

PUBLIC SECTOR COUT. — Defence

1994

MAY — July.

# SANDF to discipline Walmansthal soldiers

ABOUT 200 soldiers at the Walmansthal assembly point north of Pretoria will face disciplinary action by the SA National Defence Force for their part in Monday's stoning and harassment of former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Siphiwe Nyanda's motorcade. *B. Day*

A spokesman for the SANDF's joint operations centre at Walmansthal, Col Riaan Louw, said a preliminary investigation was in progress and disciplinary steps would be taken.

Nyanda, who is awaiting confirmation of a new post within the SANDF, said yesterday his motorcade had been set upon by soldiers at the base. *(254)*

Those involved were all former MK members. Most of the recruits responsible were among those who had besieged the ANC offices in

## SELLO MOTLHABAKWE

Natal last year, claiming they had been neglected by the organisation, he said.

About 4 500 former guerrillas are based at Walmansthal awaiting integration with regular troops.

Nyanda said this had been his third visit to the base and he had been there to brief soldiers on wage payment arrangements made by the Transitional Executive Council.

The rowdy soldiers, some apparently drunk, interrupted his address midway and he was whisked to safety by his bodyguards. Nyanda's motorcade was stoned as it proceeded through the compound. *415194*

Louw confirmed that a TEC delegation had visited the base yesterday and was supervising payment of salaries to soldiers.

# TEC will decide on fate of peacekeeping force

Star 4/5/94

(254)

■ BY CHARMEELA BHAGOWAT

The future of the National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF), which has been dogged by controversy since its inception, hangs in the balance pending a TEC recommendation to the government of national unity on whether it should be disbanded.

A member of the TEC sub-council on defence said the council would meet today to discuss the matter and then report to the TEC.

The force was initially formed to operate until the end of July. Subsequently, the TEC approved a budget for the NPKF until 1995.

However, since then, several allegations of misconduct and criminal activity have been levelled at members of the force.

East Rand police said on Monday they were in-

vestigating six charges of attempted murder against NPKF members.

The NPKF's effectiveness came into question when Star photographer Ken Oosterbroek was killed in Tokoza at the height of the violence, with witnesses claiming he had been shot by an NPKF member.

NPKF commander General Gabriel Ramushwana said yesterday that if the NPKF was disbanded the members would return to the forces from which they were seconded and ultimately become part of the new SA National Defence Force.

He said the soldiers would undergo rigorous training to ensure an equal standard in the new integrated army.

Asked if he would make a recommendation, Ramushwana said. "The TEC will have to decide. This is the TEC's baby."

NPKF spokesman

Major Muff Andersson said that if the force was maintained its training would have to be adjusted or it would have to remain a peace force and not be deployed into violent areas.

"It is clear that the peacekeeping skills taught and learnt during training were not suited to conditions of violence and extreme volatility such as they experienced on the East Rand."

"Six weeks of training is not enough," said Andersson.

After the East Rand experience, no further NPKF battalions were deployed, and in the Katorus area — where the SADF returned to quell violence — the NPKF was relegated to less aggressive tasks.

The TEC is expected to meet next week when a decision regarding the force will be made.

## 'Tainted' ~~254~~ peace force may be <sup>(254)</sup> disbanded

JOHANNESBURG. — The much criticised National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF) is likely to be disbanded, says a leading military analyst

"A decision has been made in principle to disband the force," said the director of the independent Institute for Defence Policy, Jakkie Cilliers, quoting senior NPKF and National Defence Force officers

"Its deployment has been frozen, it's politically tainted and has been a public relations disaster," said Mr Cilliers

He said the African National Congress, which pushed for the "premature" deployment of the peace force, now realised it had to rely on the existing white-led defence force to maintain law and order.

Officials of the ANC were not available for comment yesterday ARG 6/5/94

NPKF spokeswoman Muff Andersson said no decision had been taken on the force's future, but its command council had made a series of recommendations about its position.

An option was apparently for the force to be recalled to its base at De Brug, near Bloemfontein, for more training.

The defence sub-council of the Transitional Executive Council planned to meet behind closed doors in Pretoria today to discuss the issue

Mr Cilliers said morale was very low in the force.

He said former guerrillas in the peacekeeping force may be sent for retraining at Wallmannstal, north of Pretoria, where a new unified national defence force was taking shape — Sapa-Reuter

# Probe to decide future of NPKF

CT 10/5/94 Staff Reporter (254) (354)

**THE** entire life of the National Peacekeeping Force — from its training to claims that the force was “sabotaged” — is to be probed by a team of independent investigators, NPKF spokeswoman Major Muff Andersson announced yesterday.

She said the fate of the force was in the hands of Defence Minister-designate Mr Joe Modise. Sources say he is likely to accept recommendations to repatriate NPKF members to their forces of origin, from where they might be incorporated either into the SA National Defence Force or SA Police Service.

Maj Andersson said that in the next few weeks a team of independent investigators would be formed to study “everything” about the NPKF.

This included training problems, claims that SADF members logistically “sabotaged” the NPKF, claims that black troops were “not up to scratch”, claims of racism by white officers, the breakdown of discipline on the East Rand — and why the NPKF were deployed “in such a volatile area”.

The TEC yesterday refused to comment on the future of the NPKF, saying it was a matter for the new government. Mr Modise could not be reached for comment yesterday



# Britain to help build SA force

(254)  
CT12/5/94

From LINDA ENSOR

LONDON — Britain is to send a team of 31 defence force officers to help build South Africa's new, integrated national defence force

Defence Secretary Mr Malcolm Rifkind announced yesterday that the British Military Advisory and Training (BMAT) team would be drawn from the British army, Royal Navy and Royal Air Force and would be commanded by Brigadier Dick Trigger

The role of the team, which should be in South Africa by the middle of next month, would be to validate selection criteria and training standards, monitor training across all four arms of the national defence force (the army, navy, air force and medical services) and to settle disputes

Nine members of the BMAT team would remain in South Africa for about two years and the rest for about six months

"I am positive the experience, expertise and efficiency of our military force will benefit the new multi-ethnic armed forces in South Africa," Mr Rifkind said

Britain has wide experience in training and integrating defence forces in countries torn apart by civil war, having been involved in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola. Its military training teams are active in many parts of the world

Mr Rifkind's announcement was made shortly after the return to Britain of Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd from South Africa where he attended President Nelson Mandela's inaugura-

tion. In South Africa Mr Hurd apparently agreed to the TEC's request for Britain to help in integrating the defence force

Mr Hurd said in a television interview here he expected the relationship between Britain and the new South African government to be both politically and economically good

"We are the biggest investor after all and it is very important to them to keep that confidence, to keep that investment coming"

Mr Hurd said he had had short, but good, talks with Mr Mandela, Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Thabo Mbeki in South Africa

He was confident the impetus apparent over the past few days would keep the "delicate coalition of whites and blacks", despite the difficulties

LL the points raised by Rocky Williams and Abba Omar in cautioning the government on defence cuts (Business Day, May 9) are salient, helpful and necessary. Having read the unedited version of the article, I am concerned that the edited version potentially categorises these two men as "hawks". However, the issue goes beyond the narrow confines of whether to cut or not.

Traditionally, a defence review occurs in tandem with a change of government, the underpinning rationale being that a new government has changed priorities. In our case, there are at least three further compelling reasons for a review.

First, the prioritisation of resource allocation would alter fundamentally in favour of socioeconomic spending (health, education and welfare) and of capital spending in the provision of facilities where they do not exist.

Second, members of the various liberation armed forces are deemed by law to be members of the new national defence force, thereby burdening manpower provision beyond the minimum levels required.

Third, a new government would be expected to reinforce the insurance factor of defence by expediting vertical restructuring to ensure that former liberation soldiers are conventionally trained and come to occupy positions of power within the amalgamated force.

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The ANC has correctly identified social welfare and capital spending in depressed areas as priorities. This was and has always been its priority. Delivery in these areas would necessitate cuts in other areas of government spending, and a cut in defence spending is almost automatically earmarked for this purpose.

After a thorough review, that may well be the case. But to do so without sufficiently considering the priorities within defence itself could prove counter-productive.

Current defence spending, at 2% of GDP, is well below the accepted world average of 5%. Contrary to popular belief, SA does not have a

# Defence burden can be transformed into a national asset

KRISH NAIDOO

Bibury 13/5/94



Restructuring the defence force will require further spending.

balanced defence capability. Over the years the emphasis was on the ground forces to the detriment of the force's naval and air force capabilities. Maintaining an effective defence force, even at a minimum level, warrants corrective action — in terms of capabilities and affirmative action levels — which in turn means spending.

Regional co-operation, vital to security management and stability in the region, would necessitate the

of equipment — which may have to be imported, thereby negatively affecting our balance of payments. Defence planning and provision invariably takes the long view and for good reason. The lead times on production of most equipment is between five and 10 years. The training of personnel to use sophisticated equipment takes about the same time. For example, the US is currently planning its naval capabilities for the year 2020, and a central part of the debate is the number of vessels that would be required then.

Uncalculated deep cuts in defence spending below the absolute minimum level has the drawback of rendering the defence force ineffective and, more important, altering the calculations and perceptions of other states within the region. One is not suggesting that southern African states would resort to war as soon as our force levels dipped below the line of effective deterrence. The whole point of maintaining a defence force is to deter, sufficiently and confidently, any potential aggressor from even considering such a calculation.

Resources will have to be found to meet state social welfare objectives. On a static analysis of the resources available, defence spending would have to be cut to make more resources available for them. This route could prevent the government

from attaining its objectives within the defence force itself. One does not wish to speculate on the kinds of problems that could result.

In addition to creating wealth to meet state social welfare objectives, one could consider the option of making defence self-sufficient and, more optimistically, a revenue earner for the country. Within the constraints of foreign policy objectives, this approach could serve to meet the demands of a new national force and provide additional wealth to supplement the demands of social welfare spending.

SA's defence capability and production base are assets which could be effectively utilised domestically and externally at regional, continental and international levels. The civilian uses of defence could be effectively applied to the reconstruction and development programme. We could, through co-operation, extend our umbrella of protection to the region and participate in continental efforts for some quid pro quo in terms of revenue and/or influence. Our arms export industry, within state and foreign policy objectives, could be increased to win at least 5% of the international market.

The debate has three dimensions first, matching the defence budget to meet a fundamental review and analysis of the needs of defence itself, second, finding more resources and opportunities within defence itself for social welfare application, and, third, making defence a prop rather than a burden to the economy.

Until a fundamental review is conducted, the debate over cutting defence spending to make available more resources for social welfare spending may be premature.

The real focus should be on how to meet the present objectives and burden of defence without impinging on scarce resources and detracting from the state's social welfare goals and — at a more optimistic level — how defence could simultaneously make a positive contribution to achieving these social welfare goals.

□ Naidoo is an attorney and a member of the Military Research Group. He dealt with security matters in the TEC.

# SANDF mum on service abroad

JOHANNESBURG — The South African National Defence Force says it is inappropriate to comment on the desirability or otherwise of peacekeeping operations beyond the borders of South Africa.

(254)  
This comes after media speculation about the possible role of the SANDF in operations outside South Africa.

The SANDF said in a statement yesterday that although the new constitution made provision for such operations, the government of national unity decided on the role the SANDF would play "in any given set of circumstances".

"Involvement beyond the borders of South Africa is

therefore a political decision," the statement said.

The SANDF would only decide how to run an operation once a decision had been taken by the government.

Several practical implications would affect any decision to deploy the SANDF anywhere beyond the borders of South Africa, including the

strain on manpower and logistics, budget considerations and the legal aspects of the operation, the statement read.

The SANDF was "not in a position to handle an operation of this nature at present".

The leadership of the SANDF would be consulted on any deployment decisions, it added — Sapa

CT 14/5/94



**T**WO recent events — the positive and impartial role played by the SADF in our first democratic election, and the crowd's applause at the dramatic flypast at Nelson Mandela's inauguration — suggest that this is a good time to reflect on the role of the military in a democratic SA. Reflection is also necessary in view of the forthcoming Budget debate.

Clearly in the short term the defence budget needs to cover the additional costs of integration and demobilisation. However, our government of national unity should adopt a reduced defence budget as a policy objective as part of a commitment to demilitarisation.

Debates on the defence budget should be informed by three factors:

- The need for a broad understanding of security. Pursuing military security at the cost of economic, social and environmental security has been compared to dismantling a house for materials to erect a fence around it. There is an urgent need for resources to be directed into the reconstruction and development programme to provide jobs and housing.
- The fact that SA today faces no conventional threat, and
- The need to overcome our militarised past with all the secrecy, waste and dirty dealings that it involved.

**T**he military has been a major obstacle to the achievement of democracy in Africa, and war has been instrumental in creating the continent's development crisis. It has meant death and injury to millions, absorbed large amounts of national resources, caused ecological damage, destroyed infrastructure and social organisation, distorted production and created millions of displaced people and refugees. Throughout Africa, even when there has been victory in liberation struggles against colonial rule, or cease-fires after civil wars, real peace has been short-lived and democratic government has not been realised.

One of the main reasons for this is the failure to demilitarise after periods of violent conflict. The successful transition to peace and democracy in SA depends on a process

# We must break with our militarised past if we are to prosper

JACKLYN COCK

Bildung

18/5/94

(254)

of demilitarisation which involves a shifting of power and resources away from armed formations and military elites.

Demilitarisation does not involve only reductions in defence expenditure and force levels. There is also the need to restructure the arms industry to make it more accountable and transparent, for informal disarmament in the sense of bringing under control the proliferation of small arms throughout southern Africa, for the creation of a representative and legitimate defence force accountable to Parliament and subordinate to civilian control, for measures to provide for the social integration of demobilised soldiers and finally for measures to dislodge the ideology of militarism which legitimises violence as a solution to conflict.

Demilitarisation has been underway in SA for the past few years. A shifting of the military sway from the centre of our society is evident in reductions in defence spending, the dismantling of the national security management system, the shortening of national service periods and ultimately the abolition of conscription. There is a danger now that this process is threatened by three developments — arguments by militarists to maintain and even increase defence expenditure, Armscor's plans to treble arms exports, and the creation of an inflated new defence force

The amalgamation of previously antagonistic groupings into the new SANDF is a positive contribution to reconciliation. However, the force levels of 130 000 projected for this new army are grossly inflated and will be extremely costly to maintain. SA faces no conventional military threat and such a large standing army could constitute a political danger. We have been warned by Huntington that in societies which

have recently undergone a democratic transition "the absence of a foreign threat... may leave the military devoid of a legitimate military mission, and enhance their inclination to think about politics".

The force levels of the new army reflect a tension between social and defence needs. The current emphasis on social needs is influenced by the immense political danger which a compulsory and harsh reduction in

numbers would constitute. A better alternative would be immediate demobilisation with an emphasis on skills training and psychological counselling to deal with the post-traumatic stress disorder that psychologists suspect many soldiers are suffering from and which represents a serious danger to society.

Given the militarised nature of our past, it is important that the role of the new defence force be limited to territorial defence and not expanded into socioeconomic development. Obviously there is the need to maintain internal stability but this should be done by effective policing. An overblown force will be more likely to be deployed in non-military activities. Gen Georg Meiring favours the deployment of this new force in economic development through a service brigade. However, it is likely that such a structure would be used as a soapbox to absorb former MK combatants, creating social tensions. Such an enhanced and expanded "social role" would maintain the military's legitimacy, absorb large national resources and block the demilitarisation process.

**T**hese inflated force levels constitute a powerful plank in the arguments advanced by Abba Omar, Rocky Williams and Krish Naidoo in Business Day (May 5) against reductions in the R9,3bn defence budget. Williams and Omar warn that "not increasing the defence budget will mean cutting into its capital budget — the Special Defence Account". But this budget is spent largely on arms procurement at the rate of R1m a day to protect us against a phantom enemy.

Demilitarisation involves a careful, planned and phased process. This requires a political mobilisation which the interests of self-serving militarist elites should not be allowed to block. The response of the crowd as the six jets from the Advanced Flying School swooped low over the Union Buildings indicates the link between nationalism and militarism. For the sake of long-term peace and stability in our region it is a link we have to break.

□ Cock, associate professor of sociology at Witwatersrand University, co-chairs the Military Research Group.



The link between nationalism and militarism must be broken for the sake of peace and stability.

Former Minister gives pledge

# Outgoing Coetsee will back Modise

Star 18/5/94

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**CONFIDENCE** in the future of SA and the capabilities of the Defence Force expressed at a farewell ceremony

Former Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee and his deputy, Wynand Breytenbach, pledged their support for newly appointed Defence Minister Joe Modise yesterday

They addressed dignitaries at a farewell function at the South African Air Force officers' mess at Voortrekkerhoogte

The function was preceded by a retreat ceremony on the SAAF college parade ground

Breytenbach said that he was optimistic about the future of the country, and that he and Coetsee would always be voices supporting the SA National Defence Force and Armscor in Parliament

He and Modise had come a long way as members of the Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on defence, Breytenbach said

## Praised

He had assured Modise of his support as long it served the best interests of Armscor and the Defence Force

Breytenbach praised the Defence Force's "profound professionalism" and adaptability. He said he had no doubt that these characteristics would help the force adapt to the changing circumstances in South Africa

Coetsee described as "formidable" the Defence Force's management capabilities, its vision and loyalty to the country

SANDF chief General Georg Meiring paid tribute to Breytenbach and Coetsee — Sapa



New guard ... Defence Minister Joe Modise with the South African National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring at the ceremony. PICTURE SEAN WOODS

## Parties name PWV senators

The four political parties in the PWV Provincial Legislature have nominated their senators for the 90-member senate

The six ANC senators are former deputy secretary-general Henry Makgothi, former Moscow representative Simon Makana, attorney Mohseen Moosa, SACP member Indres Naidoo, trade unionist Rita Ndzanga, and Joyce Kgoah

The NP senators are a former Minister, Dr Org Marais, and NP chief secretary Dr Gerard Koornhof. Former Natal CP leader Carl Werth is the Freedom Front's senator. The DP's senator is its PWV vice-chairman, William Mnisi

## Ball is in Lesotho strikers' court

Maseru — Striking Lesotho police and prison guards debated their next move yesterday after Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle rejected their wage demands

About 2 500 policemen below the rank of captain in the 3 000-strong force started a strike last week, demanding a

60 percent pay increase. They were joined by junior prison warders

On Monday, Mokhehle rejected the pay demand, saying there was no money for it. He told the strikers it would be "very unfortunate" if they did not return to work — Sapa-Reuter

## 2 arrested after surgery holdup

A helicopter was called to help detectives search for two suspects who held up a Palm Ridge doctor in his surgery near Germiston yesterday

Two youths, aged 17 and 22, were arrested. Police found an

R-5 rifle, a Z88 pistol and a 9 mm pistol

A spokesman said the gunmen held Dr F Jashat at gunpoint

The suspects were arrested in the veld nearby by two policemen

## 'Transkei jobs safe in SANDF'

UMTATA — The Chief of the South African Air Force, James Kriel, assured members of the former Transkei Defence Force that their jobs would be safe in the new South African National Defence Force Speaking after meeting with members of the former Transkei Defence Force Lieutenant-General Kriel said the integration of the airwings of the former homeland armies would not pose a problem

Reports by Sapa.

(254)  
ARLT 18/5/94

## future of peace force

Sowetan 18/5/94

# NPKF fate in balance

**By Mphikeleni Duma**

THE future of the controversial National Peacekeeping Force will be decided tomorrow when the Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on defence meets in Pretoria.

The force was recently deployed on the East Rand but was last week sent back to its training camp at De Brug outside Bloemfontein. An informed source stationed at De Brug said yesterday that NPKF members were handing

in their weapons and uniforms.

He speculated on the possibilities that existed for the force's future role. It could be integrated into the new South African National Defence Force or be retrained and its name changed. It could also be a force similar to the American National Guard or it could remain as it is and undergo intensive training.

As a national peacekeeping force it could also play a significant role in flashpoints of violence around the world, he said.

# SA to expand arms exports

B1 Day 19/5/94

STEPHANE BOTHMA

PRETORIA — SA had grown into the 10th largest armaments supplier in the world and hoped to reap the full benefits of its expertise as soon as the UN arms embargo was lifted, Armscor marketing GM Peet Smith said yesterday.

The armaments procurement company had issued 631 export permits for arms worth more than R820m over the past two years

Smith told military correspondents at a briefing that SA would most likely become a member of the Missile Technology Control Regime by October and Armscor was positioning itself for this prospect

SA was finalising a national arms control policy in terms of which all arms-related control measures would be centralised under the Defence Ministry, he said.

"Armscor has committed itself to becoming more transparent and accountable, especially regarding aspects such as its arms exports in international terms"

But, Smith said, Armscor found it difficult to thoroughly police the final destiny and use of armaments manufactured in SA because of a lack of co-operation between government bo-

dies such as the SA Police Services, Customs and Excise and the Trade and Industry Department.

However, Armscor was committed to adhering to government regulations and rules regarding client countries. Smith said SA had a firm policy in terms of export clients and would under no circumstances export to certain countries ~~(USA)~~ (RSA)

He said the list of client countries was classified, but, for example, SA had stopped supplying Rwanda several months ago when civil war broke out there

Smith said although Armscor suggested clients to whom SA should sell its armaments, government had the final say in the matter. "After all, we are only civil servants"

Smith agreed that Armscor, to a certain extent, had a credibility problem because of its operations during the sanctions years. But he said the company "never allowed anybody in the industry to break SA's own rules and regulations".

He said it was Armscor's first priority to have the UN embargoes lifted, and to achieve that, it would not tolerate any transgression of any international regulation

## DEFENCE

FM 20/5/94

# May the force be still with us

**Preliminary steps** towards consolidating the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) are likely to cost about R2bn. This will push defence spending in next month's Budget to at least R11bn from last year's R9,3bn.

The figure could be higher if the four-year trend of real cuts in defence capital spending is reversed — as is being urged by the military hierarchy and the defence industry. Defence spending has been cut by 43% in real terms since 1989, most of which has come off the capital budget. The SADF has also retrenched 7 000 personnel at a cost of R350m.

Defence analysts say ANC Ministers who have called for substantial cuts in defence spending next month to help finance the party's reconstruction & development programme are out of touch with reality. They say any further cut in the R3,8bn allocated for arms procurement last year could cripple the defence industry, which is a significant foreign currency earner.

Jakkie Cilliers, executive director of the Midrand-based Institute for Defence Policy, says new Defence Minister Joe Modise will argue in Cabinet for additional support for the defence industry in an effort to boost its export earnings. This would in turn contribute substantially to the cost of the SANDF.

There is also strong support within the ANC for additional defence funding. In a recent article in *Business Day*, Rocklyn Williams, director of the ANC-aligned Military Research Group, and Armscor corporate communications GM Abba Omar (both former MK operatives) point out that by not increasing defence spending — let alone reducing it — the SANDF's capital budget would have to be cut. This would have an immediate effect on its operational capabilities. It is important, they say, that opposition to the previous government's military structures does not "diminish the value of retaining a national defence force."

In a similar article, research group member Krish Naidoo argues that a healthy SANDF could benefit the reconstruction programme in many development areas. He warns that cutting capital spending in the SANDF could have serious long-term implications and may even threaten national security.

Cilliers says the integration of MK, Apla, SADF and the former TBVC defence forces will be a complicated and expensive administrative exercise that must be done correctly to ensure its success.

He adds the estimated 23 000 MK members awaiting integration represent a massive increase in the estimated number of operatives in 1990. However, it is likely that 8 000-10 000 have simply joined MK without any formal training — possibly from

township self-defence units — and will not meet the minimum standards for recruitment into the SANDF.

Cilliers says this group can be accommodated in a services brigade, which could be used in the implementation of the reconstruction programme. Though the members would not qualify for the same pay and service benefits as SANDF personnel, the cost of establishing the brigade would be about R500m annualised.



