security Council, which wanted the two ministers to evaluate the chief minister's needs and aims in relation to the paramilitary unit

In a preparatory meeting, Chief Buthelezi asked General Groenewald whether the defence force would give him a "contra-mobilisation capability", an intelligence capability and an offensive capability which could be used to prevent the UDF from disrupting Inkatha meetings, destroying property and terrorising, injuring or murdering Inkatha members

They agreed that Chief Buthelezi would select 200 candidates for special training

Further meetings followed in Cape Town, and General Malan asked for more details about the paramilitary unit and how it would be financed He also stipulated that he "must be able to sell the proposals to Mr Heunis"

A special task group was set up to provide General Malan with the information he required

Its top-secret report said a paramilitary unit was needed to "neutralise" the UDF It would have the capacity to mobilise people on the basis of "Zulu culture" and would include about 30 men who would operate covertly against the UDF and could form the basis for a subsequent army

The paramilitary unit would benefit the defence force by making Inkatha more effective against the UDF and, if it was successful, would pave the way for similar projects in other "national states".

The report stipulated that the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning would see to the overall co-ordination of the project It was most important that the unit should not be traced back to the defence force. The impression should be created that it had its origin in Kwazulu

The objective was to have a small group of well-trained troops at Inkatha's disposal which could act offensively against the ANC, the UDF and allied organisations

A cover organisation should be established with responsibility for the paramilitary training of the new troops

General Malan wrote to Mr Heunis shortly afterwards, summarising the report but leaving out references to the paramilitary

ma xut ia case.

Legal sources say there is no love lost between Mr von Lieres, who recently took early retirement on the grounds of ill health, and his former colleague Tim McNally, the attorney general of Kwazulu Natal. Shortly before the case started, Mr McNally characterised the legal clash looming between them as a "battle of the giants".

Although he will be prosecuting the case when it begins in the Supreme Court on March 4 next year, Mr McNally was not in court on Friday. Instead his deputy, Benny Schonfelt, dealt with the brief appearance of the 20 accused.

During the hearing Mr von Lieres made detailed submissions on changes to the bail conditions of his clients. In addition to changes in the arrangements for reporting to the police, he asked that one of the bail conditions be scrapped or at least suspended.

Referring to a list of people with

Mr von Lieres said that if the officials had been correctly quoted, the bail condition banning contact with the people on the list was effectively undermining the intention of the legislature which was meant to protect witnesses, and not "for reasons of prosecutorial convenience".

Mr Schonfelt replied that he had listened carefully to Mr von Lieres's argument, "and very erudite it was". However, the state had already agreed to scrap the requirement that the accused not contact the people on the list.

Black and white accused were treated differently. The alleged hitmen, all black, had to use the public entrance The white generals and other military officers, however, entered court through the cells, thus avoiding reporters.

The black accused were seated in the dock, while most of the white officers sat on chairs in front of the dock

The recruits did not know where they were going Some believed they were en route to Israel

They were secretly flown to the Caprivi guerrilla warfare school base, then driven to Camp Hippo, where they were to be trained

They were kept as isolated as possible and contact with trainers and trainees outside the immediate group was not allowed

Four separate units were formed, each specialising in a different aspect of paramilitary work. offensive and defensive work, contra-mobilisation and protection of VIPs

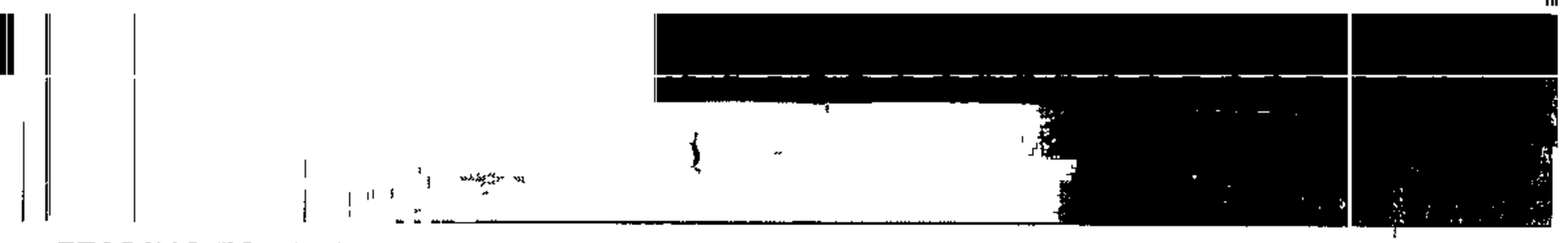
During their two-month training, they were paid with cash brought by military intelligence officers and M Z Khumalo, Chief Buthelezi's personal assistant, who was also Inkatha's liaison man on Operation Marion

AFTER they had been fully trained, the recruits were secretly transported back to Durban

Two officers working with the trainees, J P Opperman and Andre Cloete, were detailed to spend a month in and around the city, pretending to be tourists and getting to know the area in which they were to "operate"

In October 1986, Brigadier Cornelius van Niekerk, then a colonel, and Brigadier John More visited Chief Buthelezi Brigadier More reported to Major-General Cornelius van Tonder, who was in charge of Operation Marion, that the trainees would soon be deployed and that money to pay their salaries had been deposited into Inkatha's account "via Armscor channels"

In fact, the money was provided



FEARING FOR HIS LIFE . . . Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi asked for a Kwazulu defence force

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by Military Intelligence

Some time after the trainees' return, Mr Khumalo contacted Major Opperman and told him they were restless, they wanted to "practise their training" Major Opperman and Mr Cloete then asked Brigadier More for permission to launch an operation, which he gave.

Major Opperman asked the political commissar of the trainees, Daluxolo Luthuli, to select four people "whose death would have a positive impact on Inkatha" and four members of the defensive group were instructed to compile a dossier each

Major Opperman first checked with military and police sources that none of the intended targets was a police or military informer, then returned to Pretoria for the final go-ahead from Brigadier More The dossier on Victor Ntuli was the most comprehensive and he was selected as the group's target

Brigadier More arranged for AK-47s and ammunition from Ferntree military base in Natal. He also organised for the weapons to be collected after the operation and taken to Iscor to be destroyed

Major Opperman, Mr Cloete and Mr Khumalo then met Mr Luthuli and 11 members of the hit group at a deserted spot in Ulundi to give them instructions on how to attack the Ntuli house and for last-minute practice with their weapons They were told to use their white combi for the operation, and to stick specially prepared posters advertising a disco on the sides of the vehicle

Mr Cloete and Major Opperman went back to the Malibu hotel, where they were staying and, just before the deadline for the attack, met security policeman Major Louis Botha, the police liaison officer for Operation Marion

Major Botha's task was to divert police patrols from the area and to check the site after the hit to ensure no incriminating evidence had been overlooked

BEFORE they left to meet the attack group, Mr Cloete and Major Opperman stole the registration plates from a vehicle parked at the hotel. These were put on the white combi and the two trainers gave the trainees the AK-47s and a pistol before the vehicle left for Kwamakutha.

They also gave one of the hitmen, Peter Msane, a piece of paper on which was written "Chapter 1 verse 1", which was to be left at the scene for effect

Inside House 1866 in Kwamakutha everyone was asleep after a late-night prayer meeting There was a bang on the door followed by gunshots

Anna Khumalo moved quickly. She grabbed her toddler and tried to get out of the house, but so many women and children were sleeping on the floor that escape was impossible Instead, she hid with her baby in a wardrobe, listening to the bullets and the screams Hours later she crept out to find a charnel house — 13 bodies, six of them children under 10

Neighbours, alerted by the gunfire, had come outside but pistol shots from the combi scared them back into their homes

While Major Botha "swept" the scene for evidence before the arrival of the police at about 7am, the triumphant members of the paramilitary unit met up with their handlers under a freeway bridge to report on their success

Everything had gone well, apart from one small detail — Mr Msane had forgotten to drop his "Chapter 1 verse 1" text at the scene

They removed the stolen registration plates and posters from the vehicle, then drove to Umhlanga Rocks, where they dumped the registration plates and burnt the posters

To celebrate, they drove to Mr Khumalo's shop in Ulundi, where he arranged a ceremony during which a goat was slaughtered

Major Opperman and Mr Cloete handed the AK-47s over to Lieutenant Colonel Jacobus Victor, as they had previously arranged. He was to keep them until Brigadier More could have them fetched and smelted by Iscor.

Major Opperman then visited Mr Khumalo and reimbursed him for the cost of the goat

Vlakplaas man says top cops taught him to lie

(254)

By MARLENE BURGER

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TOP-RANKING police officers — including two who later retired as generals — coached Vlakplaas operatives, implicated in hit-squad activities by a former colleague, to lie under oath to the Harms commission of inquiry.

And, after giving false evidence, at least two witnesses were rewarded with cash bonuses, the Transvaal Supreme Court heard on Friday.

Testifying against former Vlakplaas commander Colonel Eugene de Kock — who is facing 121 charges, including eight of murder — retired security policeman Joe Mamasela said he had attended "numerous" meetings in the office of then Brigadier Nic van Rensburg, "to be schooled on what to say and how to say it" after being named by killer Almond Nofamela as among those who murdered Durban anti-apartheid lawyer Griffiths Mxenge

In an eve-of-execution statement in September 1989, Nofamela — sentenced to death for the murder of a Brits farmer — also implicated Brian Ngqulunga in the Mxenge killing

Mr Mamasela, who was given a R387 678 retirement package when Unit C10 was disbanded in April 1993, told the court he and Mr Ngqulunga had been ordered to deny all allegations, and had done so in affidavits "drawn up by the police" and in oral testimony to the Harms commission

"I could not do otherwise ... if I had told the truth, I would have been killed," he said

After giving evidence on June 4 1990, Mr Mamasela was told by Major General Krappies Engelbrecht (then a brigadier) that Brigadier van Rensburg, the commander of the SAP's C section under which Vlakplaas fell, wanted to see him and Mr Ngqulunga

"We went to his office and he congratulated us, then gave us each R1 000," said Mr Mamasela

But a month later, he heard reports that Mr Ngqulunga, a close friend, had been killed

"I had my suspicions, because at the last meeting in Brigadier van Rensburg's office, three days before I testified at the commission, he had raised concerns over Brian's behaviour News of the commission had affected Brian badly He began drinking heavily, became extremely nervous and increasingly agitated, and shot his pregnant wife"

Shortly after the shooting, Mr Mamasela, General Engelbrecht, Colonel Herman du Plessis, Colonel de Kock, Captain Balletjies Bellingham, Major Dave Baker, Major Paul van Dyk and Major Koos Vermeulen met in Brigadier van Rensburg's office to finalise Mr Mamasela's false testimony to the commission

"Brigadier van Rensburg pointed out that Mr Ngqulunga's behaviour might constitute a serious threat to the police case at Harms Colonel de Kock suggested that Brian should be eliminated, and Major van Dyk suggested I should do it, because we were friends.

"I expressed total reservation, and Brigadier van Rensburg said the matter should rest until Brian had given evidence."

Before appearing before the commission, he said, Mr Ngqulunga was given R300 "to buy pills to stabilise his nerves". He then gave the false evidence but previous witnesses have told the court that fears that he was about to tell the truth persisted, and Colonel de Kock was ordered "from head office" to kill him Mr Ngqulunga was allegedly shot with an AK-47 by Vlakplaas operatives. The ANC was blamed for his murder.

When he heard about Mr Ngqulunga's death, Mr Mamasela confronted Brigadier van Rensburg in his office. "He was frank and I was satisfied with what he said"

Therapeutic manoeuvres

By PETER De IONNO

THE entire SA National Defence Force is undergoing group therapy to learn that sharing prejudices and fears with former enemies can help members bond and to cope with the stress of integration

Next year, every member — from private to brigadier — will be put into a group of 20 and, under the supervision of the Directorate of Psychological and Social Work, go through three days of intensive self-examination, confrontational role-playing and team building

The groups work together producing and performing songs and poetry.

In a draft programme, the final day ends in an exercise which puts the participants into almost intimate physical contact, with all 20 crammed into a tiny space

While parade-ground cynics deride the Psychological Integration Programme as "brainwashing", it has been endorsed by the Joint Integration Committee, chaired by SANDF deputy chief, Lieutenant-General Siphiwe Nyanda, the former Umkhonto weSizwe commander

The experience for the high-powered officers representing all arms of the former SADF, MK, Apla and the former homeland armies was "shattering"

"We have been working together for more than a year, but we discovered we knew very little about each other," said one general. "By the end of the day we had exposed our frustrations and our hatreds and found our common values We started out divided into little groups and ended united as one"

Pip — prescribed to underpin the integration in the pre-election negotiations, which had set guidelines for military integration — was more preventative than therapeutic, said Colonel Claire Bless, the deputy director of the directorate in the SA Medical Services

"Pip helps soldiers analyse and break down the stereotypes that impair communication It is possible to find a new identity by creating group cohesion that will make a unified-defence force," she said

Being a soldier isn't what it used to be

(254) ST 3/12/95

By PETER De IONNO

THE defence force is expected to take 10 years to regain its efficiency as it absorbs members of the liberation and homeland armies.

Integration has moved into high gear after a stormy start, but the transition is marked by a rising lack of discipline, falling morale and loss of efficiency

Major-General Deon Mortimer, vice-chairman of the integration committee, predicted this week that it would take until 2005 to regain the defence force's 1990 efficiency levels

A former logistics chief, General Mortimer was called out of retirement to assist with the integration of an expected 35 000 Umkhonto weSizwe and Azanian People's Liberation Army members and 11 000 homeland soldiers with the defence force's 90 000

"Our standards have lowered, but we will certainly be efficient again," he said

General Mortimer cited "immense" problems with musketry as an example "We are using more ammunition than ever so they can learn to hit the target

"We have to learn a new method of training and there may be a problem with the rifle butt being too long, for example These are things that can be fixed"

On his list of things that can be fixed, General Mortimer includes 1 200 MK latecomers awaiting the approval of Minister of Defence Joe Modise and the need for Parliament to change the Constitution so Apla members can qualify for the demobilisation packages offered to MK veterans

"The important thing is that trust is beginning to develop between individuals, but distrust is going to continue for a long time and we are aware of it," he said

Morale has been undermined by the culture-shock of integration, soon to be followed by the rationalisation of the force to a strength of 90 000, with forced retrenchment for thousands after natural attrition and demobilisation are exhausted

Last week, as 321 technical trainees refused to do their duties, senior generals went public with their concerns over poor discipline, reflected in soaring numbers of soldiers charged with being absent without leave, drunkenness and disobeying orders.

However, the army has become less violent

Major-General "Dippies" Dippenaar, army chief of personnel, said figures for assaults were falling, with 76 to the end of October, compared with 157 in the same period last year and 116 in 1993.

But his explanation seemed to hint at deeper fears

"We are managing conflict more sensitively. We cannot afford to have serious conflicts within the army," he said

For soldiers used to the unwavering standards built on Boer authoritarianism and British regimental values, the new cautious, even caring military, weathering fiasco after fiasco, has become an uncertain place.

Their insecurity is complicated by peace. Without an enemy to challenge professional pride, or unite against, many have found the financial lure of civilian jobs or the even fatter pay packets of mercenary armies irresistible An exodus of technicians, and particularly pilots, threatens a manning crisis for the air force

The demands and frustrations of integration have put particular pressure on instructors In the first year 482 instructors resigned This year the army has lost 120 officers and 100 instructors They are proving hard to replace

Brigadier "Kritz" Kritzinger, the commander of the Wallmannstal divisional headquarters, says strict discipline that saw an ex-lieutenant colonel fired for making a racist remark and 450 Uganda-trained MK guerrillas forced to clean their compound at bayonet point, got the system "running like clockwork"

Much of the initial dissatisfaction has been appeased by the streamlining of the bureaucracy that records, grades, appoints, demobilises and, when severely provoked, dismisses the thousands listed on the personnel registers, seeking either a career or a demobilisation package as a liberation payoff.

So far 17 824 former guerrillas have passed through the system Almost 1 400 have been commissioned as officers, nine of them as generals and nearly 1 200 as lieutenants, captains or majors

The latest intakes have produced only half the expected trainees and physical integration is likely to be completed within a year, well before the mid-1997 deadline

Defence force planners are delighted that many former guerrillas would rather have the money than go through the rigours of integration A one-off demobilisation payment is cheaper than training and means one less name on the roll when rationalisation starts in earnest in the next financial year

By November 20, 1 577 former MK and Apla cadres had accepted payouts totalling R27,5-million of the R225-million set aside

It is easy to see the integration as a microcosm of the wider society's tests and traumas

The issue of standards intrudes on every discussion about integration and many officers agree it is often a smokescreen to hide fears that former South African Defence Force members are training their "shadows" and deputies to replace them when the rationalisation axe falls

Sensitivities over language were highlighted this week in MP Lindiwe Sisulu's call for English to be the only language of instruction in the defence force, opposed by the National Party in defence committee hearings

Trainee nurses at 1 Military hospital in Voortrekkerhoogte complain that instructors insist on giving lessons in Afrikaans "They tell us to go to Baragwanath hospital if we say we don't understand," said a trainee from the Transkei who speaks English and Xhosa

Colonel "Lucky" Ngema, the senior former-MK officer in the air force, said he had seen signals sent to training units specifying that teaching should be in Afrikaans

Colonel Ngema is as critical of the trainees "who want their problems solved for them" as he is of the SADF die-hards who refuse to make allowances for newcomers, who are initially overwhelmed by the military machine and its myriad rules and protocols

"MK was authoritarian and speaking out was discouraged, but trainees must overcome their fear of expressing themselves

"We are trying to target the sergeant majors and the non-commissioned officers for that is the level where things work or fail

"Some people are deliberately saying if you have got the rank, then you must immediately operate at that rank

"That is neither fair nor reasonable We must adapt to a system that was already in place and working when we joined It is generally agreed that a man should be given at least two years to catch up with qualifications and courses before he can operate at his appointed rank"

Colonel Hannes de Jager, commander of 151 SA Infantry, says integration is working in his fully integrated unit, which patrols the Lesotho-Free State border.

His companies include troops and officers from the old South African Defence Force, MK, the Bophuthatswana Defence Force and Apla

"We have no cultural conflicts because we all understand that the only way it can work is by adhering to a strict military culture That is our common ground, that is our strength"

The docket that clinched the arrest

The secret



ACCUSED . . . Magnus Malan

A TOP-SECRET file hidden from investigators during an eight-hour raid on Military Intelligence headquarters six months ago holds the key to the murder charges against former defence minister Magnus Malan.

The dossier, which is not registered in MI's records, contains documents so sensitive that only two copies of some were ever made. It was only recovered after direct intervention by Defence Minister Joe Modise.

One document, which forms part of the indictment, warns General Malan that officers involved in the covert projects in Kwazulu ran the risk of being charged with a capital offence.

The memorandum, which was verbally presented to General Malan in October 1988 by Vice-Admiral Andries Putter, Chief-of-Staff, Intelligence, at the time, warned him that, although cut-off points were being built in to protect those involved, "this does not eliminate the possibility that the Chief-of-Staff, Intelligence, and officers involved by virtue of their planning responsibility in Operation Marion may be charged with a capital crime".

The Investigation Task Unit probing Natal hit squads was directed to the file by a former MI agent, Major J P Opperman, who will be a key witness against General Malan and his 19 co-accused on 13 murder charges. The charges relate to the killing of 13 people, including women and six children under the age of 10, at Kwamakutha, near Durban, on January 21 1987.

Major Opperman, one of four MI instructors sent to

By MARLENE BURGER

the secret Hippo training base in the Caprivi in April 1986 where Inkatha assassins were allegedly trained, has turned state witness in return for indemnity from prosecution for his pivotal role in the 1987 Kwamakutha massacre.

For more than six months, he has been working closely with the task unit as it painstakingly built the case against some of the most illustrious military officers who served the SADF during the total onslaught era.

The crucial MI file was finally retrieved by the task unit only after Mr Modise ordered MI to locate it and hand it over.

This was done on June 5, four days after a Pretoria magistrate issued a search warrant to the Investigation Task Unit and a team of 40 detectives, led by Brigadier Ivor Human, searched MI headquarters in the Liberty Life Building in Vermeulen Street, Pretoria, from 4pm to midnight without success.

The file contained details of Operation Marion, the code name for the covert project to provide Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with his own paramilitary unit.

The most crucial document has come to be known as the Liebenberg Report, a top-secret, detailed proposal from then army chief Lieutenant-General Kat Liebenberg to SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys, which was

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Malan dossier

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⇦ **From Page 1**

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forwarded to General Malan for approval on February 27 1986.

It includes details of the R3,5-million MI budget for the plan to neutralise the United Democratic Front in Natal and a proposal that the SADF's first "black" unit, 121 Battalion based in Lenasia, should form the core of the future Kwazulu military force by recruiting only IFP loyalists as members in future.

General Liebenberg was at pains to record that the Kwazulu paramilitary unit should not be linked to the SADF or the government.

That officers involved in Operation Marion were acutely aware of the perils of the project is clear from documents admitted to court this week.

One records the concern of then Chief Director, Intelligence, Major-General Pieter Groenewald that the paramilitary action envisaged might be unconstitutional, and that SADF members could expose themselves to criminal prosecution through their involvement.

The MI file also provided the task unit with a wad of supporting documentation, including correspondence between some of those now facing murder charges, such as letters from Major-General Groenewald to Vice-Admiral Putter, and evidence that the Operation Marion chain of command reached General Malan.

After it received the secret file, the task unit spent five months checking every fact, tracking down and interviewing potential witnesses.

As the dossier grew, some of those directly involved in the Kwamakhutha massacre chose to co-operate with the investigators rather than face prosecution.

● **Full story Page 4**

IA

Top MI file implicates Magnus and his top generals

(254)

ST 3/12/89

Top secret

WHO KNEW WHAT . . . AND WHEN

ST 3/12/95

CHRIS BARRON examines the roles allegedly played by the key figures mentioned in the court indictment

● MALAN, Magnus (minister of defence and member of State Security Council during the period) On December 19 1985 is told of Chief Buthelezi's security requirements Is mandated to assist Chief Buthelezi in the creation of a security force for Kwazulu Provides a summary of recommendations for Mr Heunis, but omits those dealing with the establishment of an offensive unit

● GROENEWALD, Pieter Hendrik (chief director of Military Intelligence until August 1986, answerable to Chief-of-Staff, Intelligence, Vice-Admiral Putter) Meets Chief Buthelezi on November 25 1985 and hears his security requirements to ward off ANC/UDF threat to him and Inkatha. Reports outcome of meeting to Vice-Admiral Putter and on December 19 1985 presents Chief Buthelezi's requirements to General Malan with a recommendation that the SADF should train a defensive unit of 50-100 men and, in secret, an offensive unit of 10-20 Is told to investigate the creation of a paramilitary unit Given 200 candidates for training and told to set up a task group for the paramilitary project

● PUTTER, Andries Petrus (Vice-Admiral and Chief-of-Staff, Intelligence, for the SADF) On November 27 1985 he recommends to SADF chief General Johann Geldenhuys that he or the minister of defence should meet Chief Buthelezi as soon as possible to capitalise on the latter's conciliatory mood towards the SADF A task group is formed which recommends on February 12 that paramilitary aid for Chief Buthelezi be kept secret and be his responsibility as Chief-of-Staff, Intelligence He is told by General Malan to "sell" this covert plan to Chief Buthelezi He tells General Geldenhuys that, owing to the urgency of implementing Operation Marion, they are proceeding on verbal authority, and tells him training of recruits will start on April 16 1986 in the Caprivi Strip.

● GELDENHUYS, Johannes Jacobus (Chief of the SADF) Attends meeting of the State Security Council on December 20 1985 when the issue of how best to capitalise on Chief Buthelezi's attitude is discussed On February 3 1986 attends meeting of State Security Council at which authority is given to provide Chief Buthelezi with assistance. On February 17 he appoints a task group to work out the details of paramilitary aid On April 8, after receiving the task group's report, he instructs Vice-Admiral Putter to sell the covert leg of the plan to Chief Buthelezi

● VAN TONDER, Cornelius Jacobus (Chief director of special tasks under the command of Vice-Admiral Putter. In August 1986 took over from General Groenewald as chief director of military intelligence) On April 16 is put in charge of managing Operation Marion He is told to use part of the guerrilla warfare school in the Caprivi for training Inkatha members Offers congratulations after the hit squad operation

● VAN NIEKERK, Cornelius Johannes (attached to the directorate of Military Intelligence As the director of special tasks, Operation Marion was his specific responsibility at relevant times) Sits on a committee appointed by the State Security Council to investigate the creation of a paramilitary unit for Inkatha On February 12 1986 he accompanies General Groenewald to a meeting with Chief Buthelezi Is ordered by General Malan to head the project under the command of General Cornelius van Tonder He is put in charge of training members of the Inkatha paramilitary unit On October 16 1986 he visits Chief Buthelezi in Ulundi and Operation Marion is discussed

● LIEBENBERG, Andreas Jacobus (chief of the army at times relevant to the charges) He chairs the task group which draws up the specifics of the paramilitary project at General Malan's request. The report of the task group becomes the foundation of Operation Marion and is handed to General Geldenhuys on February 27 1986.

● MORE, John Reeves (attached to MI and senior staff officer of Operation Marion Attached to the directorate of special tasks headed by General van Tonder) On October 16 1986 meets Chief Buthelezi in Ulundi with Brigadier van Niekerk Reports to General van Tonder that the first 200 trainees are back in Natal and ready for deployment, and that money for their salaries have been deposited into an Inkatha account Grants permission to instructors Andre Cloete and J P Opperman to plan their first operation Conveys approval of selected target

He arranges for the AK-47s and ammunition to be obtained from the Ferntree Military Base in Natal and says he will arrange for their collection and destruction after the operation

● VAN DER MERWE, Jan Hendrik Is instrumental in paying the trainees in the Caprivi He is handed the AK-47s after the hit

● BOTHA, Louis (in security branch of the SAP and Operation Marion's liaison officer) Is approached by Mr Opperman with the names of possible targets and indicates he has no objection as none is an informer of the security branch. The night before the operation he is briefed fully by Mr Opperman and Mr Cloete Arrangements are made with him to have police patrols diverted from the operational area, and for him to act as sweeper.