The integration of the remaining forces would cost at least R1bn annualised and result in a bloated SANDF, which would need to be trimmed over a few years.

Cilliers says he has no doubt that the defence budget will increase dramatically next month, simply to absorb the cost of integration. Though savings are still possible in some areas, these figures will be insignificant. The "peace dividend" has already been absorbed.

He warns that any drastic cut in capital spending will kill off what is left of SA's defence industry and create dangerous backlogs in the procurement of essential equipment. "There is no fat left. We are now cutting into the muscle."

Cilliers says President Nelson Mandela will also need to consider the role of the SANDF over the next few years. With police morale low and the SA Police Service restructuring into nine regional services, there is an overdependence on the military for internal stability. It could therefore be politically unwise to alienate the SANDF generals and other senior officers — many of whom will be former MK and Apla commanders with considerable influence.

The struggle now will be in Cabinet, where Modise will have to argue strongly for more

money. His main opponents are likely to be Trade & Industry Minister Trevor Manuel and Minister Without Portfolio Jay Naidoo, who have both recently called for drastic cuts in defence spending.

Modise's chances of success are good. He will be backed by the general staff of former SADF officers, with whom he is reported to have already built up a good working relationship, and by a defence industry skilled at lobbying in the corridors of power here and overseas.

His most compelling argument is likely to be the need to integrate successfully the various forces and prepare the new SANDF for any role in southern Africa. He will no doubt point out the contribution the SANDF and the services brigade will make towards the reconstruction programme — but also warn of the consequences of not adequately considering the welfare of more than 20 000 former guerrillas.

Perhaps Modise's most difficult task will be to convince the anti-militarists that the defence industry has enormous export potential — Krish Naidoo believes it can capture 5% of world arms trade — and that it must be nurtured. His staunchest backer in this regard is likely to be Finance Minister Derek Keys.

But Keys is also likely to warn of the danger of pushing defence spending too high. Though the defence budget is only just over 2% of GDP, which, according to Krish Naidoo, is well below the world average of 5%, the IMF and World Bank have put limits of 2% on some developing countries as a condition for access to financial facilities.

The biggest danger, of course, is that the Cabinet will simply inflate the cake and give everyone more or less what they want. If that happens, the SANDF may be called on to restore stability sooner than we think. ■

## THE CABINET

### Placing the power

**Cabinet committees**, rather than the Cabinet itself, are likely to emerge as the real focus of power in the Government of National Unity. The Cabinet, which meets for the first time in Cape Town on Monday, will probably be no more than a clearing house for major decisions and a forum for exchanging ideas, says University of Cape Town political science professor David Welsh. This means individual Ministers, or groupings of Ministers, could become more independent than their predecessors under National Party rule.

But the pressures to deliver, particularly

# NPKF will soon be disbanded

Star 20/5/94

■ BY DUNCAN GUY

The National Peacekeeping Force is to be disbanded soon, according to the Ministry of Defence.

Reports said yesterday that an announcement ending the NPKF could be expected as early as Tuesday after the Cabinet meets in Cape Town.

But Defence Ministry spokesman Major Charl de Klerk could not confirm this. "Its disbandment is under consideration. I can't give an indication when an announcement can be expected, but it should be soon," he said.

There were still a number of technical considerations, such as how NPKF members would be accommodated at their forces of origin (254) ~~254~~.

NPKF spokesman Colonel Connie van Rensburg told The Star about 2 800 members were on secondment from statutory armies — namely those of the now defunct TBVC states and their police forces, and the old SADF and SAP — and would return to them.

Van Rensburg added that between 1 000 and 1 200 of the rest of the approximately 4 000-strong force were Umkhonto we Sizwe members who had the opportunity to report to assembly points as individuals wishing to join the SA National Defence Force.

The NPKF was established in February and was meant to maintain peace during the April election. It received a poor reputation from lapses in discipline and mutinous behaviour.

After a disastrous first outing on the East Rand, during which The Star's award-winning photographer Ken Oosterbroek was killed on April 18, the NPKF was withdrawn to barracks.

# Mufamadi meets his

## generals'

Sept 2015/194

BY NORMAN CHANDLER  
PRETORIA BUREAU

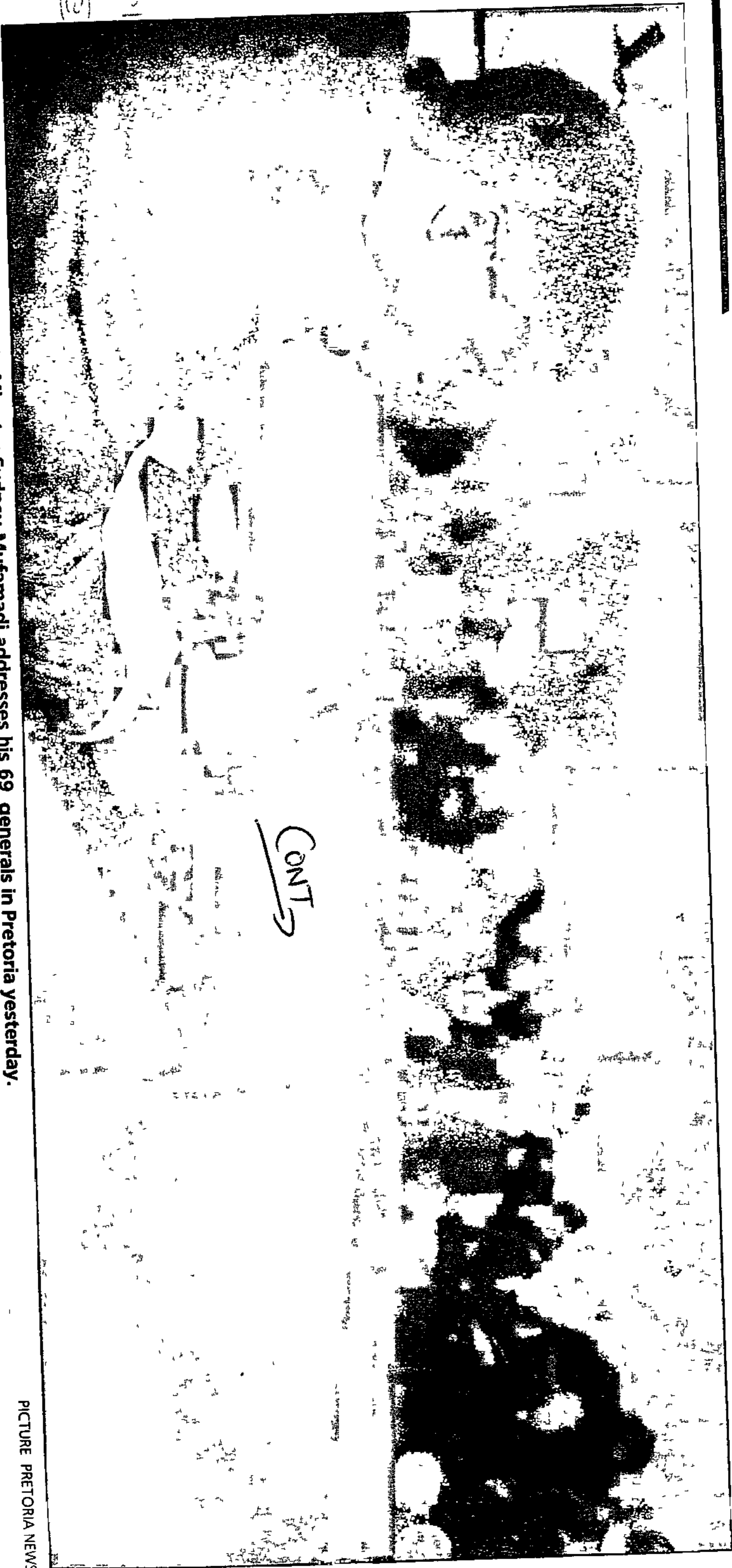
Reconciliation and nation-building are the cornerstones of the new South African Police Service (SAPS)

This was the essence of discussions held in Pretoria yesterday between new Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and 69 generals attached to the general staff of the SAPS

The generals — who gave Mufamadi a standing ovation at the end of his address — included former police commissioners of the old Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei states and the self-governing territories of Lebowa, KwaZulu, KaNgwane, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and QwaQwa.

At the end of the all-day meeting, held at the Police Col-

▶ To Page 3



CONT

Face to face . Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi addresses his 69 generals in Pretoria yesterday.

PICTURE PRETORIA NEWS



STAR

20-5-94

Star 20/5/94  
**Mufamadi meets generals**

◀ From Page 1

lege, it was said in a statement that in-depth discussions had taken place on a wide range of policing issues

It was the first time that Mufamadi and his Deputy Minister Joe Mathews had had face-to-face discussions with their generals since taking office last week (25/4)

The meeting was one of a number which the two Ministers have been holding with departmental and ministry officials

"The generals pledged their full commitment to uphold the constitution and assured Mufamadi and Mathews of their full support in the fight against crime and violence," the statement said.

It was agreed that the SAPS would perform its duty in "a professional, impartial and non-political manner, in service of all the people of South Africa".

Reconciliation and nation-building were priorities for the police, which looked forward to providing the security necessary

for democracy and economic growth to flourish in SA.

The generals also assured all policemen that they had nothing to fear in terms of their jobs and security, and said they would be treated in a fair and just manner at all times

Earlier Mufamadi announced that a press conference, scheduled for today, at which he would indicate "the way forward", would now take place only on Wednesday in Cape Town

Deputy police commissioner General Basie Smit told The Star there was "a positive feeling among the generals" about how the police could assist the new Government

Smit was one of three generals implicated by the Goldstone Commission report on the so-called Third Force. Of the other two, General Johan le Roux was also present at the meeting.

The third, General Krappies Engelbrecht, has retired from the force on grounds of ill-health.

# Peace force to go

254

274

CT 20/5/94

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Peace-keeping Force will be disbanded within the next two weeks, Defence Ministry and NPKF spokesmen said yesterday.

An announcement ending the NPKF's brief and inglorious life can be expected as early as Tuesday after the cabinet meets in Cape Town.

"Its disbandment is under consideration. I can't give an indication when an announcement can be expected but it could be soon," Defence Ministry spokesman Major Charl de Klerk said.

He said there were still a number of technical considerations to be settled.

NPKF spokesman Colonel Connie van Rensburg said the force was waiting for an official announcement on its future. Asked whether it would be retained in another form, Col Van Rensburg said, "I personally very much doubt it."

The NPKF was established in February. It was seldom out of the headlines as reports of ill-discipline and insubordination became commonplace. In military and political circles it was called the "National Peace-keeping Farce".

## Disastrous

It was intended to keep peace during the election period. But after a disastrous first outing on the East Rand during which award-winning photographer Ken Oosterbroek was killed, the NPKF was withdrawn to barracks.

Col Van Rensburg said the South African National Defence Force had said it could accommodate about 1 200 members of uMkhonto weSizwe who comprise the force's non-statutory component.

The matter was discussed at a meeting of the Joint Military Command Council in Pretoria on Wednesday. The JMCC is overseeing the restructuring of South Africa's statutory and non-statutory forces.

Col Van Rensburg said the original agreement was that the 2 800 members of statutory forces would be returned to their forces of origin.

● The Koeberg NPKF base appeared mostly deserted yesterday, but a corporal said all the troops were still in barracks.

"We do exercises, play snooker and soccer but we don't know where we will be going in the next few weeks," he said.

A captain said the liaison officer was unavailable and the media were not allowed into the base.

Sapa

# 30000 cadres for

# army intake

Sowetan 2015/94



Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise yesterday outlined the new role of the SA National Defence Force. He ruled out the possibility of a military role outside the country after speculation that South Africa would send a peacekeeping force to Rwanda. See Page 6

## By Tyrone August

**T**HE INTEGRATION OF 30 000 SOLDIERS, including Umkhonto we Sizwe and Azanian People's Liberation Army members, into the SA National Defence Force is a key priority of Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise during the next few years.

The integration will cost R1 billion for one year alone. "In order to integrate them successfully, we've got to train them and bring them up to equal standard," Modise said.

"This is another way of affirmative action, giving those who did not have the opportunity to catch up with those who had all the opportunities."

In an interview yesterday, Modise said the British army would play a role in overseeing their training and would also participate in adjudicating the integration.

The integration of MK, Apla and other former homelands armies would inflate the size of the SANDF initially, but the standing force would finally consist of between 67 000 and 70 000 soldiers. (254)

"Naturally people will be very concerned about what happens to those who are going to be rationalised," he said.

"We are looking at the creation of a service brigade."

Those who will lose their places in the SANDF will be given vocational training to prepare them for civilian life.

Modise said the SANDF would no longer

play a policing role inside the country once stability was restored. He said the police, assisted by the community, should be able to cope.

He also ruled out the possibility of a military role outside the country. "We have our own problems," he said. "I don't think we are ready for that role."

"We are still in the process of reorganising our army and building it."

Regarding speculation about the SANDF intervening in Rwanda, he said: "We have not been approached and, even if we are approached, we won't accept."

"You cannot play a peacekeeping role where there is conflict."

"The conflicting parties must first agree and only then can a peace-keeping role be played."

Friday, May 20, 1994, SOWETAN

# Peace force to disband soon

*Sowetan 20/5/94*

**By Tyrone August and  
Sowetan Correspondent**

THE National Peacekeeping Force will be disbanded within the next few weeks, Ministry of Defence spokesman Major Charl de Klerk announced yesterday.

"The NPKF will be disbanded but we don't know exactly when," said De Klerk.

NPKF spokesman Colonel Connie van Rensburg expected a final decision on the NPKF's future early next week when the Cabinet meets in Cape Town.

"Those from the statutory forces will be reseconded to their own organisations," he said. These include soldiers and police from the former TBVC homelands, SAP, SADF and MK.

However, the Cabinet will have to take a decision about the future of the

MK members who were in the NPKF.

According to Sapa, the actual disbandment could take place on June 2.

The NPKF was established in February. It was seldom out of the headlines as reports of ill-discipline and insubordination among the peacekeepers became commonplace.

It was intended to keep peace during the election period. But after a disastrous first outing on the East Rand during which photographer Ken Oosterbroek was killed, the NPKF was withdrawn to barracks.

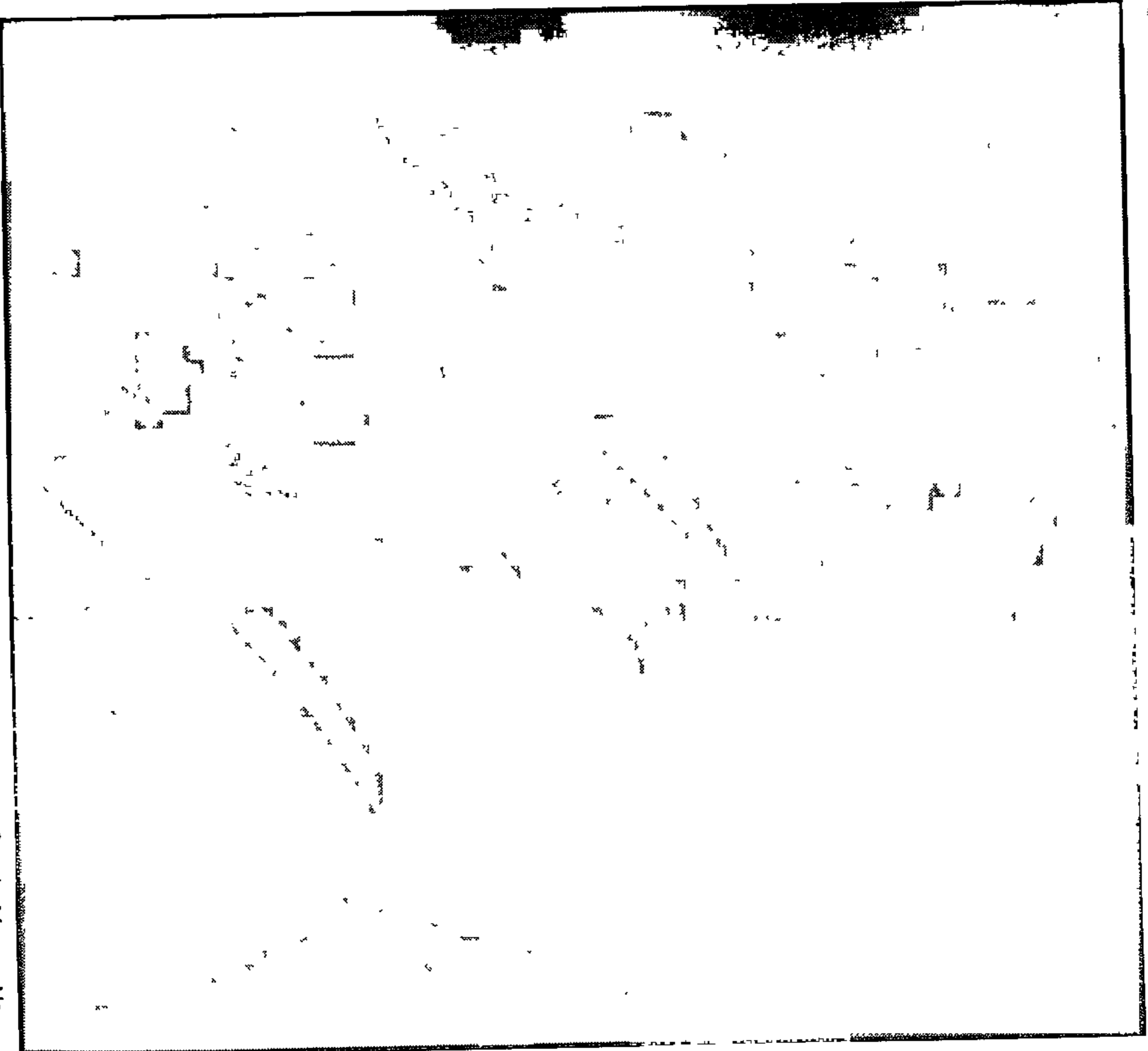
Van Rensburg said the SANDF had already said it could accommodate about 1 200 MK members who comprise the non-statutory component of the NPKF. The MK members could be taken in at the SANDF assembly point at Wafmansdal, north of Pretoria.



# Can South Africa afford this?

■ South Africans cannot hope for successful implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme and at the same time have a powerful military presence, argues **SUSAN WILLIETT**

WILLIETT (254) APRIL 21 5 44



**NEW GUARD:** Newly appointed Minister of Defence Joe Modise with South African National Defence Force chief Georg Meiring

**A**FTER the euphoria of the South African election comes the hard decision-making. The government will have to square the aspirations of African National Congress supporters hungry for redress of apartheid's inequities and the anxieties of the local and international business communities

Conventional wisdom sees the interests of these groups as irreconcilable, the former requiring an expansion of public expenditure, the latter demanding monetary and fiscal discipline. But apartheid imposed an in-built constraint on domestic market expansion. The business community recognises that, in the long run, meeting the needs of the vast majority of the population is essential to growth and prosperity. The main tension may turn out to be within the ranks of the ANC itself.

The outline of the new government's economic policies has begun to emerge. The collapse of command economies and the debates between the ANC and private industry have led the ANC to adopt a market-orientated approach towards economic policies, built on private and public sector co-operation. Evidence of this strategy can be seen in the National Economic Forum, set up in 1992 as an informal discussion group at the instigation of Finance Minister Derek Keys and the ANC's department of economic planning and comprising private business, organised labour and government. This body has gone a long way towards achieving consensus on a number of key economic issues.

The framework which forms the basis of the ANC's economic policy is the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Its key strategies include meeting basic needs through land reform, housing provision, supplying water, sanitation and electricity to homes, investment in public transport and infrastructure, developing human resources by improving the black education system, and diversifying the economy away from the production of primary commodities such as agricultural goods and minerals into value-added manufacturing. In essence, the RDP represents an old-fashioned Keynesian "public works" pro-

gramme designed to kick-start the economy out of its prolonged and painful recession.

While most observers agree that such programmes are urgently required, the big question is how the RDP will be financed. Conservative estimates have put the cost of this ambitious long-term plan at around R38,9 billion. The ANC claims that finance for the RDP will come from existing revenues (taxation and state industries' income), the issuing of government bonds, and foreign grants. Given the restricted revenue base and already high level of taxation (43% on average) falling mainly on whites, whom the ANC must be careful not to alienate, there is little room for increasing government revenues other than refining and improving the existing tax system.

Foreign aid contributions represent an alternative source of income, and certain members of the international community, such as the United States, have been quick off the mark in offering aid to support reconstruction programmes. But such grants will not be sufficient to finance the ambitious programme. And there is understandable reluctance to go to the International Monetary Fund, given the disastrous experience of structural adjustment programmes with their heavy emphasis on welfare spending cuts in sub-Saharan Africa.

The largest portions of all RDP programmes are expected to be financed from the better use of existing resources and by redirecting government spending to other priorities. But where will these savings come from? In a remarkable show of monetary restraint, the ANC budget committee has instructed all its working groups — health, education, agriculture, social welfare, police, etc — to find savings from departmental budgets. However, given the huge demands on these departments and their key role in supporting RDP objectives, substantial cuts cannot realistically be expected.

The main target for reductions is the defence budget — despite the fact that this has been reduced by 46% in real terms since 1989. The reduction reflects the transition from the period of "total onslaught", when South Africa was involved in wars in Namibia and Mozambique, to the relatively peaceful present. Senior ANC officials, including President Mandela, have pledged themselves to reduce further the country's defence

burden. The budget for 1994-95 is R10,2bn, representing 2,4% of GDP. In absolute terms this level of expenditure dwarfs all other defence budgets on the African continent. The ANC proposes to cut the budget by R1,6bn in 1996.

Cuts of this magnitude will require a major defence review, which will be fiercely resisted by the military. But elements in the ANC, led by Joe Modise, the new defence minister, and including key figures in Umkhonto We Sizwe, are also strongly resisting cuts. The emerging debate has been characterised as the RDP versus national security, but this simplistic notion of security fails to make the connection between economic security and stability.

MK and the South African Defence Force have now merged and have arrived at a remarkable degree of consensus about the future role and strategic doctrines of the new National Defence Force (NDF). As the largest military power on the African continent, with the most professional forces, the NDF sees itself as a key player in providing regional security through peacekeeping operations and "power projection" — occasional military intervention in the interests of regional stability. Indeed there is likely to be growing external pressure on South Africa from the Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth and even Nato members, to take on a policing role in sub-Saharan Africa, playing into the hands of the NDF, hungry for a new role.

Such operations are by no means cheap in economic or political terms, as major powers have found to their cost in Bosnia and Somalia. And once committed, it is often difficult to disengage. The NDF's proposed external role will be hard to sustain in budgetary terms, but as far as security is concerned there is even less justification. Since the resolution of conflicts in Namibia and Mozambique, and the end of the Cold War, South Africa enjoys a benign external security environment. The greatest security threat is not without — but within. The nation's endemic violence is intrinsically linked to the poverty of the vast majority of the population. The continued unfair distribution of wealth acts as a powerful disincentive for both domestic and foreign investment, resulting in a vicious spiral of poverty, violence, and militarism.

In the violence leading up to the elec-

tion, SADF forces had to be deployed in Natal and the East Rand, because the police were unable to contain civil strife. SADF manpower was stretched to the limit and reservists had to be called up. Until permanent internal stability is achieved, the NDF is likely to be preoccupied with internal security problems, despite its wish to disengage from them.

While the military has successfully contained the violence in these volatile regions, its deployment does not offer a solution. The RDP, in contrast, contains the potential for breaking the legacy of violence and is thus seen by its advocates as the most fundamental instrument for stability in the new South Africa.

In essence, this is an argument about opportunity costs. Maintaining a sophisticated military force prepared for any eventuality represents a considerable opportunity cost in terms of the alternative uses of this expenditure.

It is a great irony that the very people who were prepared to die for the ANC in its struggle for a new South Africa are now lobbying to preserve military structures that preclude the social spending which could create stability.