● JACOBS, Gerhardus Mario (officer commanding at Camp Hippo in the Caprivi) Oversees training of the Inkatha members and their division into groups.

● KHUMALO, Melchizedec Zakhele (personal assistant to Chief Buthelezi and liaison person between Inkatha and Operation Marion) Attends passing out parade of trainees and pays them Meets with Mr Opperman and Mr Cloete and they decide to plan a hit. He meets with the two and the hit squad outside Ulundi when the squad is instructed how to attack the house and given AK-47s

● VICTOR, Jacobus Adriaan (senior staff officer in charge of intelligence at Natal Command) Given the names of four possible targets and checks to ensure they are not military [illegible]s. Receives the AK-47s af[illegible]ration and holds for colle[illegible]

● GRIESEL, [illegible]ornelis (commander of [illegible]ase at Ferntree in Na[illegible]plies weaponry for the hi[illegible]

● MSANE, Peter [illegible]ns as member of the offen[illegible]ve group and is assigned to drive the hit vehicle

● KHANYILE, Martin Thulani, NDLOVU, Celukwanda, MKHIZE, Prince Phezukwendoda; MBUYAZI, Hloni Andreas, BIYELA, Alex Vulindlela All part of the hit squad

Armscor armed to fight for its life

(254)
@ P 3/12/95

By ZB MOLEFE

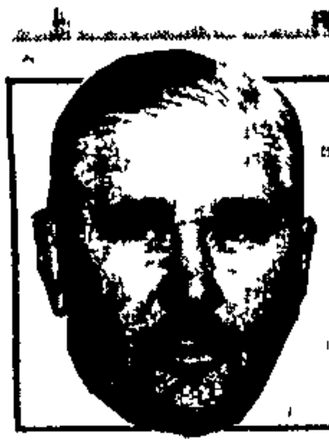
IN SPITE of recent calls for Armscor to disband, the government has given it a thumbs-up – strengthening it with the addition of five prominent South fricans to its board of directors

The five new directors are prominent surgeon Diliza Mji, Advocate McCapps Motimele and businessmen Seth Phalatse, Dirk Ackerman and Ron Haywood

This emerged at a recent indaba in Pretoria attended by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, seven cabinet ministers including Defence Minister Joe Modise, and 20 senior government officials

■ Calling for the continued existence of Armscor, Mbeki urged for an end to the "habits of the embargo period"

"The changed circumstances demand transparency and popular participation in government Arms trade cannot turn a blind eye to abuses of human rights," said Mbeki



At a security council meeting in Tuynhuys on December 20 1985, Louis le Grange (left) and Chris Heunis (right) were among those allegedly ordered to help Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi set up a security force to 'protect' Inkatha in KwaZulu. It allegedly included an anti-ANC hit squad.





In 1985 Mangosuthu Buthelezi allegedly asked the apartheid regime for an 'attack unit' to 'protect' Inkatha.

THE HEAT IS NOW ON

254 CP 3/12/95

DOCUMENTS before the Natal Supreme Court this week unveiled startling allegations linking former defence minister Magnus Malan to killer squads used to destabilise Inkatha's political opponents – including murdering them.

As the sensational claims against General Malan and 18 other former top ranking security officers unfold, the forthcoming trial could open a can of worms implicating senior Inkatha members and high ranking members of the former government

According to the indictment against Malan, he was part of the security apparatus that formed an armed and powerful unit in KwaZulu in the 1980s – a force which was allegedly also used by the apartheid regime in its armed struggle against the ANC and the UDF

Advocate Tim McNally, the attorney general of KwaZulu/Natal, on Friday submitted the charge sheet in the murder trial of Malan and 19 other accused in the Natal Supreme Court

They briefly appeared on thirteen charges of murder and five charges of attempted murder

The State will try to prove that the creation, financing and arming of a para-military force for KwaZulu eventually led to the massacre of 13 people in KwaMakhutha in 1987

■ Operation Marion – as this secret project was later dubbed – allegedly began after the former chief minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, started fearing that ANC/UDF activists wanted to kill him

According to the State, Buthelezi in a meeting on November 25 1985 with General Tienie Groenewald, then chief director of Military Intelligence, asked that the South African government help him with the training of personal bodyguards, an army for KwaZulu, an "attack unit" to protect Inkatha against the ANC/UDF and the setting up of a intelligence network and a security council

According to the 32-page charge sheet, Buthelezi's request was passed on in turn to Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, then chief of staff for intelligence, General Jannie Geldenhuys, then chief of the defence force, and eventually General Malan

On December 19 1985 General Groenewald allegedly recommended to General Malan that a "defence force" of 50 to 100 men be trained – as well as a "attack force" of 10 to 20 men The attack force was to be trained in secret

■ At an extraordinary meeting of the Security Council in Tuynhuys on December 20 1985, General Malan, Chris Heunis, then minister of constitutional development, and Louis le Grange, then minister of law and order, were allegedly ordered to help Buthelezi set up a security force.

■ The charge sheet further alleges that the generals were all closely involved in the planning of the KwaZulu security force The aim of Operation Marion – to use Inkatha fighters against the ANC/UDF – is spelled out in a top-secret document which was found during a swoop on the defence force headquarters in Pretoria and which is attached to the charge sheet

Among others the document recommended that Buthelezi be empowered to issue weapons without licences According to the document – signed among others by General Groenewald – the impression had to be created that KwaZulu itself had created the defence force Buthelezi would personally select two hundred recruits for training

■ The State alleges that General Malan closely monitored the planning phase of Operation Marion and further meetings between top officers and Buthelezi, and that he provided guidance

Malan also allegedly said the inclusion of an attack unit had to be kept secret when the final plan was submitted to Heunis for his approval

About R3,5 million was initially allocated to finance the project. All the money was allegedly paid into a KwaZulu account by Military Intelligence, who made it seem as if the money came overseas investors

■ The training of 200 Inkatha fighters

■ To Page 2



ON THE RUN ... Asec Abidjan fans run for cover after Orlando Pirates fan them in reaction to the red card shown to Bucs captain and midfielder Inn 36th minute. Pirates and Asec drew 2-2 in the first round of the African Ch FNB Stadium. Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

P.T.O.

'Secret squad to kill ANC'

CP 3/12/95

254

Malan's 'deadly boys from the bundu'

CP CORRESPONDENT

THE MOST dramatic evidence in the murder trial of former minister of defence, General Magnus Malan, and other senior officers of the security forces will be given in the Durban Supreme Court by Major Johan Pieter Opperman (with the code name JP), a former member of the SA Defence Force.

Opperman was allegedly closely involved in the KwaMak utha massacre in KwaZulu/Natal in 1987

On Friday, the State released particulars about 75 witnesses who will disclose details of the alleged involvement of Malan and his 19 co-accused in the creation of an "IFP attack unit" when the trial starts officially on March 4 next year.

The deputy attorney general of KwaZulu/Natal, Bernard Schonfeldt, submitted a formal charge sheet.

The accused will be tried on 13 charges of murder and five of attempted murder. When the trial starts, the attorney general of Natal, Tim McNally, will personally lead the evidence

■ According to the charge sheet, Opperman and his colleague, André Cloete (code-named Kevin), were instructors at the Hippo Camp in the Caprivi where about 200 Inkatha members received para-military training in 1985 and 1986

Thirty men were allegedly trained as a secret "attack unit" to murder ANC/UDF members.

According to the charge sheet, Malan and other senior officers planned and controlled the project, code-named Operation Marion – for which R3,5 million was budgeted.

When the Inkatha fighters returned to Natal in 1986, JP and Kevin were selected to execute the operations with them.

They were allegedly given a car and had to pose as tourists in Durban

Meanwhile, two of the accused, Brigadier John More and Brigadier Cor van Niekerk, both of Military Intelligence (MI), allegedly told Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi that the Caprivi recruits were back in Natal. Their salaries were paid into an Inkatha bank account via Armscor.

On the night of the murders, Opperman allegedly handed AK-47 guns to the hit squad near the Durban airport He and Kevin allegedly helped to camouflage the hit squad's minibus

■ Other important evidence is that Colonel Jan Breytenbach, founder of 32 Batallion, Brigadier Andries Laas, former commissioner of the KwaZulu Police, Lieutenant-General Witkop Badenhorst, former chief of staff: Intelligence, and Colonel Anton Niewoudt, former member of the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), were involved in a failed coup in the Ciskei and that Major-General Joep Joubert, also formerly of the CCB, and Colonel Daan Benade, former secretary of General Kat Liebenberg, allegedly served on a secret committee which planned the training of Inkatha fighters in the Caprivi.

According to a top-secret document attached to the charge sheet, the aim of the secret Inkatha attack unit was to murder ANC/UDF activists.

The impression was allegedly to be created that the unit had been established by the KwaZulu government, keeping the SADF's role secret.



General Jannie Geldenhuys.



Colonel Louis Botha.

20 now in dock over 'secret unit'

By CP Correspondent

TWENTY people are being charged in the case concerning the establishing of a secret attack unit for KwaZulu.

In June this year, the following seven people were arrested:

■ Zakhele Khumalo, deputy secretary general of Inkatha,
■ Colonel Louis Botha, a former member of the Security Police;
■ Brigadier John More, a former member of Military Intelligence (MI);
■ Peter Msane;
■ Nicholas Ndlovu;
■ Martin Khanyile; and
■ Prins Mkhize (the last four are all former KwaZulu policemen).

On November 2, the following eleven people were arrested:

■ General Magnus Malan;
■ General Jannie Geldenhuys, former Chief of the SA Defence Force;
■ General Kat Liebenberg, also a former Chief of the SA Defence Force,
■ General Tienie Groenewald, former chief director of MI;
■ General Neels van Tonder, former chief director of intelligence operations,
■ Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, former chief of staff for information;
■ Lieut-Col Johannes Victor, former information officer in Natal;
■ Colonel Dan Griesel, former MI member;
■ Col Jakes Jacobs, former instructor of special forces;
■ Commandant Jan van der Merwe, former MI member; and
■ Brig Cor van Niekerk, former director of special duties.

On November 15 two former members of the SA Police who served in the KwaZulu Police were arrested – Alex Biyela and Hloni Mbuyazi.

...trfouted a scrambler and ... done"

Welcome to new SANDF

(254) CP 3/12/95

By ELIAS MALULEKE

THE SANDF is attempting to be transparent and to open up to the media, in line with the Government of National Unity policy of "openness".

In an effort to prove this, Army Headquarters in Pretoria has taken to inviting journalists to its bases throughout the country

The latest trip was to Ladysmith, Maritzburg, Richards Bay and Jozini

Media liaison

SANDF directorate of communication media liason officers Lieutenant-Colonel Brian du Toit is always at hand to assist journalists

Officers commanding various units are lined up to brief the media on the "new look army"

They discuss the pains and success of the integration of the former South African Defence Force, MK, Apla, and the armies of self-governing homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda

According to the commanders, the integration is running smoothly and members of the liberation forces are becoming more and more disciplined in their approach to military life

The pains were caused by the fact that that many former members of the liberation forces did not make the grade

However, former cadres who failed were given the opportunity to try again while being monitored by members of a military board comprising of former SANDF, MK and Apla members

Many others were integrated into various corps of the army on a contractual basis, rather than being demobilised, to give them further opportunities

The success of the integration process, in spite of earlier discontent by members of the liberation forces, which resulted in mutiny, lies in the fact that there have been no racial incidents

Soldiers were also becoming more apolitical and distanced themselves from party political affiliations.

Differences

However, because of cultural differences, it was impossible to deploy former cadres in provinces other than those from which they originated

Cadres also wanted to be close to their families

On their arrival at the bases, the former cadres are given bridging courses and training

Those who are successful are posted to their units for further training

The commanders hinted that the De Brug and Wallmansthal assembly points would be shut down next year and reliance would be placed on volunteers and recruits

immediately supply ... you need to

men when out on bail. Gang members fired shots into the air and set a car alight

Picture AP

BD 4/12/95

Fewer whites in top posts

STELLENBOSCH — The number of whites in senior managerial posts in the health department had been nearly halved in the past year as part of a restructuring of the health services, Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma said.

At the opening of the 11th triennial Commonwealth Health Ministers' conference yesterday, she said the department's top management structure had changed from one that was 90% white and 95% male.

Of the 34 senior managers, 47% were now white and 30% of the managers were women. More than four-fifths of management was new.

The conference will see health ministers and officials from more than 30 Commonwealth countries debating a three-year action plan to enhance the general health of women — Sapa.

'Military co-operated in investigation of Malan'

BD 254 4/12/95

Nicola Jenvey

DURBAN — Co-operation from military intelligence enabled the Investigation Task Unit to obtain the vital dossier to charge former defence minister Magnus Malan and 19 others with the 1987 KwaMakutha massacre.

Unit commander Frank Dutton said at the weekend the investigating team knew of the dossier's existence and received a warrant to search the military intelligence offices in Pretoria, to obtain the dossier retrieved on June 5.

"It was not a situation where we went in against their will and found these documents hidden in somebody's safe. We went in with a search warrant and after negotiation the documents were handed over," Dutton said.

During Friday's 20-minute court appearance apartheid's top securocrats, former KwaZulu policemen and IFP deputy secretary general Zakhele Khumalo were charged with 13 counts of murder, four of attempted murder, and one of conspiracy to murder.

The State alleges that the 13 people were massacred in KwaMakutha house 1866 eight years ago, after a group of highly-trained Inkatha supporters became "restless and wanted to practice their training".

IFP leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — then KwaZulu government chief minister — requested security force assistance against life threats to himself and his supporters by the ANC and United Democratic Front.

Code-named "Operation Marion", a paramilitary training base in the western Caprivi Strip was set up, with the constitutional development and planning department assuming overall coordination. The State claimed 200 IFP supporters underwent four months' specialist training there.

Only people whose deaths would "positively impact" on the IFP could be targets. Victor Ntuli, with "the most comprehensive" dossier, was selected.

The attack was carried out and although Ntuli was not home, the operation was considered "a success".

The accused were not asked to plead and the case was scheduled for March 4 in the Durban Supreme Court.

Makgoba slams Wits staff for 'scare tactics'

CT 4/12/95 (254)

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG Professor William Makgoba has accused senior Wits University staff of trying to apply "scare tactics" by threatening over the weekend to sue him for defamation.

Vice-Chancellor Prof Robert Charlton and 12 other senior academics launched out at Prof Makgoba at a weekend media briefing about the issue of defamation for releasing information from their personal files.

The allegations follow the submission of a 104 page document by Prof Makgoba's lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob to the university in which he accused the 13 academics of racism and manipulation of power.

The document was a counter attack after university staff accused Prof Makgoba of defaming last week.

They have used revealed information from their personal university record which are supposed to be true. Prof Makgoba said last night.

Prof Charlton and the other academics described the allegations as "laughable" and said they ranged from the mere perversions to the outright ludicrous.

The 13 academics are all signatories to a letter calling for an inquiry into Prof Makgoba for alleged mismanagement and misrepresentation in his CV.

tests

KwaZulu forces to be included in SANDF

(254) Star 4/12/95

By Norman Chandler
Defence Correspondent

Members of the KwaZulu Self-Protection Forces (KZSPF) are being integrated into the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) to enhance its legitimacy

The cost of the exercise is estimated at R85,1-million

The chief of the SANDF, Gen Georg Meiring, said in Pretoria at the weekend that the process would be different from that followed during the integration process by former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla forces

Meiring told his forces in an information bulletin that in terms of the interim constitution, members of the KZSPF were not eligible for integration and therefore could be considered as members of the SANDF, but the Cabinet had now decided that a maximum of 2 000 should be taken into the SANDF

"It has now become necessary to integrate some of the KZSPF members into the SANDF primarily to enhance the legitimacy of the SANDF among all segments of the population," he said

The SANDF is to co-operate with the Inkatha Freedom Party in the drawing up of a certified personnel register to facilitate the process, which will start with about 200 members being integrated in the next three months, and the remainder during the 1996-97 financial year

"There is no guarantee that they will serve in the same region or province from which soldiers originated," the bulletin added

Soldiers receive fines, suspended sentences

PRETORIA — More than 300 soldiers found guilty of mutiny for refusing to continue training were yesterday fined and given suspended sentences of 12 months in detention

They were arrested last month after protesting against the SA National Defence Force's failure to meet back-pay promises, the SANDF said in Pretoria

Lance-corporals were ordered to pay a R700 fine They were sentenced to 12 months in detention, demoted to private and discharged from the SANDF, suspended for two years

Married privates were fined R600 They were sentenced to 12 months in detention and discharged, also suspended for two years. (254)

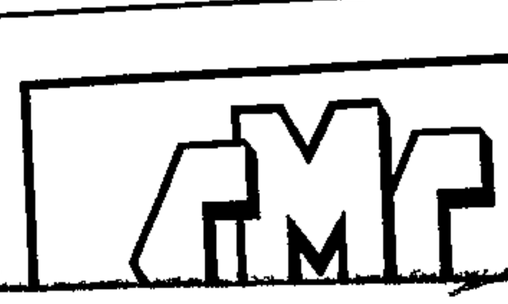
Northern Transvaal Command commanding officer Brig Hennie Schultz said the sentences were suspended on condition the members were not found guilty of similar charges during that period.

The 321 soldiers of Technical Service Training Centre in Voortrekkerhoogte went on strike on November 21 in protest against the SANDF's failure to issue three months' back pay.

A spokesman said the sentences had to be confirmed by the convening authority within 48 hours Thereafter members would have the opportunity to appeal against their sentences.

They would continue their training on December 5. — Sapa.

BD 5/12/95



Holomisa calls for details of arms report

(254)

Political Correspondent

BANTU Holomisa, Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs and former Transkei military leader, has demanded details of an intelligence report on arms movements in the former homeland ARG 5/12/95

But, the SA National Defence Force says it has not had such a request

Mr Holomisa made the call for details yesterday in an interview in which he also revealed he supplied arms to Umkhonto weSizwe and Azanian People's Liberation Army guerrillas

He was quoted as saying he had issued the weapons to the liberation armies because conventional procedures for getting gun licences were too time-consuming

Defence force spokesman Gert Oppermann said he had "no first-hand knowledge" of Mr Holomisa's request to release the report.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that President Mandela's office said it was not aware of plans to discuss Mr Holomisa at tomorrow's meeting of African National Congress cabinet ministers

"It is a regular meeting and we are not aware of this matter being on the agenda We are not aware of the story," said presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana

He was reacting to weekend speculation that Mr Holomisa was to be axed after his claim last week that he and other "populists" were the target of a witchhunt by an ANC elite

Buthelezi won't give evidence

(254) (~~118~~) Sowetan 5/12/95

Sowetan Correspondent

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will not be called to testify in the KwaMakutha hit-squad case in which former defence force chief General Magnus Malan is charged along with 19 others

Buthelezi's name does not appear among the list of 75 witnesses due to give evidence in the Supreme Court trial which begins in March next year, despite the fact that it is mentioned frequently in the court indictment

KwaZulu-Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally confirmed yesterday that the IFP leader would not be called to give evidence

The indictment in the sensational trial opens with a speech by Buthelezi in the former KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in 1984 where he hints at the prospect of establishing a force to fight his opponents in the African National Congress and allied United Democratic Front

This and many other references to Buthelezi and his role in calling for a homeland paramilitary force has prompted his rivals in the ANC to call on the Home Affairs Minister to reveal his alleged role in setting up hit-squads

McNally said if Buthelezi felt it necessary to respond to the indictment he "has a political platform, within the rules of *sub judice*, but the court platform is not available to him"

The ANC's provincial safety and security spokesman, Mr Bheki Cele, said "I'm legally illiterate He features prominently in the indictment and not only asked for protection, but promised to hit back at his opponents and that's not defensive Legally he may not be involved, but morally he is"

The case against Malan and others hinges around the establishment of an offensive unit through the IFP which was trained by the former South African Defence Force

While Buthelezi has publicly denied that SADF officials held discussions over an offensive unit with him, the indictment claims he requested offensive and intelligence capabilities

His name is mentioned at least 25 times in the 64-page indictment

Integration and career worries for ex-SADF members

(254)

By Norman Chandler
Defence Correspondent

Star 5/12/95

Members of the disbanded South African Defence Force (SADF) – the country's previous all-powerful military force – say that their interests are not being looked after adequately during the ongoing military integration process, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has admitted.

It is the first official indication that the process – which is designed to integrate the SADF with Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla, and the former armies of the defunct Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Venda and Transkei homelands into one unified force – has run into problems involving SADF personnel.

There have been reports for some time that mainly white officers and men who were part of the SADF are not happy with what they perceive to be "favoured treatment" of the officers and men from MK and Apla – known as the non-statutory forces (NSF) – and the four other armies.

They are particularly concerned about promotions, a fear that they will not be reappointed when contracts come up for renewal, and that all posts continue to be regarded as temporary pending placement decisions taken by a military placement board

There is also concern that, as the integration process winds on, so will some soldiers be affected by a planned rationalisation programme which will see the defence force downsized by up to 60 000 to a level of about 75 000.

The Chief of the SANDF, General Georg Meiring, said in Pretoria that it had recently become evident "that the former SADF should be represented on the integration committee (IC) to obtain a general overview of the integration process"

Another aspect that is being looked into is described as "fears and perceptions that the former SADF is absorbing the other forces". This fear has been expressed for NSF soldiers, who in turn have claimed they are not being given due recognition and that SADF men are being preferred.

The claims were part of the reason why troops took part in various acts of ill-discipline during 1995 by embarking on campaigns for improved salary packages and finally complaining directly to President Mandela.

Defence headquarters is taking such a serious view of the situation that a senior officer has been seconded to the IC to look after the interests of former SADF members, and to also keep the committee informed about prevailing attitudes and perceptions

Malaysia, Denel sign pact on helicopters

KUALA LUMPUR. — A Malaysian company has signed a deal with South Africa's Denel to manufacture jointly and market Oryx and Rooivalk helicopters for the Southeast Asia and Middle East markets (254) ARG 7/12/95.

The Airod company will produce components initially, including aluminium and composite structures, for Denel's products.

Airod will also make electrical wire looms and panels and carry out aircraft assembly and flight tests.

A statement by Airod did not give any investment figures.

Airod is controlled largely by Malaysian Helicopter Services, which has a 66,7 percent stake in Airod's holding company, Aerospace Industries Malaysia.

Denel produces the Oryx medium transport helicopter, the Rooivalk combat helicopter and Cheetah fighters.

Malaysia's defence ministry has said it is looking at the possibility of buying a Rooivalk helicopter. — Reuter

Taiwan to help SA cut armed forces

(254) CT 7/12/95

JOHANNESBURG The Taiwanese government will help South Africa with a R141 million project to rationalise the armed forces, it was reported here yesterday.

An agreement to this effect will be signed in Pretoria today by President Nelson Mandela and Taiwanese ambassador Mr J Cheng Loh.

Included in the agreement is the building of a vocational training centre to help rehabilitate the more than 35 000 soldiers the South African National Defence Force intends demobilising.

Unemployed youths will also be helped.

A spokesman for the Taiwanese government said yesterday the assistance will form part of South Africa's RDP.

It will be the forerunner of many other projects he said — Sapa

R146-m boost for training of demobbed SA soldiers

(254) 8/12/95 Star

By Norman Chandler
Defence Correspondent

A R146,4-million technical assistance agreement, aimed at retraining soldiers demobilised from the South African National Defence Force, was signed in Pretoria yesterday between Taiwan and South Africa.

It provides for the building of a vocational training centre at Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on a 266ha site

Signing the agreement, President Nelson Mandela told ambassador I-Cheng Loh that it was one of the most significant signs of a closer relationship with Taiwan, describing it as "an expression of how our relationship has developed" since he visited Taiwan prior to becoming president

Mandela said that it was important that unskilled soldiers who had been members of Umkhonto weSizwe and Apla should be re-trained, to enable them to find employment.

"Demobilising people who were in an army is not an easy thing, but we have been able to put together a package to help them

"Some of the people are not happy with it because it does not provide them with sufficient funds to enable them to retire for life," he added

Loh said his government's decision to provide the grant was part of a four-pronged plan to assist South Africa

Other areas of involvement were assistance to small and medium-sized businesses, small farm development and technical training

Taiwan first made known its interest in the training project in January this year, during discussions with Defence Minister Joe Modise

It is expected that the training centre will start operating in May, when the first 220 people will begin training, and will be fully operational by August 1997

It will eventually provide training for 1 500 people a year A total of 66 South African instructors are to go to Taiwan for three-month courses, with the first group leaving on January 15.

Malan trial: Before the KwaMakhutha massacre, there was

Chapter one of



The family of a Sarmcol striker in June 1985 in Mpophomeni, where the alleged Caprivi-trained fighters first struck PHOTOGRAPH: BILLY PADOCK

Hazel Friedman

THE murder of three union shop stewards on a lonely road near Mpophomeni on the night of December 5 1986 will be remembered as the beginning of the most violent period in this country's history

These deaths, along with the KwaMakutha massacre — for which General Magnus Malan and 19 co-accused will face trial early next year — were pivotal in transforming the Natal Midlands into South Africa s killing fields.

They also marked the beginning of "third force" operations in South Africa

A chilling excerpt from the indictment against the Malan 20 confirms that these early massacres by the Caprivi 200" hit squad were designed to stoke "black-on-black violence and undermine organisations aligned to the African National Congress in KwaZulu-Natal. The Caprivi 200 plan is alleged to have been set up by Malan

Describing preparations for the KwaMakhutha massacre the indictment says "The 10 AK47 rifles were handed to the [Caprivi] group and (SADF officer Johan) Opperman gave accused no 1 [Peter Msane] a Tokarev pistol together with a piece of paper on which was written 'Chapter 1 verse 1', which was to be left on the scene for effect."