It is worrying that the UK government, with its historic links with South Africa, has chosen not to support the RDP, having dismissed it as a "socialist" policy, but has instead targeted its aid programme at the retraining of South African security forces. Even more disconcerting is the undue haste with which British government officials and commercial agents have been attempting to secure arms deals with the new government for equipment such as Hawk trainer aircraft.

As usual, the British government's short-term interests override long-term considerations. If it is genuinely concerned about South Africa's security environment and wants to help to create a better climate for the UK investment, it would be well advised to rethink its support for the security forces and concentrate on promoting those policies which will go some way to resolving South Africa's internal stability problems.

■ Susan Willett is a defence economist working for the Centre for Defence Studies at King's College, University of London. She was an independent specialist monitor for the security forces during the South African elec-

# 1000 a day seek to Join Rainbow Navy

460 new-breed sailors in historic passing-out parade  
(254) AAG 21/5/94

■ The "rainbow" warriors have landed from all over SA took part in the first passing-out parade since conscription ended.

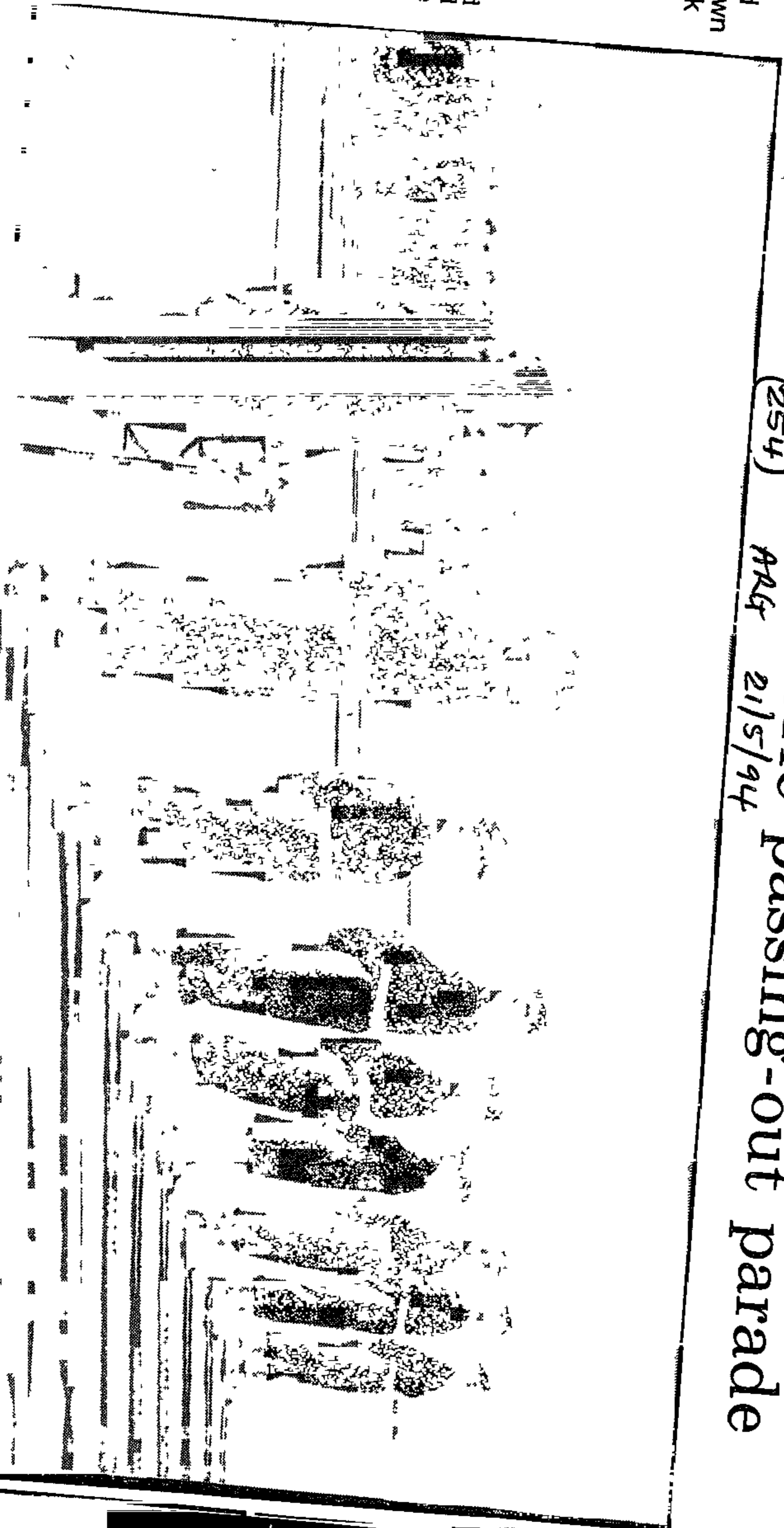
## DINAH WHITE

Special Correspondent

SINCE conscription ended the Navy has been flooded with applications to join the service.

This was evident on Wednesday at SAS Saldhana, where the Navy's newest sailors took part in the first passing-out parade under the new legislation. For the first time it truly was a parade of the new "rainbow people" — 460 of them from all cultures, drawn from all over South Africa.

The salute at the parade was taken by Vice-Admiral Piet Loedolff. Invited by Captain Koos Louw, officer commanding the Saldanha training establishment, Admiral Loedolff



SANDF Chief of Staff

## AWARDS: Prizewinners line up before Vice-Admiral Loedloff

Pictures DINAH WHITE

In his speech Admiral Loedloff emphasised the importance of good basic training. "When one switches from civilian life to military life one has to become part of this 'new' culture. This happens through basic training, during which, among others, naval customs and traditions are learnt."

He said that although the Navy's prime task was to defend and protect SA's maritime interests, several important diplomatic tasks had been entrusted to the service.

"During the past two years our ships have visited 44 harbours in 32 countries. The disciplined behaviour of our ships' companies bears testimony to the solid foundations established here during basic training."

It was feared that when conscription ended and the Navy was flooded

with potential recruits (now more than 100 a day) it would be forced to lower its standards, Admiral Loedloff said.

By introducing a new method of training the Navy had not only overcome this problem, but had in many instances raised standards.

Initially the Navy was concerned that its training techniques would not suit a multiracial society (The group passing out spoke 11 different languages).

Captain Louw said people should not be penalised simply because of communication difficulties, which often often bore no relation to intelligence.

"With this in mind we have appointed several multilingual communicators, one with each group, whose sole task it is to make sure

all trainees understand what is required of them."

At the end of each day a communicator joins his group of recruits as they relax in their dormitories so they can go over the day's programme. This creates a type of revision in informal surroundings, to make sure that no misunderstandings have occurred during the day's lectures.

As well as communicators, the Navy has introduced 50 computers for recruits. Under the supervision of Commander Chris Mertz, responsible for the Olin computer project, they have developed special computer programmes which are geared to the level of the individual. In this way the user can in his own time, at his own level, upgrade his knowledge.

This approach has proved highly successful, with the trainee being comfortable at his or her own level. These levels are upgraded progressively until the desired standard is attained.

Of the 460-strong intake, 58 have been targeted for more intensive training. By using the computers for an additional hour every day, with constant supervision, the desired levels are gradually reached.

Commander Glen Knox is responsible for training. "Shortly after their arrival we get them to sit a simple computer test. After this we are able to evaluate their literacy and to select a programme tailored to their individual needs."

"Since we have introduced computers the trainees' use of English

language has improved dramatically, making them easier to train."

The length of service within this intake was split 50-50 between those who had signed for 10 months' voluntary military service and those who had joined for two years.

The two-year voluntary service offers the option of signing for a further period, the maximum length being six years. The option to extend the initial period is subject to recommendations from commanding officers.

For the first time in recent years there was a large intake of women. These 20 Swans made up a platoon and gave credence to Navy claims that women would play a more prominent role in the future.



# Former MK leader gets to grips with his army

St. Times 22/5/94

By PETER De IONNO

ALTHOUGH the mantle of power sits on Joe Modise's broad shoulders as snugly as his new tailor-made suit, the atmosphere in the new Defence Minister's office twangs with tension

Mr Modise's minders are twitchy. Nothing is certain. Civil servants are walking on eggshells to preserve their jobs.

The process of educating the minister has barely begun. Although he sat on the Transitional Executive

## JOE MODISE

Council's defence sub-committee, Mr Modise must be schooled before he is quizzed and tested in public (254)

"Don't question him too deeply," whispers an aide as we enter the L-shaped office on the fourth floor of the Armscor building, east of Pretoria.

The advice is as unnecessary as it is unwelcome.

Mr Modise is no stranger to hard questions. He has bitten the bullet many times.

His orders to MK risked cadres' lives and wrought death and destruction in apartheid South Africa.

But, like the thousands of guerrilla footsoldiers Mr Modise led as commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, he is still being integrated into the new defence force.

Mr Modise, 64, is bright-eyed and ardent. He speaks carefully. Careers and multi-million-rand empires sit balanced on his comments and decisions.

His immediate priorities are to establish a civilian department of defence and scrutinise the defence accounts for any "prunings" that will enable the SANDF to take on new responsibilities for integration without pushing the current R9,3-billion budget above R10-billion next year.

Mr Modise says details of plans that will effectively draw the teeth of the generals by putting responsibility for military policy-making, funding and personnel under civilian control will be announced "within days".

"If we are going to break with the past, we must make the Ministry of Defence a civilian apparatus that is accountable to Parliament," he says.

While Mr Modise refuses to discuss names, Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, the SADF second-in-command "Mr Clean" who took early retirement late last year, is a favoured candidate for Secretary of State for Defence.

He would have equal status with the Chief of the Defence Force who will retain operational control.

On the matter of appointments, Mr Modise says he cannot explain why he has no deputy, a post that was mooted for MK and SACP firebrand Ronnie Kasrils.

"I have been asking that question myself," says Mr Modise. "Defence is a huge task. It is too much for one man. I am seeing it from the inside now."

"I have raised it with the deputy president and he cannot answer, so I will ask President Mandela why I can't have a deputy."

As expected, Mr Modise is disbanding the National Peace-keeping Force, ending the misery of uncertainty for the "blue berets", the controversial force integrating SADF, MK, SAP and homeland troops that he helped establish.

Members are being returned to the units from which they were seconded.

Refusing to join the chorus crowing over the hastily-trained and rashly-deployed peacekeepers' failure, Mr Modise blames

part of the fiasco on a "reluctance" by the SADF and SAP to wholeheartedly support the force.

"Now that the situation is normalising, the police must do this work of law and order, and the army must go back to barracks."

"I don't see any reason for the NPKF," says Mr Modise.

The NPKF is estimated to have cost about R240-million. Axing it now leaves more than R120-million to be recouped from its budget.

Anything that can be saved is a bonus. The cost of integrating more than 30 000 soldiers from MK and the homeland armies into the SANDF, followed by the inevitable pay-offs for retrenchments to rationalise the force below 100 000, is likely to add more than R1-billion a year to the defence bill.

"Such a sensitive subject," Mr Modise says with a wince. It is clear that in the next round of cuts, jobs as well as treasured projects will be lost.

It is not a policy of savings at any cost, however. Mr Modise supports the Navy's R1,2-billion bid to acquire four corvettes to restore its blue-water patrol and anti-submarine capability.

He sees the project fitting into the ANC reconstruction and development programme (RDP) by creating jobs in the equipping of "green hulls" bought overseas. The project also ensures the protection of South Africa's marine resources.

Caught between his ministerial responsibility to champion the best interests of the SANDF and Armscor in cabinet and the ANC's obligations to better citizens' lives, Mr Modise plays down the conflict inherent in his new job.

Long dubbed a hawk, Mr Modise sees South Africa's multi-billion-rand arms industry as an irreplaceable source of skills, jobs and income for the RDP.

"There is no contradiction. Morally the ANC is bound by the RDP to create jobs for people and if the defence budget is kept where it is and the arms embargo is lifted, jobs are going to be created," he says.

As far as Mr Modise is concerned, the lifting of the UN Security Council arms embargo, now openly disregarded, is but a formality.

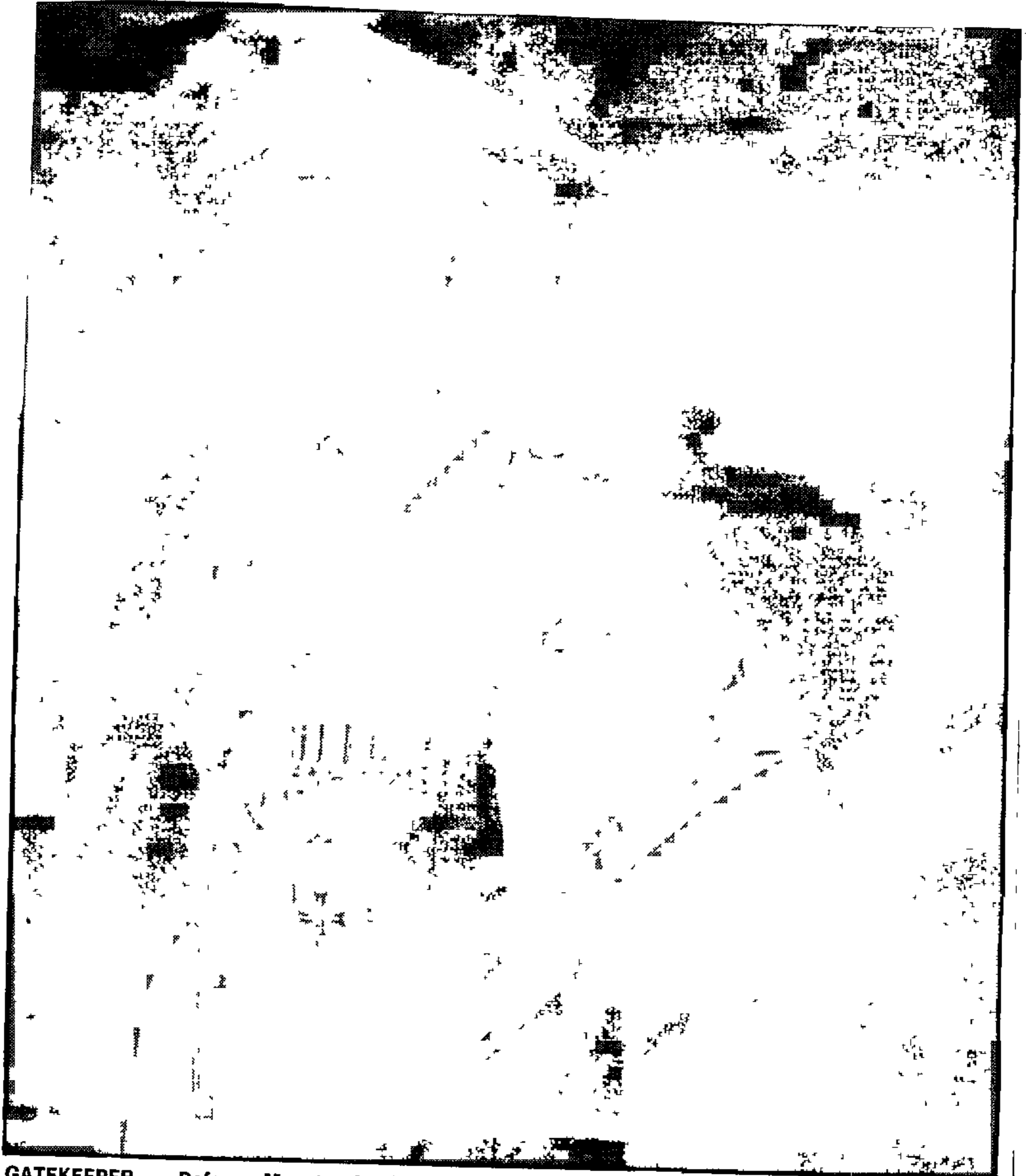
"We called for the embargo because of apartheid and if we call for it to be lifted anybody opposing that will have to come with good reasons. We cannot impose it on ourselves," he says.

Another major step towards normality will come with the imminent return and integration of 2 500 MK cadres who have been trained in Tanzania.

CONT

Sunday Times

22-5-94



**GATEKEEPER . . Defence Minister Joe Modise with General Georg Meiring Picture ROBBIE BOTHA**

# Mandela, Makwetu talk on Apla/SANDF

CT 23/5/74

THE incorporation of PAC military wing Apla into the new SA National Defence Force was discussed in talks last night between President Nelson Mandela and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

ANC spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe said after the talks the ANC had agreed in principle that Apla cadres be incorporated in the SANDF even if existing legislation would have to be changed.

He said Apla had found it difficult to comply with deadlines laid down by the Transitional Executive Council, but if it was necessary to accommodate them, the legislation would be changed. (254)

# Ban: Armscor set to make a killing

CT 24/5/94 (254)  
By WILLEM STEENKAMP

THE imminent lifting of the 17-year-old United Nations arms embargo, could mean big business for Armscor — in military equipment

Apart from being able to market arms openly, the end of the embargo will allow Armscor to promote non-offensive items such as mine-protected vehicles and mine-clearing equipment

The UN Security Council yesterday began to examine a resolution that would lift the embargo and might also dissolve a commission that monitored South Africa

The ban originally forbade all arms sales to South Africa but later included the purchase of military-related equipment from the country

Deputy President Mr Thabo Mbeki and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Aziz Pahad are to fly to New York today for Mr Mbeki to address the council tomorrow

Spokesmen for Armscor could not be reached for comment yesterday but a military analyst said the suspension of the embargo could mean "big money" for Armscor from weapons such as the Rooivalk attack helicopter and other arms and non-offensive equipment such as Armscor's Samil truck range

South Africa's state-of-the-art mine-protected vehicles and mine-clearing devices could prove especially popular, and imports would be limited to "certain ships and aircraft", the analyst said

**NEWS FEATURE** *Service brigade to*

# New role is shaping up for SANDF

## ■ NEW MINISTER *Among Joe*

*Modise's plans is the establishment*

*of a service brigade:*

254

**By Tyrone August**  
Political Reporter

**T**HE ROLE of South Africa's defence force, which in the past was widely regarded as one of terror and destruction, will change fundamentally in the years ahead

Its participation in cross-border raids and attacks such as those on a suspected Apla base in Transkei last year, are still fresh in the minds of many

But the new Minister of Defence, Mr Joe Modise, is determined to change the role of the defence force. Among his plans is the establishment of a service brigade

"A lot of thinking has gone into the creation of a service brigade," said Modise in an interview in Pretoria. "This brigade will be funded by the Government and the community."

Initially, the new SA National Defence Force (SANDF) will provide vocational training for those who cannot become part of the standing force of between 67 000 and 70 000 soldiers.

Those who lose their places in the SANDF as a result of rationalisation will be given vocational training to prepare them for civilian life

"At the same time, they will also play a major role in the Reconstruction and Development Programme," said Modise

"After dealing with ex-servicemen, the service brigade might also bring in young people who are in the streets and train them to play a part in the economy"

He said similar brigades were successfully established in Taiwan and in the United States. In South Africa, they will be managed by the SANDF but not be part of it

"It will be more or less an auxiliary body with a lot of emphasis on preparing people to participate in our economy," said Modise

They will be trained as builders, bricklayers, carpenters, electricians, and later, also as motor mechanics, panelbeaters and spray painters

Some will also get technical training (for example, in electronics) and at a later stage training in agriculture

"We would like this service brigade to carry on indefinitely, like it has in Taiwan," said Modise. "There it has become a very important instrument in developing the economy"

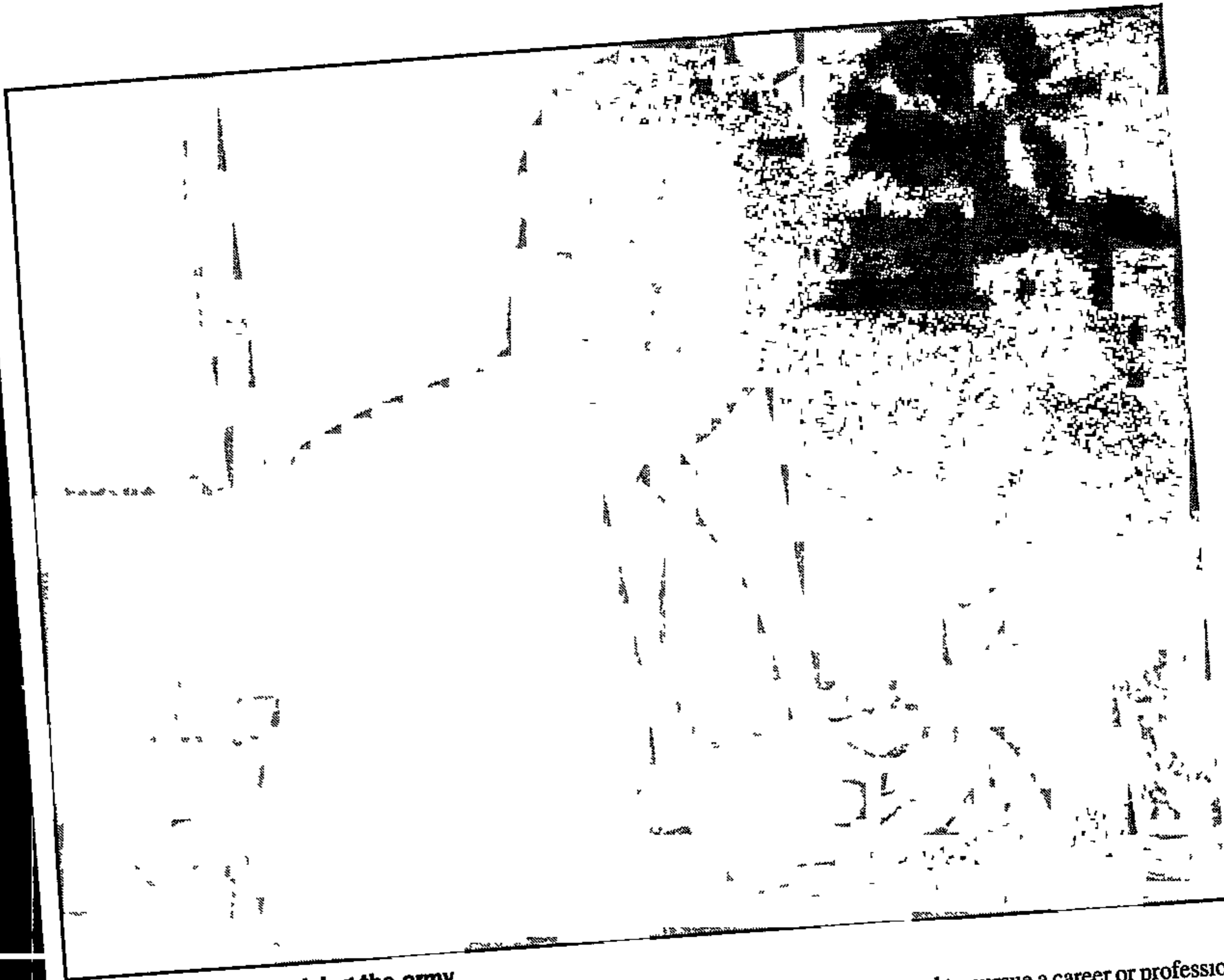
### Instrument

"That's the route we want to follow. A service brigade in South Africa could become an instrument of the people that would help to develop our country"

The establishment of a service brigade was first hinted at in a review of 1993 published by the then South African Defence Force (SADF) earlier this year

"There are a large number of indi-

be established to play major role in reconstruction



### Joe Modise ... reorganising the army.

viduals who have received military training of some sort and who will not be accommodated in the new defence force," it said in its report

"To leave these individuals jobless in the streets is to invite trouble" This is where the SADF saw a role for a service brigade

"This brigade could be used in non-military tasks, like building projects," it said "After a period of service in the brigade, they can leave and make a living in the private sector"

The old SADF saw the new defence force playing an increasing role in socio-economic development "The SADF has considerable ability in this area," it said

"Although the SADF should be designed primarily for conventional operations, pragmatic considerations dictate that it may sometimes be used for non-military tasks

"The driving principle should be that the return on investment in the SADF (now SANDF) should be maximised by putting its community utility value to good use without impairing its primary role," the report said

The SADF pointed to the role of the military in the United States during the

Great Depression of the 1930s as an example of what it envisaged.