The attackers made two mistakes They killed 13 civilians but failed to murder Victor Ntuli, the intended victim — and forgot to leave the paper behind Its prophecy was, however, to be fulfilled more than 10 000 people have died in the civil war that began with these events

The Mpophomeni massacre, which according to eyewitnesses was carried out by Caprivi fighter Vela Mchunu and a group of accomplices, is engraved in the collective memory of its residents

In a poignant piece for the 1986 funeral of the union leaders, worker poet Mi Hlatshwayo wrote:

We shall remember your smiling and simple faces
that drove other men
to
rape our unity
to
raid our camps
and kill our pride

Yet, nine years later — despite the key role that Mpophomeni has played in South Africa's recent history — the township near Howick appears to have been forgotten by the outside world

Organised by the Metal and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (Mawu) in a two-year struggle for union recognition, the 1985 strike at the Sarmcol factory in Howick, mostly staffed by Mpophomeni residents became a pioneering campaign for the labour movement in South Africa

It led to the massive Edendale march in support of the United Democratic Front, the 1985 stayaway in the Natal Midlands and nationwide sympathy strikes by Mawu members These events helped trigger Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi s appeal to military intelligence, documented in the indictment, for help in setting up his paramilitary unit (see accompanying story)

It was inevitable that Mawu activists and the people of Mpophomeni — where 40 percent of the strikers lived — become a target of the Caprivi unit. In December 1986, soon after the paramilitary troops arrived back in the country, Inkatha organised a "fair" in Mpophomeni

On December 5, the night before the event was due to take place, busloads of Inkatha supporters arrived at the Mpophomeni community hall

Alerted by rumours of an impending Inkatha attack, shop stewards' council chair Phineas Sibiya and fellow activist Simon Ngubane began keeping watch on the community hall They were joined by Mike Sibiya, Phineas' step-brother and Florence Mnikathi, a member of the health committee.

'Their story is one of bitterness, abandonment and betrayal'

Their car was surrounded by armed men — including Caprivi hit man Mchunu — wearing the uniform of the KwaZulu Police The union leaders were forced out of the car and dragged to the community hall where they were tortured and repeatedly ordered to denounce Mawu

They were then driven to a remote area where they were forced from the car at gunpoint. Mike Sibiya managed to escape by blocking the barrel of the gun with his hand and diving into a river bed He heard the gunshots and saw the sky light up in flames Nine years later Sibiya is still too afraid to return to Mpophomeni And although three men were subsequently arrested in connection with the massacre, they were never prosecuted.

Today the settlement that was once an emblem of solidarity has become little more than a haven for refugees fleeing their homes from the KwaZulu-Natal civil war

The Sarmcol Workers Co-operative — an agricultural project initiated by the union and the community — has all but closed down. Of the original four projects, only one remains and of the 20 workers who started the co-operative, only seven have stayed on.

Money is short and food is scarce. Compounding the problem of increasing debt and ongoing crop failure is the threat of land repossession. The funders who assisted Mawu with purchasing the co-operative, are now demanding their money back Says Moses Nelele, chairperson of the agricultural project. "You can cry if see what has happened to us here"

The community's anger is directed not only at Sarmcol, hit squads or the civil war which has reduced a pastoral landscape to a war zone It is also aimed at former colleagues some of whom are now in government.

Sociologist Debby Bonnin, who has worked closely with Sarmcol strikers and residents from Mpophomeni says "The contribution of the strikers to the union movement and the sacrifices made for struggle as a whole should not be ignored Their story is one of bitterness, abandonment and betrayal"

the Mpophomeni massacre. Both v

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Buthelezi 'near

HOME Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi came close to being arrested and charged with the KwaMakhutha murders, according to sources involved in the investigation.

Buthelezi's name appears several times in the documents that describe events leading to the formation of the Caprivi 200, the hit-squad unit whose members allegedly massacred 13 civilians in 1987.

Most important is a meeting that took place on November 25 1985 between General Tienie Groenewald, then chief director of military intelligence, and the Inkatha leader. The indictment says Buthelezi, fearing plans by African National Congress supporters to "eliminate him and neutralise Inkatha", asked Groenewald to provide him with protection, information and a military capacity

The indictment contains an excerpt from a 1984 speech made by Buthelezi in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly which says "We must prepare ourselves to hit back with devastating force at those who destroy our property and kill us"

It adds that Groenewald presented Buthelezi's requests to Malan and reccommended the South African Defence Force should train "a defensive unit of 50-100 men and an offensive unit of 10-20 men (on a covert basis) for Buthelezi and Inkatha".

An extraordinary State Security Council meeting was called the next day where "Ministers [Chris] Heunis and [Louis] Le Grange were mandated to assist Buthelezi in creating a security force for KwaZulu".

The indictment says the State Security Council had initial reservations about the paramilitary offensive unit "and it was then resolved that that aspect be investigated at the highest political level cleared with Buthelezi"

During a further round of sions with Groenewald, on Fe 12 1986, Buthelezi request SADF to provide him with a " mobilisation capability", an sive capability (or defensive ele and an "intelligence capability

The state's indictment alleg in April 1986 Malan asked hi of staff intelligence, Vice-A Andries Putter, to "sell" the aspect of the plan to Buthe this was successful, implemer of the scheme would proceed laboration with Buthelezi's al Khumalo. Putter's job w "explain to Buthelezi that the ter of defence [Malan] had se because it was [Malan's] w implement the plan for a pa tary force without delay"

A top-secret document att to the indictment says: "Offe element the task of this grou set up a small group of well t troops for Inkatha that can b offensively against the ANC [United Democratic Front related organisations. Furthe group can be used as a per bodyguard unit for the Chief ter [Buthelezi] in his capac President of Inkatha when th is not able to protect him"

The *Mail & Guardian* has tional information — supplied affidavit made by a defector the Caprivi 200 group who is i the witness list — that descri detail how the group was train SADF special forces officers in sive warfare techniques.

The informant, who cann named because he fears for hi explains the group received fu training at a farm near Pretoria returning to South Africa fro

Did IFP man work f

(18) (252) (254)

Mehlo Mvelase

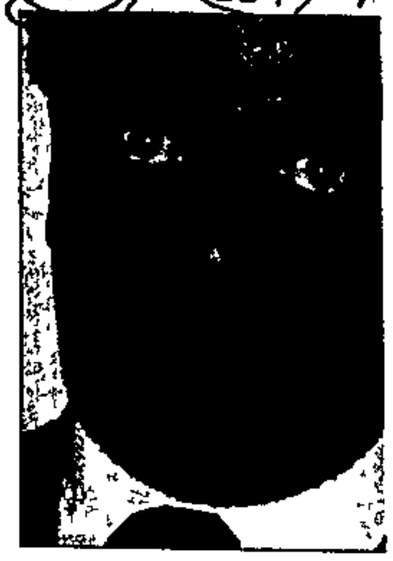
MELCHIZEDEC ZAKHELE "MZ" KHUMALO — the alleged link man between Inkatha and the paramilitary unit at the centre of the Malan murder trial — has a long history of doing propaganda work for Pretoria.

The *Mail & Guardian* has established that Khumalo — the Malan trial s "accused number 7" and the alleged middleman between IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Operation Marion — began his career as an apologist for Pretoria's intelligence agencies as far back as 1963

Khumalo was officially employed by Eschel Roodie s infamous Department of Information which spent millions of rand on furtive propaganda campaigns in the rest of Africa and in some European countries to promote apartheid and the homeland policy

But the Information Department had close links with the Republican Intelligence Agency and its beefed-up successor, the Bureau of State Security — a police and intelligence agency that was designed as a power base for the then-Prime Minister BJ Vorster

The relationship between the Information Department and Boss was so close that Boss chief Hendrik van Bergh was obliged to resign just months before Vorster was force of office by the famous Infogate c sure of Boss and Information De ment activities



Man in the middle MZ Khumal

Khumalo is described as "one c first black recruits" to the Inform Department. His work involved elling through rural South Af showing films promoting the gov ment's "separate development" and writing for the government p

eni massacre. Both were connected to the SADF's military support of Inkatha

third force

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lezi 'nearly arrested'

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the highest political level and be cleared with Buthelezi".

During a further round of discussions with Groenewald, on February 12 1986, Buthelezi requested the SADF to provide him with a "contra-mobilisation capability", an "offensive capability (or defensive element)" and an "intelligence capability".

The state's indictment alleges that in April 1986 Malan asked his chief of staff intelligence, Vice-Admiral Andries Putter, to "sell" the covert aspect of the plan to Buthelezi. If this was successful, implementation of the scheme would proceed in collaboration with Buthelezi's aide, MZ Khumalo Putter's job was to "explain to Buthelezi that the minister of defence [Malan] had sent him because it was [Malan s] wish to implement the plan for a paramilitary force without delay "

A top-secret document attached to the indictment says "Offensive element' the task of this group is to set up a small group of well-trained troops for Inkatha that can be used offensively against the ANC, UDF [United Democratic Front] and related organisations Further this group can be used as a personal bodyguard unit for the Chief Minister [Buthelezi] in his capacity as President of Inkatha when the SAP is not able to protect him"

The *Mail & Guardian* has additional information — supplied in an affidavit made by a defector from the Caprivi 200 group who is not on the witness list — that describes in detail how the group was trained by SADF special forces officers in offensive warfare techniques.

The informant, who cannot be named because he fears for his life, explains the group received further training at a farm near Pretoria after returning to South Africa from the Caprivi Strip.

"The day for us to leave Pretoria came. We left in a removals truck. We were escorted by a small car with four whites [in it]. It was doing surveillance. We were taken back to Nhlungwane (a camp in KwaZulu-Natal)." Dr Buthelezi came to meet us. He was accompanied by Brigadier Mathe and Zakhele Khumalo, his assistant in Inkatha. He received us An ox was slaughtered."

This affidavit adds that Caprivi fighter Vela Mchunu was involved in the murder of union shop stewards at Mpophomeni near Howick (see accompanying story). After this killing "he [Mchunu] went to hide at Ulundi and was received by Zakhele Khumalo, Chief Buthelezi's assistant who is in charge of Inkatha offices".

Sources close to the investigation say there was a real possibility that Buthelezi would be charged because of the information contained in the secret document. However, because the investigative team wanted to build a watertight case — and because technical details were missing — it was decided to leave him off the charge sheet.

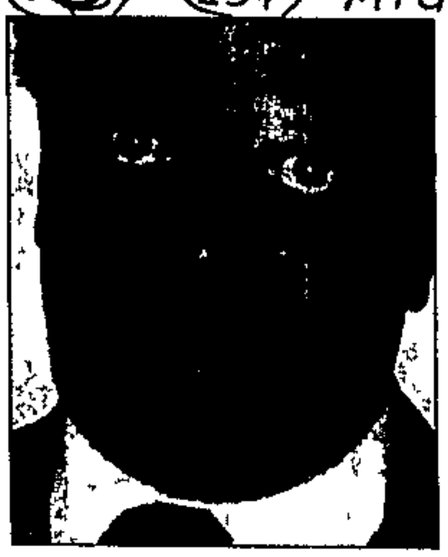


"We must prepare ourselves to hit back with devastating force at those who destroy our property and kill us"

— Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, 1984

nan work for Boss?

(254) M+G 8-14/12/95



Man in the middle. MZ Khumalo

close that Boss chief Hendrik van den Bergh was obliged to resign just a few months before Vorster was forced out of office by the famous Infogate exposure of Boss and Information Department activities

Khumalo is described as "one of the first black recruits" to the Information Department. His work involved travelling through rural South Africa showing films promoting the government s "separate development" plan and writing for the government publication *Intuthuko Yabansunthu (Black Development)*

Sources close to Khumalo s family say he worked for Boss while the Information Department was his official employer Although Boss used journalists working for trade magazines in South Africa and abroad as agents for propaganda work there is no evidence that Khumalo collected hard intelligence against opponents of apartheid

It was during his travels for the department that Khumalo met his future patron, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — beginning an enigmatic 20-year relationship

The department apparently fired Khumalo in the early 1970s for being a "double agent", after allegedly catching him smuggling information from the agency to Buthelezi.

At the time, Buthelezi was under investigation by Boss for his African National Congress sympathies Khumalo had come to respect the Inkatha leader and began offering him copies of Boss reports Buthelezi is reported to have been initially sceptical but offered him a job in KwaZulu's agriculture department after his dismissal

In his new job Khumalo continued his extensive rural travels — this time journeying throughout KwaZulu in a homeland government Landrover As Buthelezi's relationship with the ANC soured in the late 1970s and ANC youths began their exodus out of the country for military training, Khumalo began collecting political information for the IFP leader

In the early 1980s, Buthelezi appointed Khumalo as his deputy personal secretary Khumalo became his personal secretary by the mid-1980s His rising status made him a valuable asset both to Military Intelligence and to the South African Police's security branch when they began to form ties with the Zulu nationalist movement.

Khumalo began to play an active role in KwaZulu homeland security matters during his stint in the chief minister's office, where he built a network of intelligence agents within government departments to ensure staff loyalty

Khumalo played a major role in the creation of the KwaZulu Police, which he pitched to Buthelezi as a bulwark against the ANC The formation of the IFP-aligned union federation, Uwusa, was also Khumalo's brainchild

The Malan indictment says Khumalo became the link man between the SADF and the IFP in 1986 when he took over contacts with the government following initial discussions with Buthelezi

The indictment alleges Khumalo assisted with the recruitment of the 200 Caprivi trainees, paid their salaries, visited the camp, told the SADF the trainees "were getting restless and wanted to practise their skills", and oversaw the planning of the 1987 attack on the home of Victor Ntuli

Khumalo also managed — with political commissar Daluxolo Luthuli — the training of further IFP supporters at Mkuze in northern KwaZulu-Natal When the Inkathagate scandal broke in 1991, sources said Khumalo sat quietly through a marathon session of IFP central committee in Ulundi before announcing, shortly after midnight, that he would take the rap

Buthelezi apparently stood up to hug Khumalo afterwards The next day, Khumalo was instructed to go on holiday to avoid the media while the IFP issued a statement blaming him for Inkathagate

Shortly afterward, when Khumalo's son died in a car accident, Buthelezi restored Khumalo's faith in the IFP by bringing a cow to the funeral

Khumalo then began to work covertly for the IFP, continuing his involvement with the party's paramilitary organisation, alongside Luthuli

Asked to comment, Khumalo told the *M&G* he was not able to give interviews to the media at this stage

Security of Malan witnesses in doubt

(252) (254) ARG 9/12/95

BRONWYN WILKINSON
OwnCorrespondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police fear the security of witnesses in the Magnus Malan trial may have been compromised by the Inkatha Freedom Party's access to the cellular telephone accounts of investigators in the case.