"The vast pool of management skills and knowledge that is inherently part of any defence force was used, rather than military equipment *per se*, for upliftment projects," the SADF said

"Some military personnel with the necessary expertise were seconded to other state departments for use in the socio-economic environment

"This ensured that military equipment, which is needed for war and developed at great cost, could be reserved for its original purpose

"Knowledge and expertise that had public application, for which the taxpayer had in any case paid, thus became available for use to the advantage of the country as a whole"

In South Africa, the report said, qualified personnel from the SADF could be used to help teach science and mathematics in schools where there was a shortage of qualified teachers

Medical orderlies could also be used to teach and promote basic hygiene and primary health care

Like Modise, the SADF also saw a role for the new defence force in preparing youth who were not adequately

trained to pursue a career or profession "A possible partial solution to the problem is to develop an organisation that can equip these people with the necessary skills to enable them to make a decent living," the report said

"It is foreseen that the SADF can be used to train people for a better future. The organisation has the training facilities, the training expertise and the will to help"

These ideas are in line with the aim of the new Ministry of Defence "We are in the process of reorganising our army," said Modise

"We have always had problems with the defence force playing a military role inside the country" In the short term the SANDF will continue to help maintain stability inside the country

But further down the road, it is clear that there will be a major shift in the role of the new defence force

"We are now building a national defence force," he said

"The force is now being legitimised. This is the people's own force. The must do everything in their power to support it because it is their own instrument of protection," Modise said

# No big cuts in defence, says Modise

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — Defence Minister Joe Modise yesterday indicated he did not expect the defence budget to be cut substantially, despite earlier speculation that the ANC had targeted defence for big cuts to help finance the reconstruction and development programme. *Biday*

He announced the permanent component of the SA National Defence Force would initially be increased to about 70 000 members, from the present 45 000, before its final rationalisation under British supervision. *25/5/94*

The increase in manpower formed part of a plan to integrate the country's various statutory and non-statutory armies into the new SANDF. *(25/5)*

However, the operation would have an effect on the defence budget, and would have to be taken into account when the budget was finalised, Modise told a news conference.

"It must also not be forgotten that the SANDF will play a major role in the RDP, via Armscor and the arms manufacturing facilities," he said. "There is a lot of job creation there."

Some observers speculated yesterday that the defence budget could increase nominally, even if in real terms it was cut.

Modise admitted he had been one of those politicians outside the SADF who had accused it of being a "bottomless pit".

"Now that one is there, one has come to realise the reality of the situation, and the needs. Money coming into the SANDF is money well spent," he said.

Modise confirmed the appointment of Gen Georg Meiring, head of the former SADF, as chief of the SANDF.

Meiring said afterwards his appointment had given him the opportunity to create "a truly legitimate, a truly modern, and a truly professional military force of high standards".

Modise confirmed an end to conscription which was in line with ANC policy. "During peacetime it is going to be voluntary," he explained.

He said Britain, as a neutral force, would not only oversee the integration of the various military forces, but also assist

□ To Page 2

## Defence

*Biday - 25/5/94*

□ From Page 1

with the training of the new SANDF. The SANDF was also looking at establishing a service brigade, or veterans' association, "so that people who leave the armed forces are not thrown onto the streets". *(25/5)*

Meanwhile, Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo yesterday would not say where

budgetary cuts had been made to raise the R2,5bn for social spending announced by President Nelson Mandela in his opening of parliament speech.

Naidoo declined to confirm if the cuts had come from the controversial special defence account, which forms part of the defence budget.

### Step in robbery

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# Call for an end to police killings

Biday 25/5/94

JOHANNES NGCOBO

PWV safety and security MEC Jessie Duarte yesterday called for an end to the killing of police, who, she said, were no longer part of an apartheid apparatus

Duarte's statement followed an SA Police Service report yesterday that about 94 policemen had been murdered in the past five months

Police spokesman Maj Nina Barkhuizen said despite the fact that unrest incidents had declined drastically, the killing of policemen continued. Despite the attacks and difficult working circumstances, police "members remain dedicated to their task".

"It is the responsibility of the community to assist police and become involved in police-related matters so as to ensure a future for all South Africans," she said

Duarte appealed to people to resolve their differences with the police amicably rather than kill them "People should begin to know that the police service is theirs and that the policemen are now accountable to the people's President, Nelson Mandela"

She said she was aware that distrust remained between police and the community. It would take time for communities and police to accept one another.

Integrating members of self-defence units into the police service and

establishing community policing structures were matters requiring urgent attention from communities

Duarte added that her office would embark on a campaign of disarming people who had more than one firearm.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that police commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said the SA Police Service was already changing into a nonracial structure

Van der Merwe was reacting to Duarte's statement that the service would implement affirmative action within its ranks.

Duarte said all senior police officers were white males but this would change soon.

Van der Merwe said the integration of TBVC police forces — which were mostly staffed and run by blacks — into the newly-created SA Police Service meant that highly placed black officers were being brought into the force.

"A whole new police structure is being established," he said. "The integration of all (police) services creates a new structure"

All appointments had to be effected in such a way that nobody was prejudiced. Affirmative action within the police "should be on an objective and measurable basis"

## UN set to lift arms embargo

Biday 25/5/94

MARK ASHURST

THE lifting of the UN arms embargo tonight is viewed with excitement by the domestic arms industry, although continued government investment is vital to realise growth, says Jane's Defence Weekly analyst Helmoed Römer-Heitman

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki left for New York yesterday to meet UN officials.

Denel spokesman Paul Holtzhausen said the speed with which the ban had been undone was an indication of the priority government attached to arms trade.

Despite sanctions, the state-owned manufacturer had sold R400m worth of hardware to foreign buyers "through the proverbial back door", said Römer-Heitman

The end of sanctions would enable SA to exploit its superior technology in significant niche markets "The SA industry was forced to reinvent the wheel, and in many cases made a better job of it"

MICK COLLINS reports that an analyst said with the official lifting of the UN oil

embargo SA could now import crude on the open market "although this has been taking place unofficially all along"

He said there was no reason why the oil industry should retain its cloak of secrecy. All the restrictions had been removed so deregulation should be speeded up

Transnet economist Mike Schussler said Sasol's Natref refinery had been receiving oil from Kuwait and therefore some of the coal-to-petrol processes had been switched to the cheaper oil-to-petrol method

But the consumer was still paying a premium on petrol. "This should now fall away. The National Economic Forum's liquid fuels task force should be looking at the structure of the petrol price."

He said the end of the embargo could prompt international oil companies to consider expanding their investments in SA.

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# Meiring to head defence force

Star 25/5/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Defence Minister, Joe Modise yesterday announced the appointment of General Georg Meiring as the Chief of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) for five years.

The appointment was approved at Monday's first Cabinet meeting.

Modise said Meiring's task was to "build a legitimate, credible and fully representative" defence force.

"Our defence force has to be a balanced, modern and technologically advanced military force with internationally accepted professional norms and standards, capable of executing its functions in terms of the constitution."

The Minister said methods of integrating the various statutory and non-statutory forces had been studied for the past four months. The non-statutory forces were now gathering at assembly points for a selection process.

Preliminary training had already begun at the



Modise . . . ANC is opposed to conscription

(254)  
assembly points. Training to afford all in the new defence force an equal opportunity would start within the next few days, Modise said.

He added that the ANC was opposed to conscription, and participation in the defence force during peacetime would be voluntary.

The Minister said the size of the defence force would initially swell with the integration of the various armed formations, but a force of 70 000 soldiers was being envisaged. He said the Budget would initially have to accommodate the enlarged defence force before rationalisation took place.

# Arms and the ban



## UN lifts embargo and reins in SA's 'loose cannon' munitions industry

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

**A**FTER 17 years the United Nations Security Council today officially lifts its mandatory arms embargo on South Africa — an embargo which, in 1977, spawned a huge, and very secretive armaments industry.

At the time South Africa was warned that the world was in earnest about the need for peaceful change in the country and that the sanctions were meant to persuade the government to heed the view of the international community before the situation deteriorated even further.

But the Minister of Defence at the time, P W Botha, was as defiant as ever. His response to the embargo was to assert that South Africa was self-sufficient in the production and maintenance of armaments needed against terrorism.

By then, significant progress had already been made in the provisioning of armaments required for a conventional onslaught against the country. Small and heavy calibre weapons, as well as the necessary ammunition, were being made locally.

From 1963 there had been attempts to have a mandatory UN arms embargo imposed but the vetoes of the big Western countries had prevented this. Many countries in the meantime imposed voluntary embargoes.

By 1977 these countries — especially Britain and the United States — had grown tired of waiting for signs of meaningful change in the South African government's apartheid policies.

The embargo they backed triggered the growth of the armaments industry under the aegis of the Armaments Corporation (Armcor), and the industry grew to tremendous proportions, not only

through a number of private contractors and subsidiaries. In 1992 it split its own manufacturing efforts into a State-owned private company Denel. This now controls about 60 percent of manufacturing with the rest spread among other smaller companies.

According to a Denel spokesman this was to allow the company to use technology developed in the armaments field in other technological and commercial areas.

Denel is a conglomerate of companies offering scientific and engineering services, and includes an aerospace division.

It has developed Greensat, a low-orbiting satellite in which international buyers have shown an interest.

The Rooivalk helicopter gunship, recently on display at an air fair in England, has also drawn considerable international interest.

Armcor continues to promote Denel's products internationally while remaining a procurement agency for the defence force.

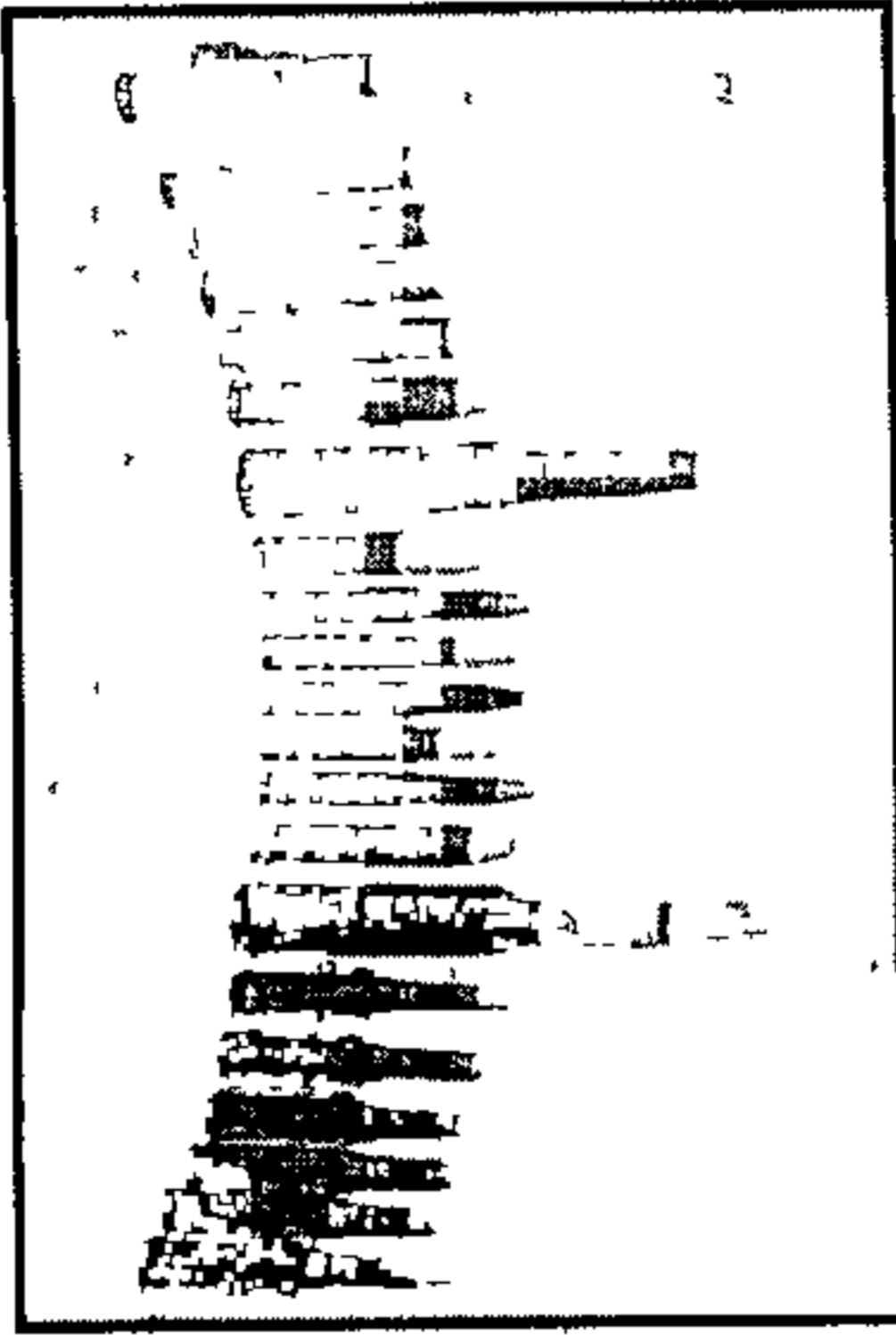
In spite of all its claims about its achievements, economic experts doubt whether Armcor can be described as a commercial success in the real sense of the word.

According to Democratic Party financial spokesman Ken Andrew, it is a "racing certainty" that, with all the secrecy and undue influence of the military in the country's budget in the time of P W Botha, there must have been considerable wastage, empire building and possibly corruption.

Referring to the Armcor claim that it provided jobs for so many people, he said it was never disclosed how much these jobs cost. Taxpayers' money could have been used more cost-effectively in providing jobs in other sectors.

The money used for the armaments industry could also

**UN lifts embargo** and reins in SA's 'loose cannon' munitions industry  
254 ~~238~~ ARL 25/5/92



FOR SALE A range of shells made in South Africa.



FOR SALE: The Rooivalk is arousing foreign interest

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very severe armaments industry

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By 1977 these countries — especially Britain and the United States — had grown tired of waiting for signs of meaningful change in the South African government's apartheid policies.

The embargo they backed triggered the growth of the armaments industry under the aegis of the Armaments Corporation (Armcor), and the industry grew to tremendous proportions, not only producing arms for the South African Defence Force but also arms to be sold clandestinely all over the world.

It sucked up countless billions of rands of taxpayers' money without any proper account ever being given to the public of where the money went.

Armcor was basically accountable only to an inner circle of mainly defence figures around P W Botha when he was Minister of Defence and later president.

The total onslaught mentality — that South Africa was in fact already involved in a low-intensity war — had been built up in South Africa since the late sixties and it was to increase considerably at the time of the UN move in 1977. The South African govern-

ment and Chile. The latter was the only country for a long time where South Africa could display arms at an international arms fair.

Accusations and rumours about where South African arms were being sold drew no reaction from Armcor or were routinely denied.

Somalia, Libya, Sudan, Ethiopia and Sri Lanka were some of the countries mentioned. South African long-range cannons emerged in the Gulf war, on the side of Iraq. There also appear to have been sales to other countries in the Arab world.

By 1987 the then Defence Minister Magnus Malan boasted that South Africa was among the top dozen arms exporters in the world.

Speaking two days after the anniversary of the 10th year of the arms embargo, he said Armcor had been outstandingly successful in keeping up with modern technology and was one of the great success stories of South Africa.

By 1983 Armcor was said to have assets of more than R1 200-million and was at that stage producing a wide range of weapons, especially missiles and rockets. There was also the G-6 self-propelled artillery system.

In 1987 Armcor was said to have an annual turnover of R3-billion and was employing 90 000 people. It was thought to be South Africa's fourth-biggest employer.

It was then claimed that South Africa was exporting more than 4 000 products to 23 countries, most of them UN members. Its most successful exports were a range of artillery pieces.

In 1988 South Africa was said to be among the world's top 10 weapons exporters.

Although Armcor often claimed successes both in the quality and range of its products a large part of Armcor's efforts appeared to be adaptations and improvements of existing weapons, especially those developed abroad for Nato.

Because of the huge costs, it was impossible for South Africa to develop and build modern fighter planes beyond the largely obsolete Impala. It was in this area especially that the SADF was falling behind — a fact shown in the Angolan war.

Through the years Armcor spread part of its activities

spokesman. It was to a company to use technology developed in the armaments field in other technological and commercial areas.

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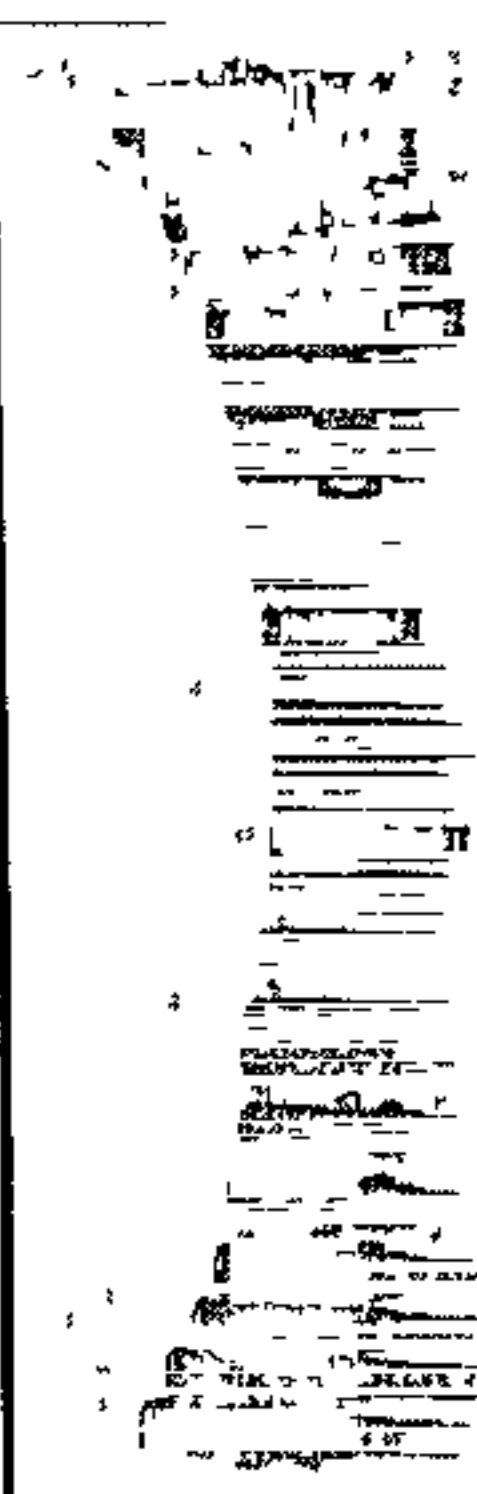
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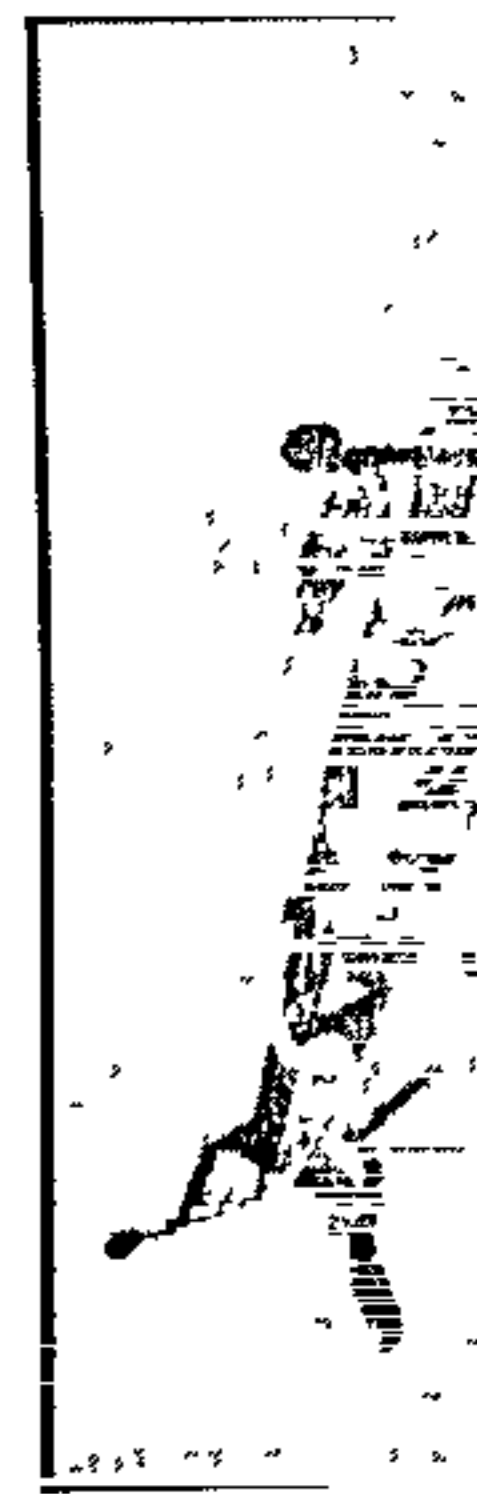
The money used for the armaments industry could also have been used in education, housing and infrastructural needs, according to Mr Andrew.

When the arms embargo was introduced, the United States ambassador to the UN at the time, Andrew Young, said he was fully aware of South Africa's ability to manufacture the weapons it needed. But, he argued, the massive capital outlay and the huge running costs were the real sanction imposed on the country.

The accuracy of his words may never be known, so selective has been the operation of the industry. But today the need for it comes to an end, and the capital outlay of billions of rands gives a clue to what the real cost of the embargo was.



FOR SALE A range of shells made in South Africa



FOR SALE The Rooivalk is arousing foreign interest

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DEFENCE *FM 27/5/94*  
**Calmer counsel**

**Defence Minister** Joe Modise confirmed this week that the formation of a new national defence force will mean an increase in the defence budget — but cuts will be possible through rationalisation in the long term

At a press conference in Cape Town to announce the appointment of SADF chief General Georg Meiring as head of the SA National Defence Force, Modise said the integration of various armed formations would inevitably mean the creation of a large force, which will have cost implications

Neither Modise nor Meiring was willing to speculate on details of the defence allocation in next month's Budget, but military analysts believe it will need to increase by at least R2bn in nominal terms over last year to cope with the cost of integration (*Current Affairs* May 20) *(254)*

Modise says it has been agreed after a process of negotiation that a force of 70 000 will be adequate to defend SA and play a role in stabilising the region. He adds that the integration of the forces is progressing

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**Meiring**

smoothly and formal training is due to begin within the next few days. He believes the pitfalls that faced the National Peace-keeping Force will be avoided with the help of the British military training group, BMatt, which is as-

sisting with the integration and by more thorough preparation. He says members of "nonstatutory" forces who cannot be accommodated in the SANDF could be dealt with in a services brigade so that people would not simply be "thrown on to the street"

Modise says the formation of a modern and efficient SANDF also has to be seen in the light of government's social upliftment programme and the role it could play in reconstruction & development. Funds allocated to the defence force would, therefore, be money well spent. He admits that he was once among the critics who accused government of pouring money into the "bottomless pit" of the SADF but says he now realises that realities are different *(254)*

Meiring (54) says he regards his five-year appointment as an opportunity to play a part in the formation of a truly legitimate, modern and professional defence force of the highest standard ■

# Apla 6 000 'included' in integrated SANDF

Biday 27/5/94

CAPE TOWN — Six thousand members of the PAC's armed wing, Apla, would be included in the SA National Defence Force, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said after meeting President Nelson Mandela yesterday.

The number could rise to 10 000, Makwetu said.

Speaking on the steps of Tuynhuys after their meeting, Mandela said he had asked the PAC leader for a list of PAC members who could be included in the new government's civil service and diplomatic corps.

Mandela said Apla members had fought and suffered. They should be included even though they applied for membership after the cutoff date for inclusion of non-statutory forces in the SANDF.

Mandela said his discussions with Makwetu were part of a continuing attempt to forge unity.

He said he was encouraged by the co-operation he was receiving from other political parties and welcomed a loyal parliamentary opposition.

"The role of the opposition is to

draw attention to those things we may not be alive to," Mandela said.

Meanwhile, independent military analyst Jakkie Cillier said the costs of integrating disparate forces into the SANDF threatened stability.

Cilliers said he did not believe the SANDF could absorb all potential recruits, including 25 000 members of the ANC's armed wing, 9 000 to 14 000 former homeland soldiers and 3 000 to 6 000 Apla members.

At least an additional R1bn added to the defence budget was necessary for the integration of regular and guerrilla armies.

Cilliers was speaking at a conference held to release a report on a joint investigation by his independent Institute for Defence Policy and the HSRC into the deployment of the National Peacekeeping Force in East Rand townships earlier this year.

He asked why it had been deployed on the East Rand — "with the volatile ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party tensions — when it was identified by many as being an ANC-partial force".

Cilliers said conversion of the force into an alternative to the SAP's internal stability division or integration

into the division would have enabled the SAP to concentrate on crime prevention and community-based policing in the area.

There would remain for many years to come a requirement for a public order police force in addition to a community police service.

The report described the NPKF as an "expensive exercise in futility", and presented several options for the force, now confined to barracks in Bloemfontein and Cape Town.

Among the options were  
 Conversion training as a fifth arm of the SANDF; and  
 Training as a separate public order force. (ZSA) (SAP)

The report added there should be no question of the SANDF being kept permanently in the East Rand townships — it should be withdrawn after a period of overlap with the police.

"The SADF, an initially illegitimate force, through the support it publicly received from the ANC and its effective operations in the eyes of the community, succeeded in earning legitimacy over time, therefore legitimacy bestows authority" — Sapa-Reuter

## POLITICS

# PAC, DP may get public service jobs

By TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — President Nelson Mandela has raised the possibility of including members of the DP and PAC in the public service.

Mandela pledged members and supporters of all parties would be welcome to apply for jobs in the public and foreign service and military.

After holding discussions with DP acting leader Tony Leon and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu, he requested that the parties draw up lists of members who could fill top posts.

Mandela said he was determined that the country should follow an inclusive approach to national building that involved all parties.

Mandela said the process of cross-party dialogue and co-operation in which "leaders put their hands together" would continue for as long as he was president.

Mandela said he was adamant that all political parties had to become part of an inclusive process of tackling the country's challenges.

Mandela did not exclude the idea of bringing leaders of smaller parties into the executive although he added that that having a loyal opposition was a critical factor for democracy.

Leon said he did not seek specific jobs for DP members "although the President did raise this matter in the context of his inclusive and welcome approach to nation-building".

The meeting had been "a very cordial and warm exchange".

# Attempt to retain local govt bodies

By WILSON ZWANE

THE CP-dominated Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA) resolved yesterday to push for the prolongation of the life of the transitional local government co-ordinating committees, saying this would contribute significantly to peace.

TMA vice-president Paul Fouche said his organisation did not think it was possible for local government elections to be held in the immediate future, given the logistics involved. As a result, the organisation thought the extension of the life of the co-ordinating committees would be in the best interests of the country, as it would contribute towards peace.

Fouche said the organisation decided at a meeting yesterday to ask CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg to prevail upon President Nelson Mandela to accede to this demand.

In terms of the Local Government Transition Act, negotiations should be embarked upon to create the joint local government councils and the co-ordinating committees which will run municipal affairs until elections are held.

The local government elections are scheduled for early next year. But the TMA wants the co-ordinating

committees to operate for the same length of time as the government of national unity.

The Act stipulates that should a dispute arise over the setting up of the joint councils, provincial premiers can intervene and appoint co-ordinating committees.

Fouche said his organisation was opposed to the joint councils and favoured the co-ordinating committees because, to a large extent, they maintained the status quo.

Unlike the joint councils, the committees would not consist of non-statutory bodies.

However, the TMA had come to accept that the councils were inevitable in metropolitan areas such as Johannesburg. "But we still advise our members there to opt for the co-ordinating committees," Fouche said.

According to Fouche, there are 66 CP-controlled municipalities in the former Transvaal.

Meanwhile the North East Rand Forum, comprising Kempton Park, Tembisa, Edenvale and Modderfontein, meets this evening to debate the type of local authority for the area.

# Powell is Inkatha's 'defence minister'

By DAVID GREYBE

Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute in Durban was appointed shadow minister for finance and "government spending". His deputy in both portfolios is Dennis Madide, the former KwaZulu government finance minister. Madide was also appointed health spokesman.

Other appointments included:

- Labour — Ben Skosana;
- Agriculture — Senator Geoffrey Bengu;
- Mineral and energy affairs — Eric Lucas;
- Trade and industry — Hennie Becker;
- Welfare — Inca Mars;
- Home affairs — Ziba Jiyane;
- Posts, telecommunications and broadcasting — Suzanne Vos;
- Environment — Peter Smith;
- Public enterprises, and housing — Mandla Msomi;
- Education — Lionel Mshali;
- Deputy education spokesman — Faithi Gaza; and
- Sport and recreation — Maureen Nzimande.

The appointment of spokesmen for, among others, land affairs, public works, and transport was deferred until a later date, an Inkatha source said.

CAPE TOWN — The Inkatha Freedom Party parliamentary caucus yesterday appointed controversial Inkatha senator Phillip Powell as its shadow defence minister, and firebrand Transvaal PWV leader Themba Khoza as his deputy.

SA Police Services spokesman Maj Bala Naidoo said from Durban yesterday Powell was wanted by police for questioning in connection with a home-made weapon allegedly found in his car last month.

Naidoo said representatives of the SAPS legal department had been in contact with Powell's legal adviser "Hopefully we will resolve this issue by next Monday and be able to interview Powell," he said.

Naidoo denied reports that Powell had gone into hiding to avoid the police. Powell is at the centre of a number of controversies connected with Inkatha, allegedly involving the setting up of training camps for so-called self-protection units.

Another controversial Inkatha figure and former KwaZulu deputy minister of works VB Ndlovu, was appointed safety and security spokesman.

Inkatha hardliner Walter Felgate was chosen as constitutional development spokesman, while former CP MP Kooos van der Merwe was appointed justice and deputy foreign affairs spokesman.

# Inkatha, ANC youth team up

# AUCTION

# 6 000 Apla cadres to join SANDF

Sowetan

27/5/94

■ PAC LEADER Announcement

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

**U**P TO 6 000 Azanian People's Liberation Army cadres had applied to join the new South African National Defence Force, PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu said in Cape Town yesterday

Addressing journalists at Tuynhuys after holding discussions with President Nelson Mandela, the Pan Africanist Congress MP and party president said that 10 000 Apla soldiers would eventually sign up with the SANDF

Mandela announced that Makwetu would hand over a list of PAC members who would be placed in various departments of the revamped civil service

This would include placings in the diplomatic corps and this meant PAC members could be appointed to ambassadorial posts throughout the world

Mandela said his meeting with

after meeting with President Mandela:

Makwetu, whose party polled a mere 1,3 percent in the April 27 election, was part of his strategy of total unity despite Apla's late application to join the SANDF (S) (254)

Yesterday's announcements, made on the second day of parliamentary debate on Mandela's historic "state of the nation" address of national reconciliation, underscored his commitment to accommodating those parties on the left and right which had stayed out of the transitional structures created through multiparty negotiations

These parties, said Mandela, would be accommodated subject to the interim constitutional provisions

To crown his commitment, Mandela on Wednesday also met Conservative

Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg on the question of "the Afrikaner demand for a *volkstaat*".

That meeting, held at Tuynhuys, is a forerunner to full-blown talks between rightwing parties, CP, Freedom Front and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging scheduled for Monday in Pretoria

Those talks would be an historic first four-way encounter between FF leader General Constand Vjoen, AWB chief Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, Hartzenberg and Mandela. Meanwhile, debate continued in the 490-member National Assembly yesterday on the President's address and will end today

● Parliament will reconvene on June 20 in preparation for Budget day two days later

# SA arms exports 'likely to double'

BIDAY 27/5/94

PRETORIA — The lifting of the UN arms embargo against SA was expected to more than double the country's arms exports for the current year to R1,8bn, Armscor chief Tielman de Waal said yesterday (254)

The increase in armaments deals could lead to about 20 000 more jobs in the industry, De Waal told a media conference called by the armaments procurement company to welcome Wednesday's lifting of mandatory and voluntary arms boycotts by the UN security council

"The lifting of these resolutions is very significant. It will result in the normalisation of SA's international arms trade," De Waal said, adding that Armscor was now able to conduct its business openly.

However, Armscor did not foresee that the lifting of the embargo would substantially change procurement patterns, except that foreign procurement would no longer have to be conducted in secret and could be conducted in a more cost-effective manner, he said

Defence exports by SA had recently increased to more than R800m a year, but, because of the arms embargo, SA had a small share of the international market — less than 0,5%.

More than 15 000 defence industry jobs were currently dependent on exports, he said. "We estimate that an increase in defence exports by more than R1bn for the

STEPHANE BOTHMA

current year is possible."

SA manufactured top-of-the-range defence equipment such as the Rooikat armoured vehicle, the Rooivalk attack helicopter, mine-resistant vehicles, frequency-hopping radios and the G-5 and G-6 guns.

Africa was not a main target. He believed SA products could be sold in Europe and the Far East because they were on a par with European and US weaponry

SA would also now be able to buy on the international market, but all deals would depend on counter-trade agreements.

Although he had not yet discussed the issue with President Nelson Mandela, official talks with Defence Minister Joe Modise indicated government supported SA arms exports, De Waal said.

Because of cuts in the SA National Defence Force budget, the country's arms industry was dependent on exports. Armscor deals already made up 4% of the total of manufactured goods exported by SA

De Waal said SA had in the past exported a selection of armaments, including rifles, mortars and hand grenades, to Rwanda. These were valued at about R100m

However, Armscor had halted the supply late last year after civil war had broken out in the country. Orders worth about R35m had been cancelled.



## 'Role for NPKF in new force'

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The failed National Peacekeeping Force and controversial internal stability division should be incorporated into a new arm of the defence force which would be responsible for public order policing, a defence policy think-tank said yesterday.

The proposed fifth arm of the SA National Defence Force, incorporating military commando structures, would also be used for border duties and rural police work, the Institute for Defence Policy said.

This would free the regular army to concentrate on national defence, international peacekeeping and disaster relief.

The police could focus on community policing and crime prevention and work to repair their image.

(254) 027/5194  
"Public order policing and community policing are not reconcilable," IDP director Mr Jakkie Cilliers told a media briefing where he released a comprehensive report on the National Peacekeeping Force — Sapa

# 6 000 PAC men to join SANDF

Political Staff

SIX THOUSAND members of the Pan-Africanist Congress' armed wing, Apla, will be included in the SA National Defence Force, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said after meeting President Nelson Mandela yesterday

The number could rise to 10 000, he said

Speaking on the steps of Tuynhuys after their meeting, Mr Mandela said he had asked the PAC leader for a list of PAC members who could be included in the new government's civil service and diplomatic corps

He said Apla members had fought and suffered. They should be included, even though they had applied for membership after the cut-off date for inclusion of non-statutory forces in the SANDF. He said his discussions with Mr Makwetu were part of an on-

going attempt to forge unity "As long as I am President, I think this dialogue should continue"

He was encouraged by the co-operation he was receiving from other political parties, he said

On Wednesday Mr Mandela met Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, and next week he will meet AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche

Before meeting Mr Makwetu, Mr Mandela held an hour-long meeting with acting Democratic Party leader Mr Tony Leon

Mr Mandela said he welcomed a loyal parliamentary opposition. "The fact that people differ with us is no reason why we should not give attention to their ideas. The role of the opposition is to draw attention to those things we may not be alive to" — Sapa

CT 27/5/94 (254)

# UN lifts arms ban

CT 27/5/94 (254) ~~254~~

**SOUTH AFRICAN arms exports are expected to more than double to R1,8 billion in the next year, creating about 20 000 jobs, following the lifting of the United Nations arms embargo.**

This was said yesterday by Armscor's executive general manager, Mr Tielman de Waal

At a press conference in Pretoria he said "We estimate that an increase of defence exports by more than R1bn for the current year is possible"

Welcoming the UN move, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said "Should South Africa's present 0,4% share in the world armaments market be increased to only one percent, this will result in 20 000 new job opportunities"

The arms industry is one of the largest exporters of manufactured goods in the country Armscor built up a sophisticated arms industry after mandatory and voluntary arms sanctions were imposed against South Africa 17 years ago because of apartheid

The United Nations Security Council scrapped the embargo on Wednesday

The council's unanimous action was taken at a meeting held, symbolically, on Africa Day and addressed by Deputy President Mr Thabo Mkebi

Mr De Waal said the move was "very significant" as it opened access to international suppliers and markets

## Jobs for 20 000 likely

and measures would be announced that "will make it possible to have maximum openness and answerability on our export sales"

"Foreign procurement will no longer have to be conducted in secret and can be conducted in a more cost-effective manner," he said

Because of South Africa's polecat status in the world, Armscor deals were conducted in the utmost secrecy. The corporation was entitled by law to refuse comment to newspapers on matters it did not wish to respond to — and could also insist that its "no comment" not be published

Possible markets for arms exports were the Far East, Middle East, Europe and Africa, Mr De Waal said

He said Africa would not be Armscor's main target market. SA products could be sold in Europe and the Far East as they were on par with European and American weaponry. Mr De Waal stressed that all deals would depend on counter-trade agreements

"The defence industry has a substantial range of top quality defence and security products to offer and we believe exports could increase substantially in the next few years"

Among weapons earmarked for export were artillery, including the long-range G5 and G6 guns, "frequency hopping radios", the Rooikat armoured vehicle and Rooikat helicopter, and mine-resistant and mine-clearing vehicles

The British defence establishment recently expressed keen interest in Rooikat helicopters displayed there

Mr De Waal said SA defence exports had recently increased to more than R800m a year, but as a result of the arms embargo, SA had a very small share of the international market — less than 0,5% — estimated to be worth more than \$40bn (about R144bn)

At present more than 15 000 jobs in the defence industry were dependent on exports, Mr De Waal said

He said that although he had not yet officially discussed the issue with President Nelson Mandela, talks with Mr Modise indicated the government supported arms exports by SA

Mr Modise said that although the defence industry raised moral and political questions, in reality it could contribute significantly to reconstruction and development

There need be no fear that arms and equipment would fall into the wrong hands, he said. The trade had to be conducted in a responsible and accountable manner

Mr Modise said he was delighted that the embargo belonged to the past — Staff Reporter, Sapa-Reuter

# Pebco Three follows in the wake of Goniwe case

PAT CANDIDO  
Weekend Argus Reporter

ARG 28/5/94  
PAT CANDIDO (254)  
PORT ELIZABETH. — After the Goniwe inquest reaches its climax here today, the spotlight will fall on another of South Africa's great unsolved political crimes — the disappearance in 1985 of three United Democratic Front activists known as the "Pebco Three".

Eastern Cape Judge President Neville Zietsman hands down his inquest findings today on the murder of UDF activist Matthew Goniwe and three others.

But, about the same time nine years ago, Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation secretary general Siphso Hashe, president Qaqawuli Godolozzi and the organisation's organising secretary, Champion Galata all of Kwazakhele disappeared off the face of the earth.

That night, the Pebco Three left Mr Hashe's home and went to the airport in response to a telephone call which invited them to meet a member of the British Embassy.

The three men were never seen again and several applications, all unsuccessful, were made in the Port Elizabeth Supreme court calling on the security police to produce the men.

Now their families are hoping that, with a new government and the re-opening of the Goniwe inquest on the instructions of former President F W De Klerk, something will be done to trace the three men.

Mr Hashe's widow Mothobile, mother of nine, who hawks vegetables to earn a living, has called on President Mandela to do all in his power to find out what happened to the men. Mrs Hashe appealed to Mr Mandela to go into the matter with her attorney Priscilla Jana.

She said their children kept mentioning their father's name.

She said the former government should know the fate of the men because people saw them when they were arrested at the airport on the night they disappeared.

"If our men were killed ... we must be told so," she said.

Perhaps there may be some hope. It has taken a decade and two judicial inquests for the families of Matthew Goniwe; Cradock teacher and activist Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli to come close to hearing a verdict — a day they never thought they would see.

The inquest has run for more than a year at a cost of nearly R3 million. The gallery, benches and corridors of the supreme court are expected to be packed when Mr Justice Zietsman hands down his finding.

Some observers feared it could be something of a damp squib now that those in charge at the time are no longer in power. Many of the witnesses have left the police and defence force.

During the hearing, fears were raised that the finding could be used by politicians in the run-up to the elections.

The judge faces a formidable task. Were the deaths of the Cradock Four the result of a conspiracy between army officers Joffel van der Westhuizen, Lourens du Plessis, Johannes van Rensburg and policemen Harold Snyman and Eric Winter?

Legal representatives for the family maintain this is a key question. As the head of Eastern Province command and the local joint management centre, General van der Westhuizen, later to become head of military intelligence and who retired recently, allegedly instructed his staff officer Colonel Du Plessis to send a secret military signal to General Van Rensburg at the state security council in Pretoria.

The signal sent on June 7, 1985, called for the "permanent removal" of Mr Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Mr Calata.

Three weeks later the charred and mutilated bodies of the Cradock Four were found in dense bush. It appeared attempts had been made to burn the bodies beyond recognition. Both counsel for the SADF and police said suggestions of security police or SADF involvement in the killings were pure speculation with no concrete evidence whatsoever.

The inquest findings will also impact on a civil actions. The widows are collectively claiming R1,6 million in damages from the government

# Spooks unmask gavel

## Craddock Four verdict to raise spectre of apartheid strategy and amnesty

ARGUS 28/5/14 (254)

■ A significant verdict in South African political history will be delivered today in the Eastern Cape.

### PATRICK LAURENCE

Weekend Argus Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH** — Judgment will be given today in the landmark inquest into the deaths of the Craddock Four — Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli

It is up to the presiding officer, the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman, to decide in the supreme court in Port Elizabeth, whether there is a *prima facie* case implicating the security forces

If this is indeed his finding, will he recommend that mur-

der charges be pressed and what bearing will such a decision have on the issue of amnesty for politically-motivated crimes and national reconciliation?

It is well-documented that the four activists left Craddock on June 27 1985 for Port Elizabeth and were going home when they were murdered near Bluewater Bay, on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth

At the first inquest, held in a magistrate's court, presiding officer E de Beer concluded the men were killed by unknown persons

But, in May 1992, the New Nation published a military signal which led to the re-opening last year of the inquest, under Judge Zietsman

Evidence was that senior Staff Officer Lourens Du Plessis sent, on the orders of Brigadier Joffel Van der Westhuizen, the signal message to General Johannes Janse Van Rensburg

It was dated June 7, 1985 and referred to Mr Goniwe, his brother, Mbulelo, and Mr Calata

Twenty days later, the Craddock Four were dead

The message, marked Top Secret, had said, in part "It is proposed that the above-mentioned people should be permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency"

Counsel for the families contended that the words "permanently removed" meant they were to be killed, and that the phrase was military code language authorising their murder

They noted Mr Goniwe was considered to be an "enemy of state", that the Eastern Cape was in a state of political turmoil at the time, and that the security forces' counter-revolutionary strategy included "eliminating" revolutionary leaders

Staff Officer Du Plessis also

testified that "permanently removed" meant killing the four

But the value of his evidence was reduced when he admitted, under cross-examination, that there was a 50 percent chance he could be wrong

Counsel for the SADF, Mr Anton Mostert, SC, offered an innocent interpretation of the words "permanently removed", arguing that they meant long-term detention

But, his legal opponents countered, if detention was under consideration, why had the signal message not said so in plain, unequivocal language?

The law provided for detention without trial and there was no need to use ambiguous language, they argued

There were two further objections to the innocent explanation

■ Mr Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo, and Mr Calata were detained for more than six months in 1984 and there was

no abatement in the revolutionary turmoil in the Eastern Cape

■ The SADF did not make the signal available to investigators at the time of the inquest under Magistrate De Beer

If it was a legally permissible order, why was it withheld?

According to the legal team for the families, led by Mr George Bizos, SC, police officers were involved in the conspiracy and carried out the murders

It was common cause they had kept Mr Goniwe under surveillance

A "bug" was planted in his home, so they would have known, in advance, about his unscheduled visit to Port Elizabeth

Circumstantial evidence heightened suspicions of police involvement

Mr Goniwe's car number plate was removed and a false one left at the scene of the murder.

Several parking tickets, eventually withdrawn by a state prosecutor, were issued against the false number plate when the vehicle was parked in Strand Street, Port Elizabeth, near the headquarters of the security police

During his evidence, Brigadier Van der Westhuizen conceded the murders were well-planned and well-executed

He agreed that only the security forces had the capacity to carry out the killings

Asked by Judge Zietsman whether he knew of any organisation beyond the security forces which could have carried out the murders, he replied "No, Your Honour"

Craddock security policeman Eric Winter agreed

**GENERAL** Georg Meiring is the ultimate professional soldier: conservative by nature but innovative; authoritarian but adaptable.

He is not doctrinaire except on the issue of defence force standards

For a man labelled a hardliner he has shown a remarkable capacity for flexibility. The "reality" to which he refers constantly is about cold assessment, not the heated passion of ideology

Yet his reconciliation with the ANC, his transformation from hawk to dove, after years of full-blooded confrontation is one of the miracles of transition

A clue to how this leopard changed his spots to win the confidence of his former enemies is in the first lines of a groundbreaking paper he presented in November, setting out his vision for the future of the defence force

# General Georg Meiring — from hawk to dove

## PETER de IONNO looks at the man to whom Defence Minister Joe Modise this week entrusted the running of South Africa's military for the next five years

"It is a reality that if one does not plan one's own future that someone else may do it for you and you may not like what you eventually get," he said

The paper, emphasising legitimacy, high standards of preparedness within a non-threatening posture, acceptance of integration and commitment to

national development helped settle the controversy around his appointment to succeed General Kat Liebenberg as Chief of the SADF

There was never any doubt that General Meiring is ideally qualified. His 30-year experience is unusually broad, and it was accepted that he commanded the

loyalty of the SADF and could be counted on to pull it through what was widely expected to be a turbulent and violent election

The distrust was understandable. The NP had tainted the SADF's protestations of no political allegiances by keeping it in reserve, out of negotiations. It was perceived as

come from a fighting arm, infantry, armour or artillery, to take command. It just isn't done.

"His strength is that he is a realist, a soldier who appreciates that you can only achieve limited objectives by military action

"The fact that he was given a fighting command in South West (Africa) from 1983 and stayed until 1987 is an indication that Constand Viljoen and Janne Geldenhuys had discovered somebody special in Georg Meiring. He was being groomed from the early days"

He is a challenging taskmaster. "He tends to think like a scientist, he does things systematically and he expects the same from his subordinates," said one of his advisers

"He tends to be quite far ahead of anybody speaking to him. Sometimes it most distracting. If you are talking rubbish he knows long before you do

"He is not one of those people who talk

the white minority's ace in the hole

These perceptions of partiality were underlined by General Meiring himself. In a series of unsubstantiated allegations about MK plots and in his outright resistance to integration of MK into the SADF he stood against the ANC

knows it all, but if he does appreciate something you have done he is a bit shy about revealing it

"He is not a relaxable kind of person. There is always some tension about him. Even when I socialise with him I am always sitting on the edge of my chair."