Speaking on behalf of the Ministry of Safety and Security, Maxwell Mulaudzi said yesterday the national police commissioner, George Fivaz, had been asked to investigate how the accounts had ended up in the hands of the IFP

The IFP issued a statement this week saying it was alarmed at the spending on telephone accounts by members of the investigations task unit (ITU) which had been appointed to investigate alleged hit-squad activities in KwaZulu-Natal.

The ITU has been responsible for the arrest of General Malan and 19 others on charges of murdering 13 people at Kwamakhutha in 1987. The accused are all former members of the security forces and the IFP.

Mr Mulaudzi said part of the investigation would be to establish whether the IFP had access to final balances on the account or whether they had seen the detailed bills and phone numbers dialled on those cellular phones.

He was concerned that if IFP members had seen the detailed dialling histories on the cellular phones, the witnesses — some of whom are in a witness-protection programme — may be contacted and interfered with.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said the party had had access to an internal police memorandum detailing the spending on the cellular phones.

Mr Tillet faxed a list to a Johannesburg newspaper of all the cellular numbers of the ITU and the amounts spent on those accounts for each month since April The amount came to R121 000 in five months for the unit. One account on a single telephone in one month was over R4 000. However, Mr Tillet said he did not personally know which numbers had been dialled

■ To page 2

IFP cellphone disclosure row

ARG 9/12/95

■ From page 1 (252) (254)

In a statement yesterday, Mr Mulaudzi said the ITU was running several large inquiries and had numerous witnesses in protection programmes. He said later that the investigators spent much of their time in contact with witnesses by telephone

He said the Minister of Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi, would ask Commissioner Fivaz to inquire into how a political party was permitted access to police records

Mr Tillet responded yesterday, saying the IFP was appalled by the response of the ministry to the abuse of state resources by ITU members All police expenditure accounts were widely circulated among the top brass of the SAPS

Illegal spares exports by Atlas alleged

PRETORIA 1— The Attorney-General is to be notified of allegations that Denel division, Atlas, has been illegally exporting aircraft engine spares to a Spanish company, the National Conventional Arms Control Committee has said.

The NCACC said while exports to Spain were not necessarily illegal, Atlas had allegedly failed to follow procedures and was in contravention of the Armaments Development and Production Act.

The Act placed controls over armaments — Sapa.

Security scare over Malan trial witnesses

(254) Star 9/12/95

By BRONWYN WILKINSON

Police fear that the security of witnesses in the Magnus Malan trial may have been compromised, following revelations that the Inkatha Freedom Party had gained access to the cellular telephone accounts of trial investigators

Maxwell Mulaudzi, speaking on behalf of the Ministry of Safety and Security, said yesterday that the national police commissioner, George Fivaz, had been asked to investigate how the telephone accounts had ended up with the IFP.

The IFP issued a statement this week saying it was alarmed at the level of spending on telephone accounts by members of the Investigations Task Unit. The ITU was appointed to investigate alleged hit squad activities in KwaZulu Natal.

Mulaudzi said police would be asked to establish whether the IFP had access to final balances on the accounts, or whether they had seen the detailed bills and telephone numbers dialled on those cellular phones.

He was concerned that if IFP members had seen the detailed dialling histories on the cellular phones, the witnesses – some of whom are in a witness protection programme – may be contacted and even interfered with

The ITU has been responsible for the arrest of Malan and 19 others on charges of murdering 13 people at KwaMakhutha in 1987 The accused are all former members of the security forces and the IFP.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet told the *Saturday Star* yesterday that the party had had access to an internal police memorandum detailing the spending on the cellular phones

He faxed a list to the newspaper of all the cellular numbers of the ITU, and the amounts spent on those accounts for each month since April. The amount came to R121 000 in five months One account on a single telephone in one month was over R4 000

However, Tillet said he did not know which numbers had been dialled.

Mulaudzi said the ITU was running several large inquiries and had numerous witnesses in protection programmes. He added that the investigators spent much of their time in telephonic contact with witnesses

He said Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi would ask Fivaz to inquire into how a political party was permitted access to police records.

Tillet responded yesterday in a separate statement, saying the IFP was appalled by the response of the ministry to the "abuse of state resources" by ITU members He said that from Mulaudzi's statement, it could be assumed that the ministry advocated a "return to the culture of secrecy patented by former regimes and subscribes to the lofty ideals of transparency and accountability only when it suits its agenda"

He added that all police expenditure accounts were widely circulated in the top echelons of the SAPS.

Buthelezi 'was never close to arrest'

Durban – The police's Investigation Task Unit denied yesterday that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been close to arrest along with Magnus Malan and his co-accused.

The ITU was reacting to reports alleging that Buthelezi's name had nearly been added to the charge sheet, based on evidence in secret documentation.

Malan and the others were formally charged in the Durban Regional Court last week.

The 65-page indictment, based largely on evidence submitted by the ITU, contained several references to Buthelezi, including the IFP leader's alleged request for defence force assistance in combating the United Democratic Front.

After the court appearance, the ANC said: "According to the indictment, the process was initiated by Buthelezi and all progress was reported to him."

Legal sources said evidence presented against the 20 accused, in the form of army documents, might not be admissible against Buthelezi.

The ITU said yesterday it had never been on the verge of arresting Buthelezi.

"While there are numerous references to (Home Affairs) Minister Buthelezi in the KwaMakhutha indictment, decisions to arrest and prosecute individuals in this case, and indeed all cases, are based purely on evidential considerations," said the police's investigation task board convener, Howard Varney. – Sapa

'KILLING CIVILIANS NEVER HEROIC'

Outcry over plans to award medals to MK, Apla soldiers

(254)

ET 11/12/95

A ROW has erupted over plans to award SANDF medals to MK and Apla soldiers for their actions against the former SA Defence Force

MINISTER of Defence Mr Joe Modise's announcement that uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) and Apla soldiers are to get SA National Defence Force (SANDF) medals for actions in their fight against the SADF has led to an outcry

General Constand Viljoen of the Freedom Front objected, saying MK and Apla cadres were now part of a military system "grounded on standards"

The outcry was prompted by a reported suggestion by deputy minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils that even guerillas who planted bombs that killed or hurt civilians might get medals for these actions

NP spokesman Mr Nick Koornhof said an action in which innocent people were maimed by a bomb with a timing mechanism could never be heroic

Sasol attack

Mr Helmut-Romer Heitman, contributor to Jane's Defence Weekly, said it was acceptable in military terms if civilians died in attacks on military targets if the military objectives and number of civilians killed were in reasonable proportion. For example, an MK attack on Sasol's oil installation was acceptable under the Geneva Convention — even though a security guard was killed

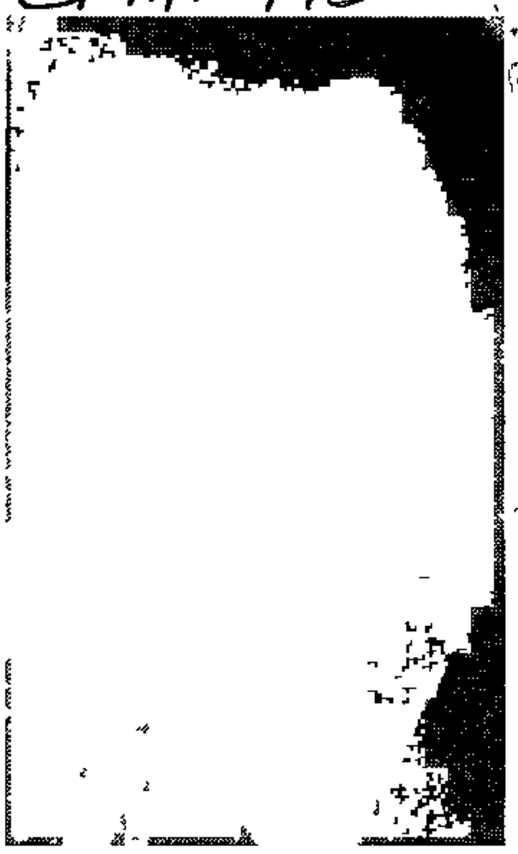
Bombs aimed at non-military targets to inspire terror were unacceptable, he said

Mr Heitman gave two examples of MK operations for which combatants could get medals on military grounds One was a rocket attack on Voortrekkerhoogte military base The other was the case of an MK soldier who mined a military road, killing a local farmer

The MK man was later injured and captured, but then recovered and used his rifle to kill the two policemen and escaped again

A "gallantry gong" awarded to this MK operative would not be resented by the military brass, Mr Heitman said

But those who needlessly killed civilians should not get any medals, he added — Staff Reporter



STORM BREWING: Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise

SA has a say in arms control

(254) Sowetan 11/12/95

Contributing to making the world safe for everyone

By Greg Mills

SOUTH AFRICA HAS played a major role in steering the now seemingly inevitable declaration of an Africa Nuclear Free Zone through the United Nations

The designation of this action as the Treaty of Pelindaba is both a reminder of our past nuclear status and an acknowledgement of the constructive role currently played by Pretoria

South Africa has now ratified or acceded to all the major international conventions on weapons of mass destruction, including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1991 and the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1994

A valued member

It has become a valued member of the travelling circus of arms control acrobats who routinely but skillfully negotiate agreements where there is little common ground, great mistrust, and where weapons are seen by many to contribute to, rather than detract from security

Without the Cold War, which provided an easy-to-define matrix of stability, much of the world is degenerating into a dangerous and volatile cocktail of ethnic and geographic strife blended with an endless supply of weapons of mass destruction with a potential for overspill into more stable regions

In this, the UN has increasingly been looked on to provide security, though paradoxically it suffers from a lack of resources and an ambivalence in attitude from its chief benefactor, the United States

This is in turn a result of a change in American sentiment from engagement with the world's problems during the Cold War, to isolationism – a reflection in part of this superpower's own budgetary and social difficulties The current US Federal Government deficit stands just shy of US$5 trillion

Yet the continued engagement of the world's only remaining superpower is crucial to attempts in countering weapons proliferation and to ensure international security But, arms control is an expensive and demanding business

Weapons control

It is complex – involving controls over the supply, stockpiling, development, export and destruction of conventional, chemical, biological and, of course, nuclear weaponry

All these weapon categories have their own control conventions, though notably the distinct Chemical and Biological Conventions and the Comprehensive (nuclear) Test Ban Treaty have either to be agreed upon or ratified

The NPT conference in May this year, at which an indefinite extension of this Treaty was agreed upon, illustrates some of the difficulties present in this complex process

The inherent problem lies chiefly in the contrasting opinions on arms control between developed and developing states The former sees the process of control as establishing a cap on the number of nuclear states

The latter's view, typified by India, is that this process is in the interest only of the First World for the maintenance of its nuclear and other monopolies

This tension is exacerbated by the notion that developed nations could use such weapons to threaten non-nuclear powers, and thus exclusivity contributes to perpetuating the currently – in the view of many developing states – unfair international *status quo*

The circle of distrust expressed itself in South Africa in the manner in which Pretoria's creative role in achieving international consensus to the NPT last May was debated There were those who saw Pretoria as having "sold out" its brethren from the Non-Aligned Movement in the face of American pressure, and others (including the bulk of the states involved) who saw Pretoria playing a positive and responsible role in accordance with our standing as the only power to have unilaterally disarmed its nuclear arsenal

Even with agreement, the problems of enforcing arms control are immense The verification of stocks (and their destruction) is expensive The UN Special Commission which has monitored the Iraqi weapons programme costs around US$20-m annually, plus the in-kind contributions from the US and Germany

Worldwide chemical or biological weapons enforcement teams could each cost upwards of US$200-m yearly More over, these conventions provide no panacea, as in the case of North Korea, and rely on extensive cooperation between national intelligence agencies for detection and monitoring, and exchange of information which is not always in the national interest

Detection is also relatively easy to circumvent – even breweries and dairies can be converted to produce such weapons while the technology and materials flow is difficult to control given the dual civilian military nature of its application

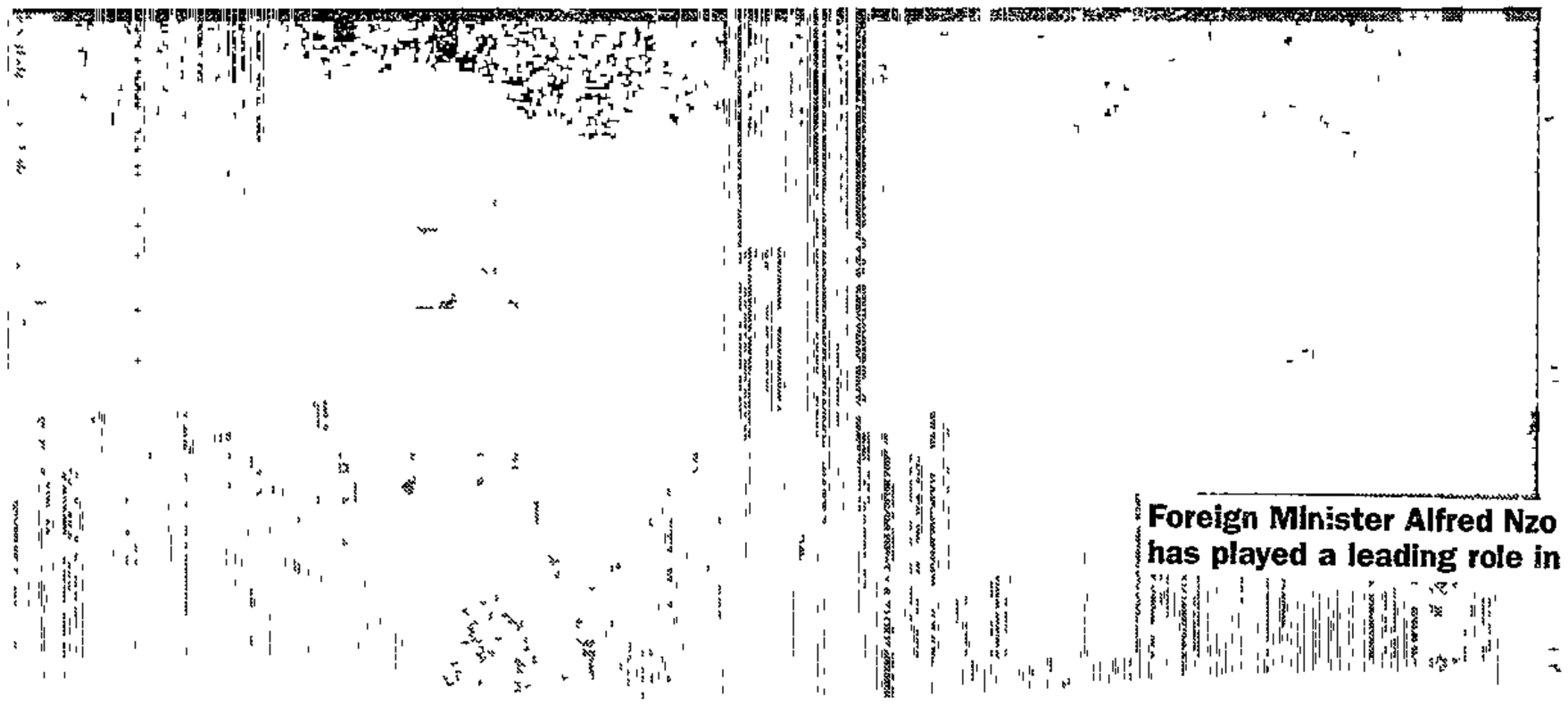
Political dimension

But the most difficult aspect to arms control is the political dimension Those who have weapons capabilities are reluctant to give them up – they still provide a measure of security in an unstable world – and they have to trust the commitment of threshold states to non-proliferation.

Threshold states, on the other hand also have to be convinced of the value in not pursuing arms projects and the sincerity of those already so equipped not to use their weapons and to ultimately disarm altogether

In this way, arms control is like the ology you don't know whether you were right until it is too late

(Dr Mills is Director of Studies at the South African Institute of International Affairs)



Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo addressing the United Nations in October. Under his ministry, South Africa has played a leading role in the international nuclear arms control campaign.

Modise kicks up a storm over medals

(254) Sowetan 11/12/95

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen objects to Defence Minister's proposal

Sowetan Correspondent

A STORM has broken out over Defence Minister Joe Modise's announcement that UmKhonto we Sizwe and Azanian People's Liberation Army soldiers are to get SA National Defence Force medals for what they did in the fight against the former SADF

Among those who have objected are Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen, who is a former leader of the SADF He said the MK and Apla cadres are now part of a military system "grounded on standards"

What has particularly angered militarists was a suggestion, reported to have been made by Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa, that even those who set off bombs in which civilians were killed or injured may be in line for medals for those same actions

National Party spokesman Mr Nick Koornhof said a cowardly deed in which innocent and defenceless people are maimed at a distance by a bomb with a timing mechanism, can never be heroic

African National Congress spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday that it was the SANDF, not the ANC, which would decide who would get medals

Asked whether someone like Mr Robert McBride – known as the "Magoo's Bar bomber" after an incident on the Durban beachfront in which three women died – could be in line for a medal, Niehaus said "If we want to talk about people who have done unacceptable things, we could start objecting about the fistful of medals that (General Magnus) Malan has"

He declined to express himself on the likelihood of anyone getting a medal for a bombing or any other operation "I leave it up to the SANDF"

Another ANC spokesman, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, rejected suggestions that the SANDF faced "an emotional and political upheaval" if Modise went ahead with his medal-awarding plans

Mamoepa said attempts to cast shadows on non-statutory forces and their contribution to peace, democracy and justice in South Africa could only undermine efforts at nation-building and reconciliation

Mr Helmut-Romer Heitman, contributor to *Jane's Defence Weekly*, said it was regarded as acceptable in military circles if civilians were killed in the process of going for a military target

Yet the military benefit and the number of civilians killed must be in reasonable proportion, he said For example, an MK attack on the Sasol oil installation was acceptable under the contemporary law of armed conflict as set out in a protocol of the Geneva Convention – even though a security guard was killed in the operation

Bomb blasts against non-military targets for the sake of inspiring terror were definitely out, he said He felt that the Church Street bombing in Pretoria in 1983 was a problematic one, even though it was just outside a military building

SA a new 'giant' in arms industry

(254)

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — The South African arms industry is fast becoming one of the giants of the international armaments arena, says Armscor chairman Ron Haywood ARG 12/12/95

Mr Haywood spoke to the Press yesterday about the Lima (Langkawi International Maritime and Aerospace) exhibition, which ended last weekend in Malaysia South Africa had about 250 products on display

Four South African companies signed various agreements with their Malaysian counterparts as a result of the display at the exhibition

Last week it was announced that Denel's Rooivalk attack helicopter was to be manufactured under licence by Airod in Malaysia The deal represented the biggest breakthrough for the South African arms industry since international sanctions were lifted more than a year ago

The other agreements signed included the South African Altech Defence Systems with a Malaysian Mafra Wira for naval upgrades, and ATE with Integrated Technical Systems for avionics systems integration

Mr Haywood said the Malaysian exhibition was not exclusively military

"This was a bridge-building exercise where all types of business sectors converged — and that could bring excellent economic spin-offs.

"At the moment South Africa has 1,3 percent of the global defence shares and the Malaysian exercise could raise that to about 1,6 percent in the near future That could mean 50 000 jobs and about a R1 billion injection to the country."

Army sticks to Afrikaans

(254)

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

CT 13/12/95

JOHANNESBURG: English and Afrikaans remain the official languages of the South African National Defence Force despite a call by the ANC for English only to be used.

In an information bulletin distributed to thousands of defence force employees yesterday, the Chief of the SANDF, General Georg Meiring, said certain media reports that the Joint Standing Committee on Defence had decided that English would be the only official language of the SANDF were "not correct".

Its recommendation would be considered by Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise, but no decision was likely to be taken until Mr Modise had sought advice from the SANDF and had consulted other authorities.

Malan calls for bygones to be bygones

(254)

BOB DROGIN

AFTER almost four decades as a soldier, retired General Magnus Malan's military mementos fill his spacious home Medals and ribbons fill a glass-topped chest Ancient cannonballs sit on a plaque And a huge brass artillery shell has been turned into a strange standing lamp.

But nowhere to be seen is the latest, most dramatic reminder of his years as one of white-ruled South Africa's most feared, powerful leaders. his arrest warrant on 13 charges of murder

Prosecutors will accuse Malan and his former colleagues in the Durban regional court today of deliberately deciding to train, arm and deploy rural death squads, urban assassins and other paramilitary forces to ruthlessly eliminate anti-apartheid forces and suspected political enemies in the late 1980s In essence, they are being accused of running the former regime's "dirty war" against its domestic foes

In his first extensive interview since his arrest earlier this month, Malan denied any responsibility or role in what he called "this despicable deed", the massacre by men with assault rifles of unarmed blacks in mud-walled huts in tiny kwaMakhutha township in the pre-dawn hours of January 21, 1987

Clear

"I honestly believe my conscience is clear," he said at his home in Lynnwood

Malan also said he did "nothing wrong" in his 11 years as minister of defence for the apartheid regime, from 1980 to 1991, or in his previous seven years as head of the army and then chief of the defence force

Malan said he has no regrets about the brutal tactics he used to combat what he called "international communism" at home and in the neighbouring Soviet-backed nations of Angola, Mozambique and other "front-line states" in the 1970s and 1980s "We were in a war," he said "We were defending the legal government and our Constitution"

Malan, considered the most hawkish member of former President PW Botha's cabinet, was demoted to water and forestry minister in 1991 by the reformist administration of then-president FW de Klerk. Malan resigned in 1993

Now 65, he uses his high-level contacts at home and abroad by working as a political and business consultant

Mandela has angrily refused pleas by De Klerk, now his deputy president, as well as other white leaders, to offer immunity to the accused – or to cancel the immunity granted to 77 ANC members, including four Cabinet ministers, who were given protection from prosecution for apartheid-related crimes under a pre-election amnesty programme

Amnesty

Although the Malan trial is scheduled to start March 4, the verdict may come elsewhere Under the law, the 11 former officials, as well as nine lower-ranking police and local officials also facing charges, could apply to the proposed Truth and Reconciliation Commission for amnesty

To do so, however, they must confess their crimes

Malan says he has nothing to confess "I don't want amnesty," he said "I didn't ask for it" He added that he fears the panel's attempts to unravel the crimes of apartheid may sunder the country's fragile peace "I say let bygones be bygones"

That isn't easy for Ernest Thusini, one of the few survivors of the 1987 massacre "It's something I always want to forget," he said at his home in Lamontville, a hillside slum outside Durban "But I can never forget" Thusini recalled how he, his wife and six children had spent the day at a prayer meeting They were sound asleep at 2 15am when they were suddenly awakened by a fusillade of gunfire "You didn't know where to run, what to do," he said Somehow, Thusini and his wife and one daughter hid behind a bed until the shooting stopped and the killers drove away Four of his children – aged 3 to 10 – were already dead A fifth died at the hospital No arrests were made, although Thusini said he identified one of the attackers

A priest, the Reverend Willie Ntuli, owned the home Investigators said the ostensible target was his son, Victor, a local anti-apartheid activist The youth wasn't home that night but was gunned down three years later

Spread

By all accounts, the kwaMakhutha massacre was the start of a devastating spiral of violence

The bloodletting spread to townships around Johannesburg in 1990 and escalated to near civil war in the run-up to last year's elections

Previous judicial inquiries have traced the early violence to 200 men loyal to the IFP Military commandos gave Inkatha men covert military training at secret bases in the Caprivi Strip in the north of what is now Namibia

"This is the crux of the case," said a source familiar with the evidence "A force was created that was a death squad, really And it killed a lot of people"

Thusini doesn't plan to attend the hearing He says he still smells the foul stench of the guns, still sees his children's bodies, still suffers the awful nightmares He said he only hopes that the law prevails and the truth comes out

"If things go wrong, then South Africa will never heal," he said "But if the truth comes out, then the healing can grow And maybe I can forgive But I will never forget the silence of my children." – Los Angeles Times

Afrikaans stays, says defence force chief

'Parliamentary committee cannot take decision on its own'

(254) Star 13/12/95

By Norman Chandler
Defence Correspondent

English and Afrikaans remain the official languages of the South African National Defence Force despite a call by the ANC for only English to be used.

In an information bulletin distributed to thousands of defence force employees yesterday, the Chief of the SANDF, General Georg Meiring, has spelt out the language policy and at the same time says the media had published wrong information about the issue

"(The language policy) has been based on the appropriate principles with regard to language equality and the maintenance of determined language rights, and has not been amended by the recent debate on the matter in the Joint Standing Committee on Defence," he said

"The committee does have the right to debate on determined aspects and to make proposals in that regard to the Minister of Defence, as political head of the Department of Defence The committee can, however, not decide in its own right on such aspects."

According to Meiring, media reports that the committee had decided that English would in future be the only official language of the SANDF was not "a correct account of the situation"

While the recommendation would be considered by Defence Minister Joe Modise, no decision was likely to be taken until Modise has sought advice from the SANDF and also consulted with various unnamed authorities

"Because of the emotional nature of the matter, it can be expected that the decision will not be taken without considering the points of view, as expressed in his party caucus and in the Cabinet and Parliament," Meiring added

He urged SANDF members not to over-react "on the wrong account of the situation as reported in certain media"

The call for English to be the only medium of instruction in the defence force was made by the ANC MP Lindiwe Sisulu during a committee meeting in Parliament on November 28 The call has caused a furore in the defence force and in Afrikaans language organisations

List of army medals to be revised

ET 18/12/95

(254)

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: A new table of precedence for military medals is to be drawn up to accommodate medals awarded to members of Umkhonto we Size (MK) and Apla.