A rare glimpse of gentleness behind the steely facade is revealed in a long letter replying to a 14-year-old student's request for personal details from his hero. "If you accept challenges, believe in yourself and in God, you will make a success of your career," General Meiring told the lad.

Soothing the boy's fears, General Meiring wrote "I is wrong to speak of the 'new South Africa'. There will be changes in the political and legal terrain, but this does not mean we will find ourselves in a new land."

"We in the army realise a few years ago that there would be changes in our land. We could have ignored the signals, behaved passively and hoped for the best. We felt that was not what we should do."

These are the words of a pragmatist. As the defence buckles down to historical change, he will see through, even if it was through his choosing. General Meiring will do his duty.

speed with which trust has developed between General Meiring and Mr Joe Modise, the new Defence Minister. Direct contact between the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe was forbidden until April last year.

In taking the job in the face of Mr Modise's plans to establish a civilian department of defence which will be responsible for policy, personnel and finance, General Meiring has tacitly accepted that his power will be diluted.

Georg Lodewyk Meiring was born in Ladybrand, in the Free State province, on October 18, 1939. His five-year service contract will keep him employed past the usual defence force retirement age of 55. General Meiring's advisers refused to allow an interview for this profile, but a handful of his past and present general-staff colleagues were prepared to discuss Meiring the man on condition that they were not identified.

All seized on his scientific background — he received an MSc (physics) from the University of the Free State in 1962 — and his military origins in signals as key factors in his development.

"His only problem is that he is a signaller," said a headquarters colleague. "It is always a challenge for someone who does not



MEETING CHALLENGE . . Georg Meiring — the ultimate professional soldier Picture CECIL SOLS

Widow's case against State 'stronger'

# Goniwe: general may be charged

BY MICHAEL SPARKS

The finding of the inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe and three other eastern Cape activists has raised the possibility that retired General Joffel van der Westhuizen could be charged with incitement to murder

Saturday's finding, which blamed unnamed security force members for the murders, also strengthened the civil cases of the four widows, according to lawyers.

If Van der Westhuizen is charged with incitement to the murders of the four activists and former Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe, as well as perjury, he could be forced to reveal details of the controversial Operation

STAT 3015194  
**RETIRED general Joffel van der Westhuizen might be charged with incitement to murder in light of finding**

(254) (254) Katzen in his own defence, according to sources close to the case

In the inquest into the murders of Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicele Mhlawuli on June 27 1985, Van der Westhuizen refused to answer questions on Operation Katzen on the grounds that he could incriminate himself

Katzen was a plan drawn up by Van der Westhuizen which

would have resulted in Sebe being killed to install a conservative-black, anti-ANC faction in the eastern Cape.

Speaking from Port Elizabeth, Goniwe's widow, Nyameka, said last night she was convinced the inquest finding made the civil case of herself and the other three widows much stronger. The widows are suing the State for R1,6 million

Giving the inquest verdict in Port Elizabeth on Saturday, Eastern Cape Judge-President Mr Justice Zietsman said he was satisfied that when Van der Westhuizen sent the signal calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and two others, he had meant they should be killed

► Security forces fingered - Page 7



# Group recommends arms export policy

Star 30/5/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Guidelines for South Africa's post-apartheid arms industry, compiled by a multiparty working group, have been referred to the Ministry of Defence for decision.

The draft policy document, drafted by representatives of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Armscor and the Association of Arms Manufacturers, is due to be released this week.

## Exports (254)

The document strongly recommends an export-oriented arms industry following the lifting of the arms boycott against South Africa last week.

Noting that South African arms industry exports constituted less than 1 percent of the

international export market, the group said exporting arms was essential as the industry could not be solely dependent on the South African National Defence Force for its market.

The document proposed that a Defence Ministry committee be established to determine to which countries South Africa would be exporting.

The working group was established by the former Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on defence.

It suggested that Armscor fall under the control of the Ministry of Defence but added that it was not the group's responsibility to define Armscor's future role.

In a further boost to the arms industry, it is proposed that Armscor should assist black-owned companies in meeting criteria for arms manufacturing.

Officers suspected of killing Goniwe and other activists

# Inquest fingering security forces

Port Elizabeth. A judge blamed members of the security forces on Saturday for the 1985 murders of black anti-apartheid activist Matthew Goniwe and three colleagues. "It has... been established prima facie that the murderers of Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicele Mhlawuli were members of the security forces," Mr Justice Neville Zietsman said at the end of the year-long inquest he conducted into the deaths.

Justice Zietsman held hearings in Port Elizabeth on May 29 and 30. He said the security forces were responsible for the deaths of Goniwe, Mkhonto, Calata and Mhlawuli. He also named several individuals, including Major General Joffel van der Westhuizen, as being involved in the murders.

Mr Justice Zietsman said in March, after all the evidence had been presented, that he would postpone delivering his verdict until after South Africa's historic election at the end of April.

SADF lawyers turned on each other in attempts to shift the blame. The SADF alleged that police had killed the Cradock four as well as three other community leaders and then murdered four of their own colleagues to cover up the crimes.

But he said he could not bring in a finding against specific officers.

Mr Justice Zietsman added that it could not be shown that those who carried out the murders knew of the existence of the signal.

The inquest was the second to be held into the deaths of the activists, whose hacked

President Mandela, whose ANC won 62 percent of the vote in the election, has since his inauguration stressed the need to forget past injustices and concentrate on reconciliation. — Reuter.

## Suspicion

A case of suspicion has been made out against certain members of the police force and certain members of the South African Defence Force... but suspicion does not constitute prima facie proof." Mr

Justice Zietsman ruled that the signal was adopted and carried out.

Mr Justice Zietsman said that the person or persons who murdered Matthew Goniwe and the others knew of the signal or its content," he said.

Mr Justice Zietsman said the evidence did not provide a direct link between the murderers and "the acts committed by the persons under suspicion."

## Election

Mr Justice Zietsman delivered his judgment days after Safety and Security Minister Sidney Mufamadi said policemen found guilty of excesses in defence of apartheid would be granted immunity from prosecution.

President Mandela, whose ANC won 62 percent of the vote in the election, has since his inauguration stressed the need to forget past injustices and concentrate on reconciliation. — Reuter.

Mr Justice Zietsman said the evidence did not provide a direct link between the murderers and "the acts committed by the persons under suspicion."

Mr Justice Zietsman said the evidence did not provide a direct link between the murderers and "the acts committed by the persons under suspicion."

# Goniwe inquest finding given to A-G

**PAT CANDIDO**  
**The Argus Bureau**

**PORT ELIZABETH** — The Goniwe inquest findings have been handed to the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape for a decision on whether any criminal charges against those implicated in the killings are justified.

Mike Hodgen, SC, the Deputy Attorney-General, said the full inquest findings were presented to Attorney-General Les

Roberts today

On Saturday the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman, found that the security forces murdered Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauh on June 27, 1985

But there was no prima facie evidence enabling him to pin the murders on any specific individual or group

Unless further information, which was not part of the in-

quest investigation, comes to light, it is unlikely that charges will be brought as a result of the inquest findings

The judge said suspicions had been raised against security police officers Colonel Harald Snyman, Colonel Eric Winter, General Joffel van der Westhuizen, Colonel Lourens du Plessis and General Johannes van Rensburg

Suspicion did not constitute prima facie proof, he said.

ARLT 20/5/94

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Star 31/5/94

## Light on defence industry

A draft document approved by the Transitional Executive Council as the basis for a national policy for the defence industry was released in Johannesburg yesterday.

The draft policy was produced by the TEC's sub-council on defence and approved by the TEC in April as the basis for the Government's defence industry policy.

It says because the defence industry is one of the country's major assets "it would not be in the national interest to totally discard it".

However, the new defence industry policy should be seen within broader political and

moral considerations as part of the general industrial policy for manufacturing in South Africa.

The draft document calls for retention of some of the defence industry's capabilities for military and security application. It proposes diversification and conversion to meet civilian market needs. Central to the new defence policy is the retention of research and development spending at the current level of R420 million a year.

Unless the expenditure is maintained the industry will lose its technological edge and much of its design and development capabilities, the working

document states (254)

Turning to an arms trade policy, the proposal includes the development of guidelines regarding customers of conventional armaments. A list of recipient countries should be approved by a Cabinet committee. "Armaments should be sold only to recognised governments and not to guerrilla or other movements," the document proposes.

Speaking at a news briefing in a Johannesburg hotel, Dr. André Buys, the convenor of the TEC working group which produced the proposals, stressed the document was merely a draft — Sapa

# Defence research spending stays at R420m

JOHANNESBURG — Spending on defence research and development is to remain at its level of R420 million a year, in draft proposals for the industry approved by the Transitional Executive Council in April and released yesterday.

Unless this expenditure is maintained the industry will lose its

technological edge and much of its design and development capabilities, the working document states.

A joint management system has been recommended for technology development and to co-ordinate long-term planning of all military research and development.

The draft proposals say the state should encourage private industry

to invest in defence research and development.

The document says that because the defence industry is one of the country's major assets "it would not be in the national interest to totally discard it".

The draft also proposes greater transparency and accountability to Parliament, the public and the auditor-general.

Among the other points in the draft document are

● No new industry establishment, through state funding, should be undertaken, where capabilities already exist in the private sector.

● Armaments should only be sold to recognised governments and not to guerilla or other movements.

● The arms industry should strive for diversification and conversion to meet civilian market needs.

● South Africa should refrain from trading in weapons of mass destruction.

● The country should no longer strive for complete self-sufficiency in arms.

CT 31/5/94

(254)

— Sapa

**NEWS FEATURE** *Drastic spending cuts 'not wise' • Helped bring changes in South Africa*

**By Sharon Chetty**

# Shaping defence policy

**N**ODRASTIC cuts should be made to defence spending, a task group on the industry has recommended. A working group under the Transitional Executive Council was vested with the task of looking at how a new defence industry and force should operate.

In its report, released this week, the group, which included representatives from Armscor, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the South African Air Force, suggested wide-ranging changes without seriously cutting back on the industry.

With the lifting of the United Nations arms embargo, the local industry will be exposed to international competition for the first time, and initial protection will be needed in the short term, the group argues. Their recommendations have

*wide-ranging changes in armed forces:*

**NEW LOOK** *Task group recommends*

been made public for debate and they are expected to help the government shape its defence policy.

South Africa has a modern, technologically advanced defence industry as a result of international isolation and a long period of armed conflict in Southern Africa.

It is a major national asset and it would not be in the country's interest to totally discard it, they argue. Therefore, the options are either re-

tain the industry in its present form, convert it to civilian production, or work out a combination of these.

The country's present military and security needs would not use the industry's full potential, and diversification is vital, the group says.

Local development of defence equipment played a key role in industry in South Africa — the expertise acquired in research, product design, systems engineering, quality assurance, project

management and export marketing — and should be applied to other manufacturing industries, the group suggests.

They also maintain that some of the military capabilities of the industry should be retained.

As an "important regional state" South Africa should be in a position to support neighbouring countries and deter aggression against the Southern African region.

Defence research and development also needed a "modest but sustained investment", they argue.

However, between 1989 and 1993, the defence budget was reduced by 43 percent. "A critical stage has now been reached. Further reductions in defence

equipment spending, particularly defence research and development spending, could signal the demise of the local defence industry," says the report.

The group says the current expenditure of R420 million a year on all types of defence research and development should be maintained at more or less the same level.

Another suggestion is that South Africa should refrain from trading in weapons of mass destruction.

Arms sales should take account of international embargo treaties and diplomatic relations, and armaments should only be sold to recognised governments, not to guerrilla or other movements, they recommend.

demobilisation ● Poor election showing examined

# NPKF members set to join SANDF

*Sowetan 2/6/94*

## ■ MONITOR ELECTIONS Force

**T**HE NATIONAL Peacekeeping Force would be disbanded today, Defence Minister Joe Modise said in Pretoria yesterday

Modise said the constituent forces would be returned to their home units in preparation for integration into the South African National Defence Force

He said he was following a recommendation by the National Peacekeeping Force command council, which was endorsed by the Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on defence

SANDF chief General George Meiring would oversee the demobilisation, Modise said ~~(254)~~ (254)

A passing out parade was being held for NPKF members at the force's

was withdrawn after its first outing

Koeberg base in the Cape, a source at the NPKF said Force members would also be given certificates of commendation. It was not known whether a similar parade was being held at the NPKF's De Brug base in Bloemfontein

The NPKF was formed in February to help keep peace during the April elections. After its first outing on the East Rand, however, it was withdrawn.

It is understood that about 1 200 NPKF members who came from Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of

the African National Congress, would go to the Wallmannstal assembly point north of Pretoria for incorporation

About 2 800 members from the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda defence forces will return to their forces of origin until such time those forces are incorporated into the SANDF.

It is not known what would become of the NPKF's commander, General Gabriel Ramushwana, formerly head of state and armed forces commander in Venda — Sapa



# Peacekeeping force holds final parade

## General: 'Lessons were learnt'

ROGER FRIEDMAN Staff Reporter

THE National Peacekeeping Force — mired in controversy since its formation in February — has been officially disbanded.

A symbolic demobilisation parade was held at Koeberg today.

Although the Koeberg-based 4th Battalion was never deployed, certificates of commendation were handed to 20 soldiers.

The other three battalions did short stunts on the East Rand.

Those soldiers recruited from statutory bodies including the old Defence Force and homeland armies will return to their home units. Non-statutory recruits, mainly former Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, will re-assemble at De Brug outside Bloemfontein next week.

In a short address commander-in-chief Gabriel Ramushwana said in spite of the "great controversy surrounding the formation and deployment of this force, not all has been negative".

General Ramushwana said a number of lessons learned by

the NPKE would be beneficial to the formation of the new, united, South African National Defence Force and police service.

It was unfortunate that the NPKE had not had adequate training time and had been deployed in "probably the most volatile" area in the country, "an area apparently hostile to our deployment."

"Nevertheless we did everything to the best of our ability and were becoming acceptable to the population before our withdrawal."

"Regardless of the criticism, it is my belief that we could have acquitted ourselves well given more time."

"I am proud to have served in this force."

After the parade the former Venda strongman denounced the whole NPKE exercise had been a waste of time and resources.

It was the first time in the history of the country that people from such diverse backgrounds had been brought together.

His force had provided a blueprint for the integration of the new army and police, General Ramushwana said.

## zes may be lost

scheme is absorbed into new government structures

But the good news for bondholders is that the scheme is still up and running and bonds can still be redeemed for cash.

The scheme is being run by a caretaker administration in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana's former capital, and officials say unclaimed prizes total more than R1,5 million

## Busy Queen keen to visit

DIPLOMATIC Correspondent

QUEEN Elizabeth is "looking forward" to visiting South Africa, but this could not be in the near future, a British embassy spokesman said.

He said both the South African and British governments were in favour of a visit, particularly now that South Africa had rejoined the Common-

wealth

A problem was that the Queen's programme was worked out months ahead of the time. It was therefore unlikely that it could happen within the next few months.

The Queen visited South Africa on the royal tour in 1947 when she was Princess Elizabeth. She turned 21 while in Cape Town



**RAINBOW PEOPLE:** Guests at the demobilisation parade of the National Peacekeeping Force at Koeberg came in a variety of shapes, sizes and military dress

**COMMENTED:** NPKE commander-in-chief General Gabriel Ramushwana, right, hands a certificate of commendation to one of Fourth Battalion's 20 recipients. Pictures: HANNES THIAFT The Argus





## Appeal to minister to release army objectors

Political Staff

THE conscription advice service has asked Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise to review the positions of about 170 white conscientious objectors who fell foul of "the old apartheid military system"

Spokesman Mr Richard Steele was reacting to a manpower department report, released yesterday, which reported that 130 conscientious objectors were "classified" by the board last year

An SANDF spokeswoman said last night that there were a number of legal details which had to be sorted out by the government. She could not say whether they would now be released from service.

(254) CT 2/6/94

# Hawks set their eyes on the arms bazaar (254)

WM 3-9/6/94

A government discussion paper on the arms industry argues the case for more weapons — and more civilian products, reports **Stephen Laufer**

**T**HE South African arms industry is setting its sights on an increasing piece of the international weapons trade pie, while a Transitional Executive Council working group on the industry's future has issued a study likely to anger and please producers and peaceniks alike

Weapons manufacturers have become the country's primary repository of high technology research and development skills, argues the group. They can only be sustained through the continued purchase by the South African National Defence Force of expensive equipment like the Rooivalk attack helicopter, and by exports

But there are moral and economic arguments against a free-for-all in the international arms bazaar, and efforts to convert military into civilian industrial capabilities must be strengthened, cautions the group. Armscor should become a multi-purpose government procurement agency active not only in the military field, but in large-scale civilian projects too

The working group included representatives of Armscor, the metalworkers' union, the SANDF Force, Umkhonto weSizwe, and of the armaments industry. Introducing their 43-page study this week, they said it was intended as a discussion document which should be debated publicly and in parliament

The study's apparent contradictions reflect the diverse composition of the working group. Its reasoning contains both vestiges of apartheid's efforts at military-industrial autarky and attitudes prevalent in the unions, where a staged conversion of military to civilian design and manufacturing capabilities is favoured as a precondition of greater international competitiveness in consumer-oriented industries

Proceeding from the constitution's demand for a modern, technologically advanced military, the study argues it will be cheaper in the long run for South Africa to maintain an efficient arms industry. The alternative, purchasing weapons from foreign manufacturers, would have the additional disadvantage of making South Africa dependent on other countries, argues the study

Turnover in the defence industry has plummeted by 60 percent with a loss of 65 000 jobs since the start of spending cuts in 1989. The survival of the industry, and with it much of South Africa's high-tech capabilities, are at stake, says the study. Armscor says increased defence exports could see the creation of 20 000 new jobs

But sustaining an industry capable of keeping the SANDF at the technological forefront in Africa requires the authors to define a threat which justifies spending billions of rands. This they apparently found hard to do. The study's scenarios vacillate between the general threat to South African and regional stability from weak neighbouring economies, and the big bogeyman from over the seas. Ultimately, it fails to differentiate

between threats to stability perhaps best dealt with through economic aid and civilian assistance, and those which require a military response

In one section, the analysts say "the most immediate threat to the national security of South Africa and the other states in the region is the danger of political and socio-economic collapse, exacerbated by natural disasters"

"The enemy is unlikely to be an African country operating on its own. It will either originate from outside Africa or it will at least receive substantial support from outside Africa. It must therefore be assumed the enemy will be strong and sophisticated, and industry can hardly disregard the implications of this requirement"

Keeping unit costs of such big-ticket items as fighter aircraft and attack helicopters down will require larger exports, argues the study. Aware of the implications, the authors caution against exports to unstable regions. But they look longingly at the potential arms market in Africa. The sound of chops being licked at potentially fat export earnings paired with expanding political influence is impossible not to overhear

"Although the prime motivation for South Africa's arms trade will be based on economics," argues the study, "politics too, may play a role". Military trade will be the only contact with some countries. "African states may seek to reduce their dependence upon non-African supply sources. Already Nigeria has begun to make such intimations. At a recent conference in Harare, the Nigerian High Commissioner in Botswana stated that by switching away from North American and European suppliers to South Africa, money spent would remain in Africa"

The study recommends keeping defence research and development spending at the current R420-million. Anything less will seriously jeopardise the country's ability to stay at the cutting edge, it says

**B**ut R&D must increasingly benefit South Africa's civilian industry, which in recent years has received virtually no resources for the independent development of innovative, internationally marketable products, argues the TEC working group. A Diversification Council should be established to ensure communication between defence and civilian industries and other state departments

But conversion of military R&D and manufacturing capacities to civilian output is not as easy as it seems. The defence industry is accustomed to designing and building its products to the exact specifications of its clients, while civilian entrepreneurs have to be greater risk takers, developing a product and hoping it will sell

State money should be made available to enable weapons manufacturers to diversify into civilian products, says the study. United States President Bill Clinton, recognising that conversion will not take place without government assistance, has proposed spending \$2-billion over five years to help workers, communities, and industries hit by defence cuts. The Russians, facing a 60 percent cutback in military spending, have allocated up to 260-million roubles for the task. The Chinese, who have converted more than 1 000 enterprises, are spending six billion yuan until 1995

# SANDF planning to form service brigade

31 Day 316/94

STEPHANE BOTHMA

PRETORIA — The establishment of a service brigade accommodating those who did not make the grade as soldiers in the SA National Defence Force was being planned to assist government's reconstruction and development programme, SANDF chief Gen Georg Meiring said yesterday.

The brigade would acquire skills in areas such as building houses and digging trenches. It could take over some of the non-military functions performed by the SADF in the past, such as drought relief and other civil projects.

The integration of non-statutory forces into the SANDF would mean about 30 000 additional members. The integration pro-

cess, which would include bridging and other training programmes, would take about three years. After that, about 30 000 members would be retrenched to keep the SANDF at its current size — the only size the Budget allowed. (252)

Meiring said the defence budget had been cut back 47% since 1989 and had now reached the point where further major cuts would not be feasible.

"The present budget is optimum to provide growth and allow the SANDF to fulfil its expected role in SA and the region."

He was convinced the integration of the

non-statutory forces into the SANDF would not be as disastrous as the formation of the National Peacekeeping Force had been. Proper planning and procedures had been set up to ensure the SANDF would maintain its professionalism.

Meiring said because Apla had chosen not to be a part of talks at the Transitional Executive Council, its forces would not automatically become SANDF members. But individual Apla applicants would be considered on the same basis as civilians.

He did not foresee the SANDF playing a major role in African peacekeeping efforts in the near future as the force still had to find its feet.

# Poor training 'led to peacekeepers' failure'

PRETORIA — The National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF) failed because of insufficient training and inadequate, low-level command structures, SA National Defence Force (SANDF) chief Gen Georg Meiring said yesterday.

Meiring, who was addressing a news briefing at SANDF headquarters in Pretoria, said the new SANDF would not suffer the same problems as the NPKF.

The NPKF was being demobilised yesterday little more than three months after it was brought into being to act as a defender of the peace during the elections. However, it was deployed only once, on the East Rand

Meiring said protracted multilateral discussions between political parties resulted in the NPKF coming into being only early this year. It should have been in operation by August last year.

"This force was not properly trained," he said. "The defence force of the future will not have this problem." (254)

He said it was not true that the former SADF had sabotaged the NPKF. While waiting to be funded the NPKF had received about R34m in cash and kind from the SA army.

"We did what we had to do and we did more," Meiring said.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that NPKF chief Maj-Gen Gabriel Ramushwana heaped praise on the Koeberg battalion when he attended its disbanding yesterday.

Spurning criticism that the NPKF was a costly failed experiment, Ramushwana said the battalion was a model of how the NPKF could have been and would have acquitted itself well in the field

The 1 000-member 4th Battalion was not deployed during its controversial four-

month stay at Koeberg.

Koeberg soldiers will be transported to their home units or to De Brug to await secondment into the SANDF or police service

Ramushwana said the NPKF had learned lessons which could be valuable in integrating the new security forces

"The time period given to deployment must not be so short; members have different training backgrounds which will need to be equalised first; and politics should be kept out as far as possible," he explained.

He hoped President Nelson Mandela's government would consider forming another force.

He was sad the NPKF had to go, but felt such a force was necessary.

Military analysts said the force never had much hope of fulfilling its task because the six-week training period was too short.

The 6 000-strong force was plagued from the start by charges of indiscipline and internal squabbling

Ramushwana said the NPKF had laid the foundation for integrated security forces.

"We managed to bring these people together... the positive thing is that people of various forces came together for the first time in the history of SA. People who were enemies before were integrated to one," he said.

He would draw up a report for Defence Minister Joe Modise suggesting that political affiliations of new members be taken into account.

"They must try to destroy political affiliations and create neutrality," he said.

Both former SADF and MK soldiers interviewed said they had valued the experience and were disappointed at having seen no active service. — Sapa-Reuter.