The decision follows public debate in which relatives of former South African Defence Force members have claimed that their medals would be demeaned if presented to soldiers of other forces.

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise emphasised at the weekend that there had to be "national reconciliation and the establishment of unity within the Department of Defence to afford recognition to the cultures and histories of all" fighting forces.

Multi-party

It had been a multi-party decision to award medals to members of non-statutory forces and it had been taken in the interests of reconciliation and unity, he said.

The Joint Military Co-ordinating Council had discussed the question in detail and had decided that MK and Apla members would be recognised for bravery, meritorious service and long service given before April 27 last year.

"Recommendations have been made to the Chancellor of Awards about the revision of the official table of precedence to accommodate these awards," Mr Modise said.

"All official awards will be retained and integrated into one official table."

Tutu joins campaign to ban landmines

Star 18/12/95 (254)

Harare – Archbishop Desmond Tutu has lent his support to the Red Cross campaign for the outright ban of anti-personnel landmines by collecting statements from fellow Nobel Peace Prize winners

Poland's Lech Walesa and the Dalai Lama of Tibet are among the peace prize winners who have joined Tutu in endorsing the campaign.

The anti-personnel mine media campaign launched by the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva in November last year has recently been intensified.

The campaign called on the international community to ban the production, stockpiling, use and export of landmines

But the committee failed to secure the ban at a recent meeting in Vienna, Austria, which was called to review a 1980 convention on certain conventional weapons

More than 100 million landmines are scattered in 64 countries, with about a third of them in Africa.

Landmines kill or maim at least 2 000 people every month – Sapa

Armscor clients to face stricter countertrade criteria by 1998

BD 22/12/95 (254)

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — All foreign acquisition contracts concluded by Armscor on behalf of the SA security forces will be subject to a 100% countertrade requirement from 1998

All offshore companies selling military and related equipment to SA through Armscor are currently contractually obliged to spend at least 60% of the total contract value in the country. The percentage would increase to 70% next year and to 100% in 1998, Armscor senior manager for countertrade Koos du Plessis said this week

The decision was aimed at minimising the outflow of foreign exchange and offering local industries the opportunity to enhance their capabilities, Du Plessis said Offset agreements worth R2,8bn were on the table

"Offset is the requirement that a purchase price be compensated for by the seller, through some form of reciprocal activity," he said

Contracts for the purchase of coal, diamonds, precious metals, unfinished products, raw materials, unprocessed agricultural products and products harvested from the sea did not qualify for offset credit, he said

Armscor also did not offer sellers the option of pure financial transactions or "multipliers", as had been the case in the R3,5bn contract concluded last month between the trade and industry department and US aircraft manufacturer Boeing for nine aircraft to be used by SAA.

In terms of the contract, Boeing agreed to place offset contracts in SA worth 80% of the contract However, because of a "soft option", in terms of which a cash contribution to training carries a multiplier of 25, Boeing is granted R25 in credits for every rand given to training. This results in R2,8bn in countertrade being watered down to a R110m cash payment

Du Plessis said SA urgently needed a national policy on countertrade to cover all state purchases

Armscor was concentrating on industrial compensation, focusing on offset and, to a lesser extent, on buyback

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(254) BD 22/12/95 pg 15

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Saturday Star
December 23 1995

SA's secret arms industry focal point in master-spy revelations

(254) Star 23/12/95

By LIZ CLARKE

London – South Africa's powerful and secretive armaments industry has become a focal point of a startling master-spy revelation, so devastating that it could have a profound impact on the future workings of the major governments of the world

Gerald James, former director of an internationally linked arms-dealing and manufacturing operation, this week blew the lid off the multibillion-rand covert arms industry, which supplied huge amounts of sophisticated weaponery to countries while they were on an official trade ban list

His dossier of spine-chilling information includes the bizarre murders of key people in the arms business, including Gerald Bull, the brilliant engineer linked to the development of weaponry for Armscor, the creator of Saddam Hussein's supergun, and the grotesque "transvestite-type" death of Tory MP Stephen Milligan

James believes that the deaths of Bull, Milligan, two investigative journalists and several others involved in the arms trade are linked to the grey and murky world of government intelligence forces

He believes that his revelations will force a full-scale inquiry in Britain and possibly elsewhere

The assassinations bear a chilling similarity to the murders and "suicides" of at least seven people in South Africa who are known to have been associated with the international undercover trade of arms and chemical weapons Among them was Thor Chemicals executive Alan Kidger, whose mutilated body was found in the boot of his car covered in a compound known as red mercury, and Don Lange, who was found in his La Lucia flat suffocated by a plastic hood connected to a gas bottle

The results of James' mission "to blow the whole thing open" are contained in his book *In the Public Interest,* which was published in Britain last week In it are startling accounts of arms deals, many of them orchestrated in South Africa, involving a network of undercover agents and companies that masterminded the sale of weapons, including chemical warheads, and bombs capable of mass destruction

In an interview at a London hotel, hours before the release of his book, James said there was a time when he feared for his life

During the course of his investigations he has been arrested and death threats have been made against him

"What I hope to achieve through telling all that I know is to expose the corruption behind some of the biggest arms deals in the world," he said

He also wants to expose the people in high politics who are controlled by those who operate without any accountability to parliament, and in many instances remain an unknown but lethal force

"I believe that making information public, however sensitive it may be to a government or its agents, is the best way of safeguarding one's life and exposing the wrongs," he added

A chartered accountant by profession, James acquired a company known as Astra Fireworks in 1981

From small beginnings it grew into a munitions company competing worldwide with assets in excess of R1-billion

According to James, the company was infiltrated by government agents, and developed a "hidden agenda" of arms dealing that included supplying weaponry to Iran and later Iraq during the Gulf War

After discovering information about these covert activities, James said, he was forced to resign

Among the South African-based information contained in his book is that

- During the 1970s and 80s South Africa exported "massive quantities" of arms to Iraq

Because of its money-making potential, Armscor remains at the centre of the country's funding capability Highly sensitive deals were struck as late as last year with British Prime Minister John Major

- Secret arms deals are still being negotiated through one of the world's most powerful arms agencies, Casalee, which was launched in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) after UDI in 1965

The founder was an army officer, John Bredenkamp, who later fled to South Africa after being accused of smuggling planes into Rhodesia In South Africa, his known links to British and US intelligence made him an ideal person to appoint as chairman of Armscor who could spearhead a drive into Europe. Armscor chief Jacobus Coetzee and Bredenkamp both reside in Britain

Gerald James' book will be available in South Africa next month

Study shows preference for professional SA army

BD 27/12/95

(254)

Stephen Laufer

WITH Defence Minister Joe Modise increasingly playing the role of chief recruiting sergeant for the SANDF's part time forces, a new study shows South Africans extremely reluctant to serve in the reserves and expressing a marked preference to be defended by a full-time professional army

Due for publication early in the new year, the representative study commissioned by the CSIR and the independently funded Institute for Defence Policy shows only 12% of those polled in favour of a defence force which relies strongly on part-time volunteers. White South Africans were the most likely to say they would not volunteer for military service.

Coupled with threats to morale among existing — almost exclusively white — reserve units as a result of the Magnus Malan case and the changing role and culture of the army, the study could force a rethink of the defence force's plans for a smaller full time force supported by a large part time volunteer cadre

It could also have far-reaching consequences for any future SA role in regional peacekeeping initiatives. Suggesting the SA public could be suffering from a syndrome similar to the one which has made US politicians cautious about committing the country's armed forces since Vietnam, the study will strengthen those politicians reluctant to commit the SANDF to regional operations.

The SANDF is comprised of a permanent force hovering around the 130 000 mark and a part-time element of 500 000 troops. The full time force, swollen by the integration of former TBVC armies and non-statutory forces including MK, Apla and Inkatha's KwaZulu self-protection forces, is due to shrink to less than 90 000 by late 1997. Numbers could come under further pressure if the SANDF is forced to accept even larger budget cuts.

But with the study confirming the poor response of white reservists to recent call-ups, alarm bells will start ringing in the defence ministry as it prepares for the post integration age. Current strategy envisages the SANDF relying on part-timers as the permanent force is wound down.

Modise and his senior officers have begun courting the experienced reservists. The minister has made several speeches recently in which he has called on the largely white reservists to remain active in the coming years

Even President Nelson Mandela has been roped in. In the foreword to a brochure titled The Citizen in Uniform, he writes "the citizen in uniform active in civil society and as a volunteer soldier, deserves to be doubly honoured by our country."

The response to the appeals to serve has not been good, particularly in urban areas.

While some of the members of non-statutory forces currently being demobilised might qualify for the reserves, most not being absorbed into the permanent force are being eased out because they are either too old or have not made the grade.

So the military faces an uphill battle if it is to achieve the only really viable solution to the part-time forces issue, deracialisation of the commandos and citizen force structures. Getting black part-timers will take time. To be of value to the defence force within its new structure, they will need to have served in the permanent force and be prepared to commit to callups over a number of years.

In the short term, the generals will have difficulties covering basic assignments, particularly if the government continues to expect them to back the police in an internal security role.

But even once the restructuring has been completed, the new breed of part-timers is likely to be picky about its assignments Those polled said they would be "willing" or "very willing" to do part time military service in their own areas and in times of internal emergency or in support of the police in maintaining law and order.

Responses changed to "unwilling" or "very unwilling" as to whether they would volunteer for military service in an international context, whether defence or peacekeeping.

In party political terms, supporters of the right were most willing to serve locally, with 68% of the ultra right and 66% of NP supporters expressing themselves positively. Only 48% of IFP supporters would serve, with DP supporters coming in last at 47%

SA's political leadership — including Mandela — has thus far managed to stave off direct involvement in peacekeeping and peacemaking operations beyond SA's borders. But the international community is increasingly looking to SA to balance its status as a regional economic and political power by playing an active role in regional security matters

Indeed, much medium- and long-term military planning in SA is being predicated on the defence force finding its future role within a regional context.

But with budget cuts for the military likely to be a regular feature in years to come as development-orientated ministries argue for a larger slice of the cake, the SANDF will be increasingly hard pressed if it cannot rely on part-time forces.

Current planning for the 90 000-strong "affordable permanent force" would leave the generals with 20 000 combat troops, at most.

Significantly, the study shows that service to the community is not the problem. With 42% in favour, South Africans are much more favourably disposed to compulsory non-military national service than to service with a weapon.

...covered dead relatives.

R7bn proposed for air force upgrade

(254) BD 28/12/95

Stephen Laufer

THE SA Air Force has told government it wants to spend R7bn on new aircraft, including dual-purpose subsonic jets and small helicopters, to replace the ageing Impala and Alouette fleets

Although still in an early phase, the aircraft modernisation programme could not come at a more uncomfortable time for Defence Minister Joe Modise. His poorly prepared bid for Cabinet approval of R1,69bn for Corvettes for the navy was placed on ice earlier this year after running into stiff opposition both inside and outside Parliament

Initially envisaged to start in about three years and to take up to a decade, the SAAF upgrade will become more urgent following the grounding of the entire Impala fleet twice this year due to signs of metal fatigue

It is not clear where the money is to come from as the SANDF faces further cuts when Finance Minister Chris Liebenberg announces the 1996/97 budget in March. Although the final round of wrangling is not due until the new year, even optimists among defence observers are saying the current budget of R9,835bn is likely to be reduced by a further 10%.

This follows a budget cut this year of 13% as the defence force is gradually brought down from its high levels of wartime spending.

This will put the defence planners under severe strain. The hardware needs of the air force and navy are just part of their equation, set against a backdrop of unusually high personnel costs for the next two years as the SANDF processes thousands of former soldiers belonging to MK, Apla, the KwaZulu self-protection units, and the TBVC armies.

The military currently numbers about 130 000 personnel — 40 000 more than the generals say is required. Getting the numbers down will mean paying thousands of severance packages

Although most of its core fighting equipment — artillery and armour — was developed in the late stages of the Angolan and Namibian wars and is regarded as very modern, the army also needs to spend money on replacing less expensive hardware such as drought relief water tankers

Based on an Italian design and built by Atlas Aircraft Corporation, the Impala is a subsonic jet trainer first introduced in SA in 1967 and used to teach pilots licensed to fly propeller aircraft. It is used to support ground troops

Keen on the synergies to be gained from using the same equipment as the Zimbabwe and Botswana air forces, SA generals have been eyeing the two-seater British Aerospace Hawk 100, but arms procurement officials are reported to want to develop an SA aircraft in co-operation with other countries. Denel's Atlas Aircraft is said to be talking to Spanish and South Korean manufacturers about a common requirement

The multiple utility five-seater Alouette first went into service with the SAAF in 1962, and is used for search and rescue, transport, communications, and command and control operations

Some SAAF pilots favour the squadron of Messerschmitt MBB BK-117s inherited from Transkei, but others feel it does not offer a viable alternative

But as urgent as the Impalas and Alouettes may seem to the SAAF, the shopping list seems set to get even longer. With Modise pondering how to get the navy's Corvettes back on the agenda, air force generals have already quietly told the defence ministry that they would also like to begin planning for a new generation of supersonic fighters and a maritime patrol capability