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# Ciskei MI chief 'helped oust Gqozo'

A former CCB man is heading for a top position in South Africa's intelligence services, report **Chandre Gould and Louise Flanagan**

**F**ORMER Ciskei Military Intelligence chief and ex-Civil Co-operation Bureau member Colonel Hendrik Christoffel "Chris" Nel, tipped for a key position in the new intelligence services, claims he worked for South Africa while he was in Ciskei and even helped topple Ciskei's military ruler.

Nel, who is known to have worked for the South African Defence Forces clandestine Directorate of Covert Collection, has now admitted he reported directly to then-chief of Military Intelligence (MI) General Joffel van der Westhuizen while he worked in Ciskei. Nel was Ciskei's representative on the Transitional Executive Council's sub-committee on defence, its still involved in top-level discussions around the new National Defence Force, and is confident of a key position in it.

Nel has an interesting background. He was an intelligence officer with SADF Special Forces in Namibia, where he interrogated captured Swapo guerrillas while using the pseudonym "Charlie November".

He later joined the military's now disbanded CCB as an intelligence officer, ran a picture-framing business on the Reef as a front and operated in

some of the frontline states.

Nel used the pseudonym "Derrick Louw" during his CCB days and gave evidence at the inquest into David Webster's 1989 murder under this name. "Louw" was never identified.

Webster inquest judge Justice Michael Stegman described "Louw" CCB boss Joe Verster and regional co-ordinator Lafras Luthinck as the CCB's "inner circle". Judge Stegman said the three were skilled not only in lying but also in the corroboration of their falsehoods. Judge Stegman found there was evidence pointing to conspiracy to commit murder by the three.

Nel moved to Ciskei in 1991 and took over as chief of Ciskei's MI.

"When I came to Ciskei I had been fired (from the CCB). I saw that International Researchers/Ciskei Intelligence Service (IR-CIS), a Military Intelligence front, was also involved in shit," he told the M&G.

According to Nel, the former head of IR-CIS Jan Anton Nieuwoudt, who recruited him to Ciskei, "wanted a CCB" Nel says he approached Pretoria with his concerns about this.

He alleged he was "given the green light by Pretoria to secretly undermine Gqozo's activities". "The idea was to play cat and mouse with (former ruler Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo".

Meanwhile his new employer Gqozo gave him a brief to do his "dirty work" but he claims to have ensured that Gqozo did not step out of line.

"In the past I had to leak some of his (Gqozo's) dirty work out to prevent him from continuing with it," he said.

■ TO PAGE 4

## MI man 'helped oust Gqozo'

From PAGE 3

Nel said that at a meeting of the Freedom Front in Uthuli in November 1993, he prepared a document "spelling out the dangers of staying out of the Transitional Executive Council" and told Gqozo he could not rely on his defence force if he remained on the outside.

Nel also said he spoke to the FR's General Constand Viljoen about Gqozo's plan for war and asked Viljoen to convince Gqozo at a meeting in Uthuli not to resort to such measures.

"On the way back from Uthuli Gqozo told me that he wanted to resign because his hopes for war were dashed," said Nel.

"At that point I wanted to give him more bad news to keep him low. I reminded him of the civil servants' strikes."

Gqozo's resignation in March this year was precipitated by an uprising by soldiers which Nel said he had helped engineer.

Nel also attempted to prevent Gqozo working with people who would not be fulfilling Pretoria's agenda such as Patrick Hlongwe.

Wane, leader of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, "who met Gqozo in secret and offered ex-MK members to do Gqozo's dirty work".

Nel convinced Gqozo that Hlongwe was a plant.

"The way I could convince Gqozo not to work with certain people was to tell him that these people were working for the National Intelligence Service or the ANC and Gqozo would immediately get rid of them," he said.

Nel also claimed to have prevented Gqozo from deploying a gang of drunken Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging members, who arrived in Ciskei, heavily armed, the night before the Bisho massacre to offer assistance.

"Gqozo then accused us of being (then president FW) De Klerk's lackeys," said Nel.

Nel's luck almost ran out after Gqozo left when the interim administrators threatened to close down the Ciskei MI outfit.

However, a well-connected friend helped him manoeuvre back into place.



Men this week fight the soaring  
PHOTOGRAPH GUY ADAMS

# NPKF infiltration alleged

By DINAH WHITE

THE National Peace-keeping Force (NPKF) was infiltrated by several policemen seconded to the unit to allegedly disrupt the activities of the controversial 4th Battalion based at Koeberg.

This was disclosed this week by highly-placed NPKF sources at Koeberg, who confirmed that sworn statements had been obtained from some of the men involved, in which they admitted to the plot.

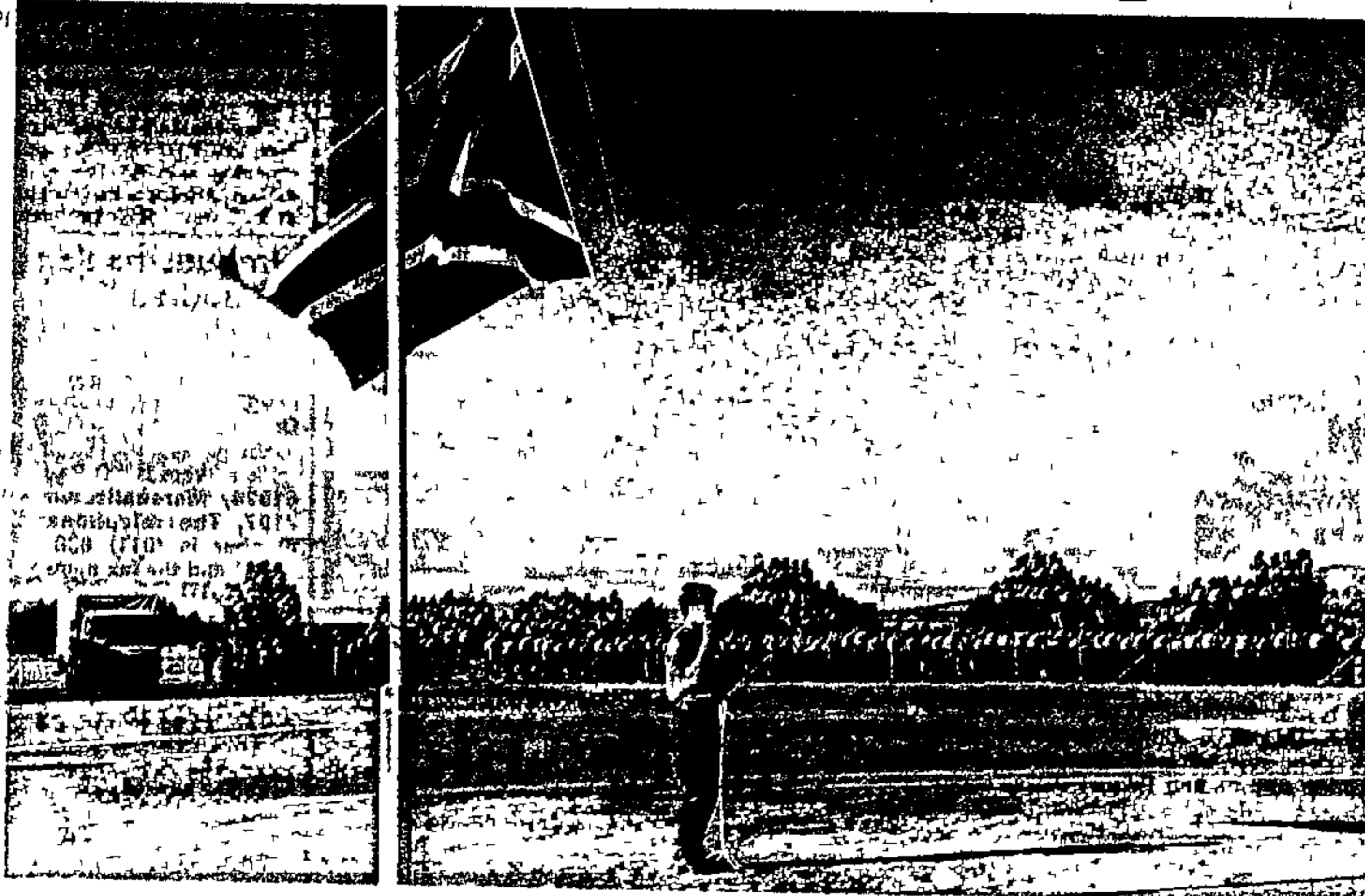
Now there is pressure from within the NPKF for a commission of inquiry, senior NPKF sources said yesterday.

## Disrupted

The sources believe the plot to disrupt the force was hatched by some dissident senior police officers who felt threatened by the founding of the NPKF — which was to have played a policing role during the elections.

Only a handful of police are alleged to have been involved and SAP members acquitted themselves well, a source said.

Following the debacle in the East Rand township of Thokoza when NPKF forces from De Brug, near Bloemfontein, were hastily withdrawn and replaced by the SADF, the NPKF forces at Koeberg were



LAST POST Watched by the troops of 4th Battalion, the national flag is lowered for the last time on the parade ground where the NPKF trained at Koeberg

Picture DINAH WHITE

never deployed

Confirming that several statements had been obtained from people involved in the alleged "conspiracy", a well-placed NPKF source said "This matter will be taken further and we have requested a

commission of inquiry to investigate"

The alleged plot was revealed this week as the 4th Battalion of the NPKF was being disbanded in Cape Town. Most members of the battalion are to return to the SANDF or police

unit from where they came"

Members of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), former armed wing of the ANC, will go to the former NPKF headquarters at De Brug, near Bloemfontein. No decision on their future has been made.

Speaking soon after he took the salute at the final parade, the officer commanding the NPKF, Major-General Gabriel Ramashwana, said:

"There is no doubt that there were those behind the scenes who wanted us to fail"

## Victimised

He believed the success of the NPKF "might have been very different" had the De Brug training programme been as successful as the one at Koeberg.

"It was a particular disappointment to me that 4th Battalion was not deployed. I believe they would have acquitted themselves well"

NPKF sources say

some of the alleged conspirators have claimed in sworn statements that they were "victimised and terrorised" by senior members of their police home unit outside Koeberg and told they would be regarded as traitors if they did not obey instructions to disrupt the force.

The pressure became too much for these raw recruits, who confessed to the alleged conspiracy. They were then asked to produce sworn statements confirming that they were intended to cause trouble for the 4th Battalion.

Police spokesman Ray Haraald said from Pretoria the SAPS was not aware of the alleged plot.

"We are taking these allegations very seriously. I can give the assurance that if any irregularities regarding the SAP contingent at Koeberg are proved, all the necessary steps will be taken against the people involved."

# NPKF infiltration alleged

By DINAH WHITE

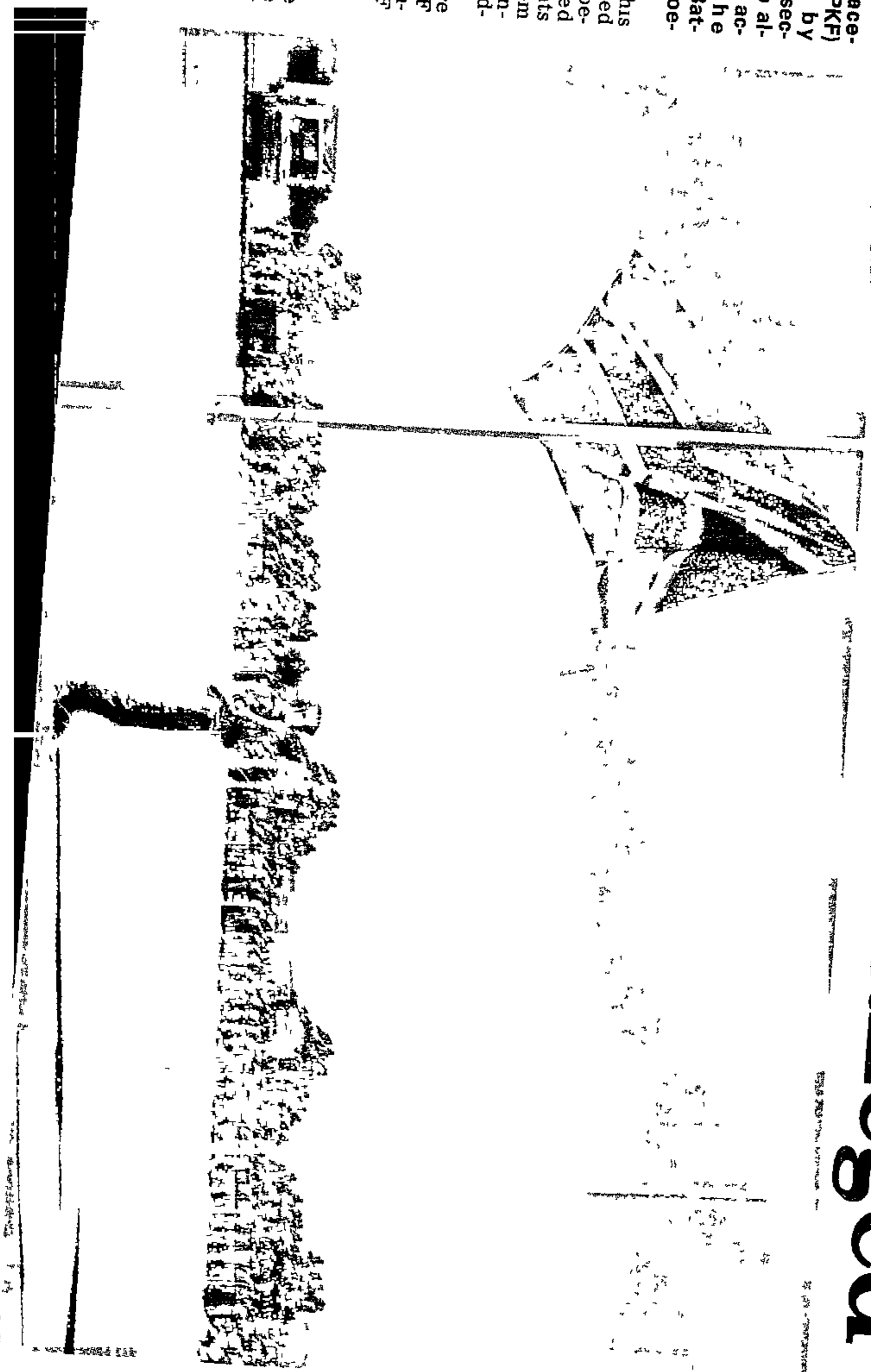
**THE National Peace-keeping Force (NPKF) was infiltrated by several policemen seconded to the unit to allegedly disrupt the activities of the controversial 4th Battalion based at Koeberg**

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**LAST POST . . . Watched by the troops of 4th Battalion, the national flag is lowered for the last time on the parade ground where picture: DINAH WHITE**

Following the debacle in the East Rand township of Thokoza, when NPKF forces from De Brug, near Bloemfontein, were hastily withdrawn and replaced by the SADF, the NPKF forces at Koeberg were

never deployed. Confirming that several statements had been obtained from people involved in the alleged "conspiracy", a well-placed NPKF source said "This matter will be taken further and we have requested a

commission of inquiry to investigate". The alleged plot was revealed this week as the 4th Battalion of the NPKF was being disbanded in Cape Town. Most members of the battalion are to return to the SANDF or police

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**THE army has been selling thousands of rifles and pistols at bargain-basement prices to defence force members for personal use.**

Despite a national outcry against a proliferation of weapons, 303 rifles are being sold for as little as R34,10

The price is less than the cost of a packet of 20 cartridges at dealers or the R50 revenue stamp on a police licence to possess a firearm legally.

Ammunition for the 303s is sold by the army at 28c a round

Many serving officers and citizen force members, the majority white, have jumped at the offer, and some have resold the weapons as hunting rifles through gunshops, making hundreds of rands profit out of the ex-army stock

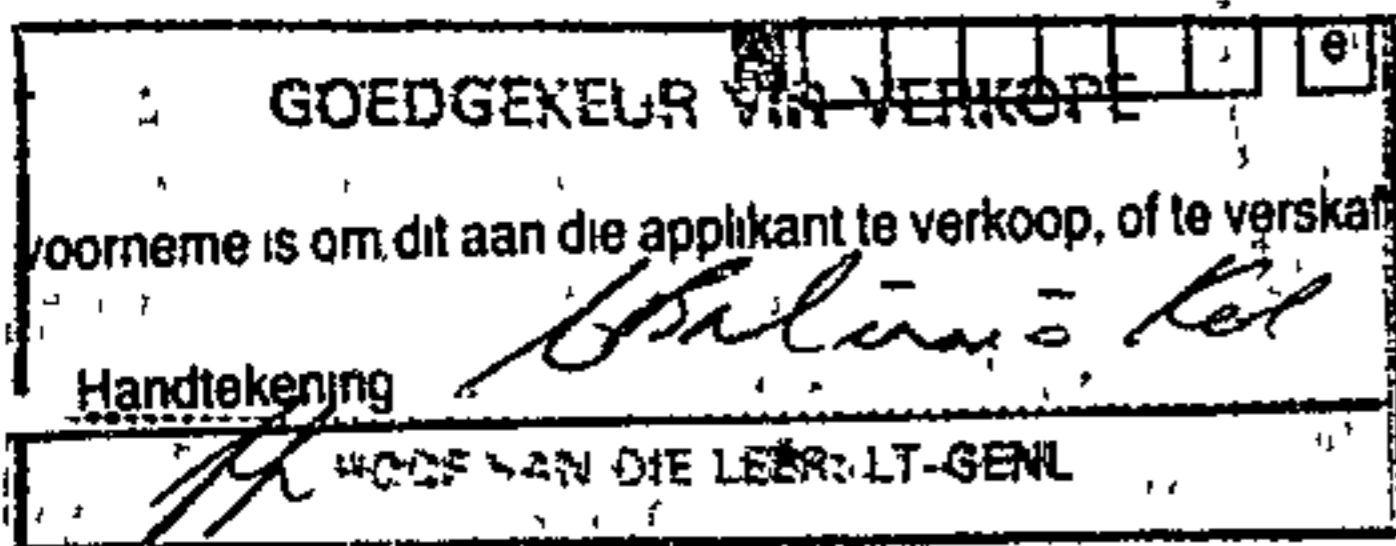
Lieutenant-Colonel Brian du Toit of the Directorate of Communications of the army confirmed that the sale of the 303s was continuing.

He said that, in terms of army regulations, the following people qualified to buy the weapons

- Serving members of the permanent force, citizen force and commandos who have completed five years' continuous service;

- Members of the permanent force who are retiring after 20 years' service,

(254)



**SIGNED AND SEALED .. an army gun sale**

- Veterans of World War 2 if they can provide a service certificate

In the past, Special revolvers were also sold in the same way, but were no longer available, Lieutenant-Colonel du Toit said.

ANC-MP and former MK commander Ronnie Kasrils, who served on the defence sub-council of the TEC and works closely with Defence Minister Joe Modise, said yesterday he was taking up the matter immediately with Mr Modise with a view to having the sale of the weapons investigated

"I am totally stunned to hear of the sales," he said

He said the 303 rifles might be antiquated but were dangerous and lethal compared with home-made weapons which were used to kill and maim people

"We already have a problem with an overarmed population. There is no telling in whose hands these weapons eventually end up, and the ANC regards the sale of .303s as highly irresponsible on the part of the army," Mr Kasrils said

"An alternative could be simply to destroy them in public as is done with confiscated illegal weapons. I have no doubt Mr Modise is unaware of the practice and that he would be equally shocked to hear of it"

Ministry of Defence spokesman Das Herbst said he believed the sales were "a continuation of an old policy".

"I'm sure the minister has not yet been briefed on this," he said

The rifles have been identified as Lee-Enfield No 4 MK2 (F) 303s by Mr Willem Steenkamp, an author and expert on South African military matters who assisted the TEC as adviser on military issues

He said it was known that thousands of these weapons had been disposed of at very low prices

"There are precedents for the disposal of redundant and obsolete weapons in this way in other countries," said Mr Steenkamp, who is a captain in the citizen force.

Weapons dealers confirmed yesterday that the second-hand weapons sell for between R600 and R700 and there is a special demand for them at this

time of year because of the three-month hunting season in June, July and August.

The army sold ammunition for the 303 rifles at 28c a round (R5,60 for a packet of 20) compared with between R50 and R60 for a packet of 20 rounds of .303 ammunition quoted by gun dealers to the Sunday Times yesterday.

Lieutenant-Colonel du Toit said that only members of the permanent force and citizen force and commandos on active duty could obtain ammunition "if available"

The spokesman said Treasury authority was given in 1986 for these weapons to be sold and that the last .303 rifles in stock were being reallocated to the commandos and divisions to be sold to members

□ To Page 2

**SAOJ'S ROW**

**Row over 'cheap' guns sale**

□ From Page 1

of the defence force. The Sunday Times has asked for confirmation of our information that "many thousands" of weapons have been sold in this way and asked how many exactly had been disposed of, but no figures were given in the army's faxed reply to our queries

There has been an outcry recently against the proliferation of weapons in the country

This prompted an ANC MP in the PWV area, Mr Obed Bapela, to propose a "one person, one firearm" policy as part of the ANC's plan for a gun-free society

Gun dealers said they knew the weapons were ex-army stock but, since they had been legally acquired, they were quite prepared to sell the weapons as hunting rifles at the request and on behalf of owners when a customer required one

Soldiers who have bought the bargain weapons said the availability of the weapons was "not generally known" Those who knew about the special deal kept it to themselves, they claimed.

But Lieutenant-Colonel du Toit said that, though the sale of the weapons was not advertised "in the general media" as these weapons were sold only to members of the defence force, the sale has been brought to the attention of all members of the defence force, including the citizen force and commandos

BY NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

**ARMY IN 'CHEAP' GUNS SALE**

Sunday Times

## COMPANIES

### Denel listing 'still on the cards'

UNLISTED armaments manufacturer Denel was preparing its second annual financial statement for publication in the first week of July, the corporation said at the weekend.

Denel spokesman Paul Holtzhausen said the statement would detail the company's market position as well as how its business prospects were likely to be influenced by the lifting of sanctions and SA's membership of the Commonwealth and other international organisations.

Holtzhausen said a listing on the JSE was still on the cards but the issue would realistically be looked at after a sound track record had been established.

Among the criteria required for a listing was a good rating by the JSE which took cognisance of real equity growth, rise in share value, turnover and profits, as well as a good history of paying dividends.

The proposed listing could go ahead around 1994 provided the present track record was maintained and there was con-

#### SELLO MOTLHABAKWE

sensus on the new ministerial policy for the industry. *Bipay*

The company had three months to prepare a 1 000-page document on SA's bid to supply '91 Rooivalk attack helicopters to the British defence ministry. *6/6/94*

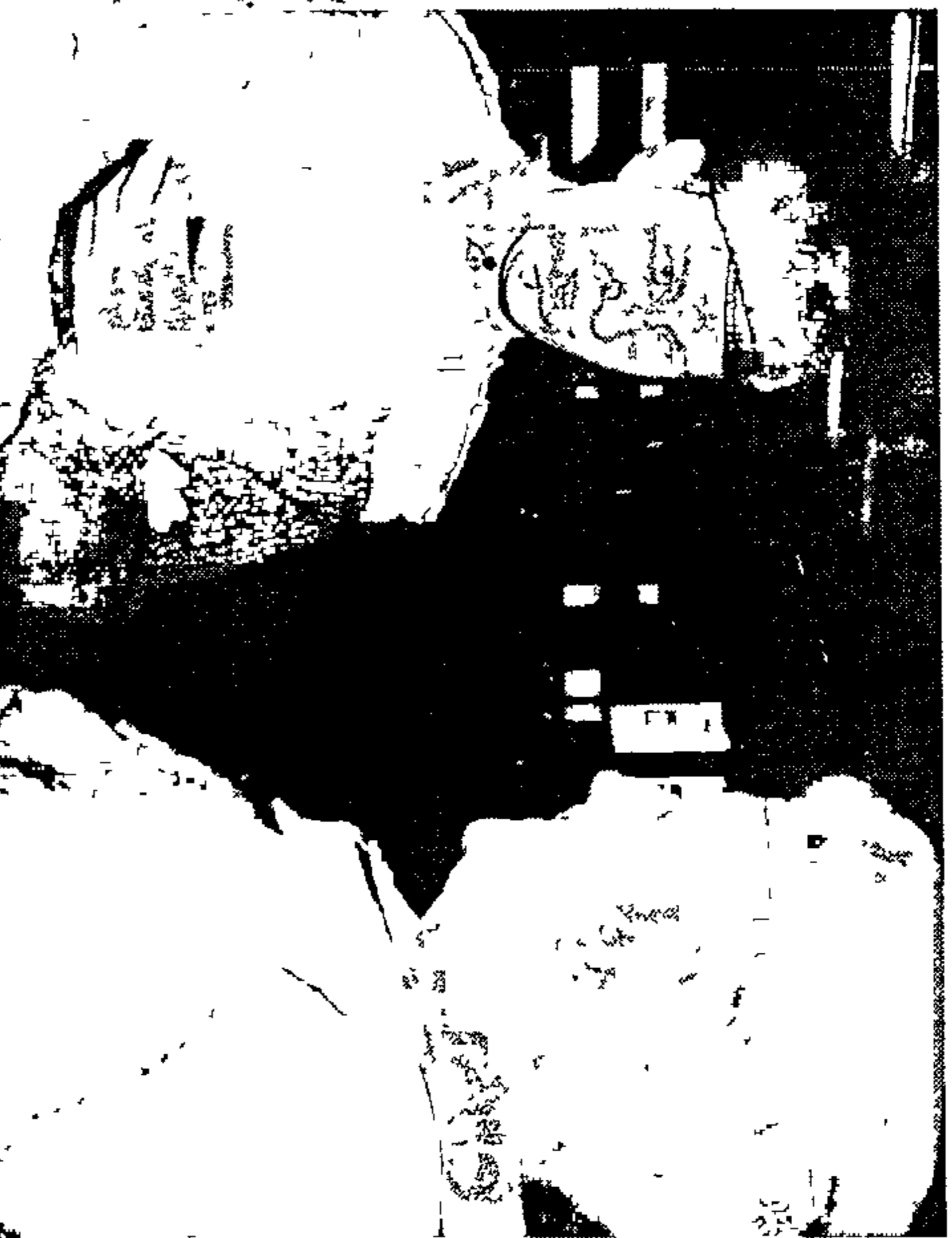
The bid would be presented to a British arms procurement council by October. If successful it could translate into a R10bn order for Denel. *(254)*

Such a windfall would boost foreign currency reserves and generate thousands of jobs, Holtzhausen said.

The company's projections of R400m sales in 1994/95 were "still very positive and the lifting of sanctions has made us more enthusiastic about future results".

Denel was ranked the 13th-largest unlisted company in 1992/93 by an SA financial magazine.

Judging criteria included asset base, order book and turnover.



Brig Dick Trigger of the British military assistance and training team talks to Sgt-Maj Koos Moorcroft of the SANDF at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Picture GARTH LUMLEY

# Voluntary military service will continue

**VOLUNTARY** military service in the SA National Defence Force is to continue in tandem with the reintegration of soldiers from Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and homeland defence forces.

The SANDF internal bulletin for June reports that Defence Minister Joe Modise has approved the continuation of a voluntary and multiracial citizen force within the SA Navy, SA Medical Service and most SA army corps. There will be no intake for the SA Air Force.

Members will undertake a 10-month training course beginning in February next year, followed by 30 days' service a year over an eight-year period. A toll free inquiries service is available on 0800 11 12 80.

Meanwhile, 31 officers from the British Military Assistance and Training Team arrived in SA yesterday to monitor the integration of the SANDF.

Brig Dick Trigger described the incorporation of 25 000 MK soldiers and an estimated 8 000 members of homeland defence forces as "a substantial challenge, but not a daunting one".

Trigger, who will head the operation here for two years, was on a posting in Hong Kong when he was advised of the SA mission three weeks ago.

Accompanying officers received similar short notice, and confessed to being "in the dark" about the task ahead. They

would be briefed in Bloemfontein this week.

Their expertise extended "across the board" from communications and logistics to armour and infantry, said a soldier who expected to stay in SA for six months.

Although SA selection boards will decide on rank and training for most personnel, the British team will validate the selection process in line with international standards. The SANDF has agreed that British officers will arbitrate in "borderline cases where consensus cannot be reached," said Brig Simon Pack, who will oversee the team's operations from the UK.

"(The team) will be an independent, impartial and even-handed adjudicator on occasions when a finer judgment is required. Our expectations of the new defence force are high."

The team has previously been involved in the restructuring of defence forces in Zimbabwe and Malawi. Its current operations extend to Lesotho, Swaziland, Mauritius and the Middle East.

The cost of the SA operation will be met by the SA and British governments, in terms of an agreement which has not yet been finalised, said SANDF spokesman Col John Roll.

# Tutu now 'Mr Investment'

ATLANTA — Archbishop Desmond Tutu called on the West to shore up SA's transition to democracy with financial support akin to that afforded Russia and Israel.

In a powerfully worded speech at a US-sponsored investment conference on

Since then, he said, the country's Justice Minister had begun drawing up laws to forgive those guilty of committing political atrocities under apartheid.

"There is a chance for a spectacular success story out of that Africa you have



# SANDF seeks volunteers

*Sowetan*  
**Sowetan Reporter**

RECRUITMENT for next year's national voluntary military service is now open and the closing date for applications is October (254)

This follows approval by Defence Minister Joe Modise of the continuation of voluntary military service in the South African National Defence Force

According to an SANDF communique, members who are accepted will be required to volunteer for 10 months full-time training for service in the Citizen Force. This will be followed by 30 days

*b16194*  
service a year for eight years.

Training will be provided in the SA Army's corps, the SA Navy and the medical services. There will be no intake for the SA Air Force.

The 1995 intake will be the first group of soldiers to undergo training since the inception of the Government of National Unity in April.

The date for reporting is the first week of February next year.

For more details call Toll Free number 0800 11 12 80 or write to The Registering Officer, Private Bag X281, Pretoria 0001.

# Where to now?

**A**rmcor's executive general manager, Tielman de Waal, speaks about the organisation and its future role in southern Africa in general

**What problems has Armcor faced in adjusting to its new role and function since converting to its new status as the acquisition organisation for the SANDF?**

It has primarily been an organisational and functional change. We had to change our vision of the present and future South Africa as well as our view of Armcor's position in the country's economic household (and this involved scaling down manpower activities in certain areas, and strengthening manpower in others. Our relationship with the arms industry has never been healthier

**Do you place a high premium on local companies increasing their international market share?**

Exports are of paramount importance for the economy to grow to required levels over the next 10 years. Companies have, for too long, suffered from a "blockade mentality" and need to broaden their outlook. The only way our economy can grow is through active participation in international markets. To be successful, however, we need to become far more productive and competitive

The arms industry has a tremendous advantage over other players who have been manufacturing under licence agreements from overseas companies for a considerable time (as) Armcor's producers are mostly unique and that is why the arms industry is the

**How do you see Armcor's future as the acquisition organisation for the SANDF?**

Since the SANDF will need to replace most of its major equipment over the next two decades, or face a massive reduction of its capabilities, Armcor will still have a vital function to fulfil

The local military industry will have to contend with full foreign competition, and this means it will have to look closely at performance, value and cost-effectiveness.

We are not only acquiring capital equipment for the army but are engaged in procuring everyday necessities, which may sound mundane but are important for the well-being of the soldier — items ranging from basic foodstuffs to socks and boots.

**What specific areas of growth would there be for Armcor?**

There are tremendous growth opportunities, not only in servicing established clients, but also extending services to government institutions. We can also be of invaluable help to other countries in southern Africa, and this is an area in which I perceive growth potential

The whole of the sub-continent has a wealth of military vehicles and equipment left over from recent wars (and) these need to be maintained and upgraded. Armcor's biggest growth area, however, lies in the field of counter trade, in which we are the leaders in this country

By being active in this field, we can contribute towards the growth of industrial enterprise and contribute further towards the saving of foreign exchange and new job opportunities

**A**merica has the Avon cosmetics lady and the Fuller brush salesman, both of whom have become part of that country's folklore

Destined to become part of South African legend is the "Armcor Man" — now hanging up his hat after 17 years of foot-in-the-door international canvassing to convince the world that South Africa needed military equipment and offering, in return, top-of-the-range systems to anyone with the capability to pay cash or barter

Like the cosmetics lady and the brush salesman, "Armcor Man" has on occasion been spectacularly successful, but has also, at the same time, endured a hard, long slog in representing a beleaguered armaments industry trying to reach out internationally during years of weapons sanctions imposed by the United Nations as part of the campaign to end apartheid

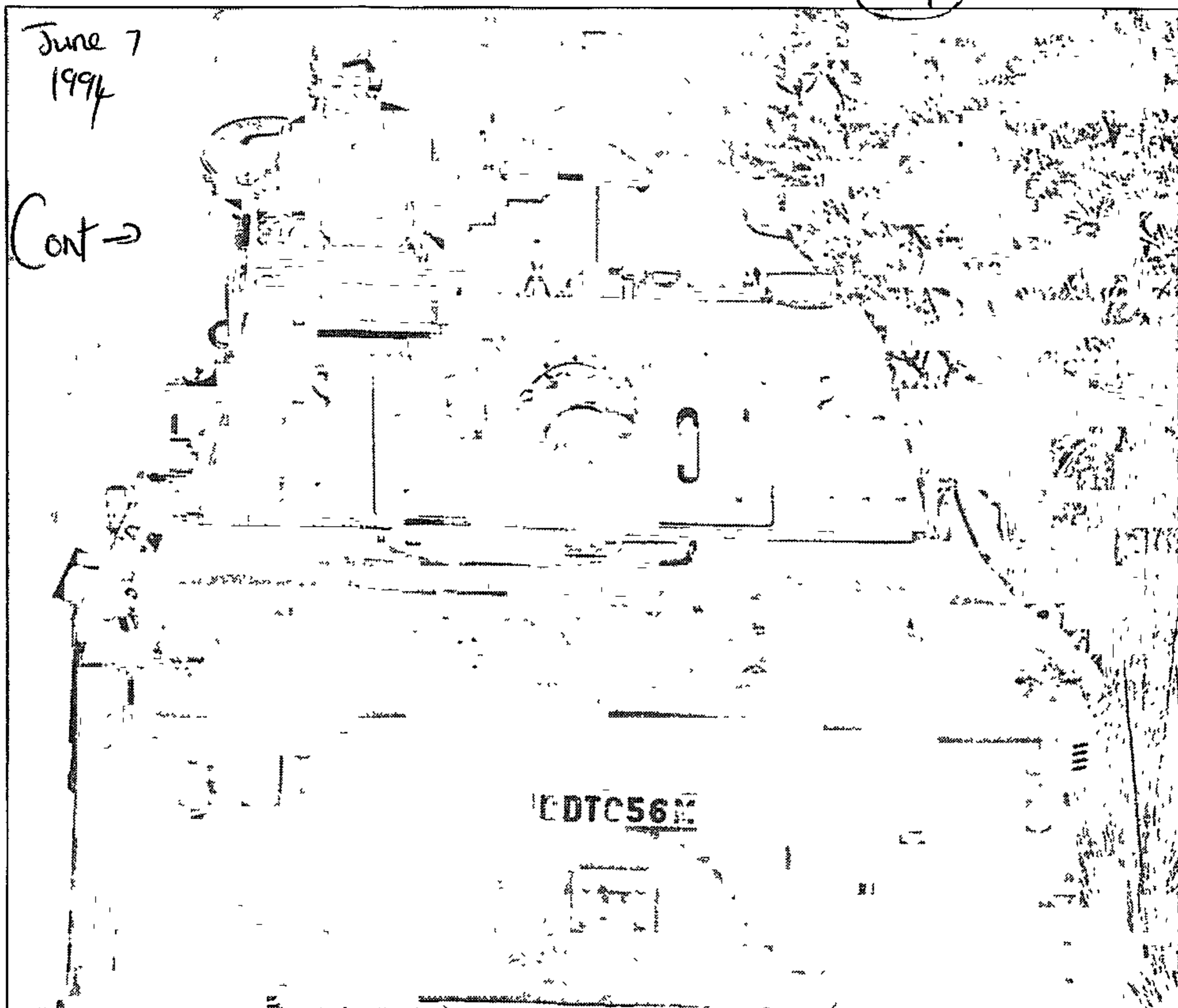
Last month, the UN decided apartheid had ended and, as a result, the imposition of crippling sanctions should also be terminated. That was, of course, due in no small measure to the stunning victory at the polls of President Mandela's ANC

The story of how Armcor — the Armaments Corporation of South Africa — developed its expertise in a number of fields will probably remain classified for years, but from what little is known the company has taken South Africa into the big league of arms manufacturers, exporters and procurers

Executive general manager Tielman de Waal went on record immediately after the lifting of sanctions as saying: "Armcor will be able to conduct its business in an open and transparent way

"We do not foresee that the lifting of the (UN) embargo will substantially change the procurement pattern of the past, except that foreign procurement will no longer have to be conducted in secret, and it can be conducted in a more cost-effective manner"

The organisation is at pains to emphasise that its staff did not conduct highly secretive meetings in the back alleys of Baghdad, Casablanca or other such



**Made in SA . . . after 20 years of sanctions, South Africa is a net exporter of defence equipment.**

mysterious cities but rather "worked the room", as the saying goes, finally getting what it wanted in the boardrooms of the world

What has been acquired overseas remains a matter for conjecture

Armcor calls its acquisitions operations (or sales pitch, in plain English) the "value-for-money option", with expertise on tap to provide specialist guidance to ensure maximum cost-savings, without sacrificing quality and product capability

During the last five years, the

organisation has made acquisitions totalling R30 billion, the bulk of which has been for South Africa's defence force

Armcor says "This was made possible through a well-developed system comprising dedicated teamwork, the highest technical expertise, strict financial discipline, advanced project management and marketing, quality assurance, logistical support and product-lifecycle management"

Behind those claims are the men and women who have put South Africa at the cutting edge

of international armaments, as well as of commercial products

Peet Smith, the company's general manager for import and export control, puts it rather quaintly "We can assist in bringing the horse (the international client) and the water (the South African product) together. In the end, the attractiveness and the taste of the water will determine how much the horse is going to drink"

The water has certainly been tested by many governments. Horses such as Iraq have liked our long-range artillery pieces,

such as the G5 used in the Kuwaiti war and earlier in the 10-year battle between Iraq and Iran. Oman is buying Rooivalk attack helicopters, regarded as far more efficient than anything else on earth (Britain is evaluating the machine as well)

Certain unnamed countries have battle-tested armoured equipment and mine-resistant vehicles, and assault rifles have been sold to many others

Also coming to light is how Armcor coped with the international leaders in the armaments field, as well as with the end of

the Cold War, and what it has been doing since in the local and international markets

With the disintegration of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the end of Russian influence in Angola, the end of the total onslaught era and the abolition of apartheid, the organisation had to find something else to do other than sell weapons, which had suddenly become a dirty word in the maelstrom of international politics

It decided that to guarantee the survival of the highly focused local armaments industry, and at the same time ensure continuing state-of-the-art technology, adaptation was the name of the game

Arm Scor decided to split into two the original company continuing to acquire armaments and related products and services, and the new firm — known as Denel (Pty) Ltd, with a host of subsidiaries — the manufacturer

During the 1980s, Arm Scor was a "fully fledged player in the international arms market", but was winning customers in the marketplace "through liaison at ministerial and other levels"

As part of its legacy as an armaments organisation, Arm Scor at the end of March last year had paid R3,6 billion for armaments out of its share of the Special Defence Equipment and Activities Account (SDA) — part of the R10 billion defence budget

The SDA is an account which, unlike many in other government departments, need not be fully spent during the fiscal year. Eighty percent of the money can be committed for the following year, and the year thereafter

Outstanding commitments on contract at that time stood at R4,2 billion and approved commitments not yet contracted totalled about R668 million, with a further R93 million in fixed assets with contractors

The effort now is concentrated on technological sophistication, which could in fact be of help in non-military products and processes, similar to the United States's space programme, which has helped bring many products to the consumer marketplace over the years

**T**he end of UN sanctions means that part of  
be told. Defence Correspondent

# Adaptation is name

STAR June 7 1994

JUNE 7 1994

PAGE

*the super-secret Armscor story can now  
Norman Chandler reports*

# of Armscor's game



# Armcor's income plunges

PRETORIA — Armcor's net income was cut by more than half to R40,2m (R84,6m) in the year to March after government reduced its allocation for operating and technology expenditure **51 day**

The company reported turnover of R306,7m (R336,3m) and net operating income of R34,5m (R80,8m) **16/94**

The net value of group assets increased 15,6% to R338,1m (R292,4m). This growth was mainly due to net income of R44,5m which was reflected in a corresponding increase in investments and cash.

This would be held in reserve to finance specific future obligations, the most important being the redemption of stock and replacement of capital equipment.

In the 1993/94 financial year, the armaments procurement company received R200m (R228m) from government's defence budget. **(254)**

Armcor chairman Johan Moolman handed over the group's financial report to Defence Minister Joe Modise at a news briefing yesterday to "demonstrate the company's commitment to transparency"

"The progress made by Armcor will

STEPHANE BOTHMA

warm your heart," Moolman told Modise, who stressed Armcor's important role.

The directors reported that, of the R200m received from the state, R173,9m was used to defray operating expenditure, R22,6m for technology development and R3,5m for acquiring assets.

The value of acquisitions rose 8% to R4,5bn, with 93% (R4,2bn) being spent on equipment for the SANDF compared with R274m for the SAP.

Armaments worth R886m were exported, compared with 1992/93's R488m and 1991/92's R794m. Armaments worth R762m (R697m) were imported.

Armcor said all import contracts of more than R5m had contained counter-trade components of at least 50%.

The company had also introduced an affirmative action programme. However, a relatively low staff turnover, the stabilised number of personnel that could be retained and the low availability of black candidates in the high-technology professions had delayed progress.

# Armcor alters image

PRETORIA — State armaments procurement agency Armcor was trying to shed its "cloak-and-dagger" image as it prepared for a more visible international role, Armcor chairman Mr Johan Moolman said yesterday

He was speaking at the handing over of Armcor's 1993/94 annual report to Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise.

Mr Moolman said he welcomed debate on the countries to which Armcor sold weapons

According to the annual report

(254) CT 7/6/94  
Armcor spent R4 481 million in 1993/94 on arms and equipment. Of this sum, R2 487m was spent on aerospace equipment, R1 014m was absorbed by vehicle and weapons systems and the remainder of the acquisitions budget was spent on electronics and maritime products

The report also highlights steps taken to harness military technology for civilian use — Sapa

● Govt cutback slices Armcor's income — Page 9

# Net income at Armscor takes tumble

Star 7/16/94

■ BY JOHN SPIRA

Armscor's net income declined by R44,4 million to R40,2 million in the year to March

The bulk of the decline stemmed from a R29,6 million reduction (to R196,5 million) in the government's allocation for operating and technology expenditure, with the balance coming mainly from additional spending in the areas of market promotion, legal proceedings and upgrading of computer network cabling

Sales were static at R110,2

million

The net value of group assets rose by 15,6 percent to R338,1 million

Armscor is a public corporation and its financial results are therefore of interest primarily to the taxpayer

It is an acquisition organisation and the financial results therefore do not reflect the scale of the activities in which it is involved

Thus, for example, the acquisition cash flow for which it was responsible in 1993-94 totalled R4,5 billion

A major portion (R2,5 billion) of this cash flow went towards its aerospace portfolio, with the balance accounted for by vehicles and weapons, and electronics and maritime

Because of reducing allocations of state funds for defence, Armscor is examining various areas to enable it to retain its capabilities, among them

■ Making its acquisition services available to other public organisations

■ Offering its counter-trade capabilities to South African industry at large

■ Becoming involved in regional co-operation on defence in African and southern Africa.

■ Providing acquisition support to defence forces of other African states (254)

Chairman IJ Moolman notes "The proven capabilities of Armscor to determine client needs, to establish technology, to obtain military systems and equipment, both locally and abroad, and to provide life-cycle product support will be indispensable to the local security forces, as well as within the southern African region."

# Govt cutback slices Armscor's income

PRETORIA — Armscor's net income was cut by more than half to R40,2m (R84,6m) in the year to March, after the government reduced its allocation for operating and technology expenditure

(254)  
The company had a turnover of R306,7m (R336,3m) and a net operating income of R34,5m (R80,8m)

The net value of Armscor group assets increased by 15,6% from R292,4m to R338,1m. The growth could be ascribed mainly to the net income of R44,5m which was reflected in a corresponding increase in investments and cash

ET 7/16/94  
For the 1993/94 financial year, the armaments procurement company had received a defence budget allocation of R200m from the state

According to the Directors' Report, of the R200m received from the state, R173,9m was used to defray operating

expenditure, R22,6m for technology development and R3,5m for the acquisition of assets. This state allotment was 12,3% less than the amount of R228m for the previous year.

The total value of Armscor's acquisition activities for the year was R4,5bn. Acquisition of equipment for the SADF constituted the major portion of this amount, R4,2bn (93%), compared with R274m for the SAP and 1% for the others.

In nominal terms, the total monetary value of the activities increased by 8% compared with the previous financial year.

During the past year, Armscor had exported armaments worth R886m, compared to R488m during 92/93 and R794m during 91/92. It had imported armaments to the value of R762m during the past financial year, compared to R697m during 92/93.

# Poll call-up dodgers to be probed

(254) ARG 8/6/94

Defence Reporter

THE army has been prosecuting Citizen Force members who failed to report for camps over the election period, a spokesman at the Castle confirmed.

Military law officers have begun preliminary investigations of the cases of those absentees who have so far been traced.

Although the army has declined to divulge the number of soldiers being investigated, sources believe up to 60 per cent of members called up from March failed to report.

The army had jurisdiction over the cases for three months from the end of the call-up period, she said.

After that, absentees could be prosecuted in civilian courts.

The law requiring prosecution for not reporting still stands.

Obviously, the army knows what to expect and makes provision for a percentage of deferments and refusals. We then call up enough people to ensure we get the number of soldiers we need."

Soldiers found guilty of failure to report face a maximum two years in jail. Fines depend on rank — a private can be fined about R600, a corporal and those of higher rank R1 200 and an officer R5 000.

NEWS FEATURE *PAC view on removal of arms embargo*

# Sanctions end but arms race is out

Sowetan 9/6/94

254

By Gora Ebrahim

Secretary for Foreign Affairs,  
Pan Africanist Congress

## ■ NEW IMAGE *Plea for a joint*

*venture with countries in the region:*

**F**OLLOWING the establishment of the first democratically elected Government in South Africa it was only natural that all sanctions and embargoes be lifted. This has happened.

The lifting of the arms embargo by the UN Security Council must be welcomed in its proper perspective. The lifting of the arms embargo is tangible evidence that the new political dispensation is warmly welcomed into the international community.

This important political overture, however, should not be interpreted as licence to freely enter the arms sale race.

The arms embargo led the hitherto apartheid regime to embark on the manufacture, albeit under licence in most cases, of different types of weapons. The initial purpose was to make apartheid South Africa self-sufficient in small and medium size armaments. Soon South Africa was producing more than she required.

Much of the weaponry that Armscor produced was used for internal repression, as well as destabilisation of independent countries in Africa, especially members of the Frontline States — Botswana, Angola, Namibia, Zambia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

In addition to using the manufactured arms internally and for destabilising purposes, South Africa also sold arms to a number of countries, in Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere. Unfortunately some were sold to warring groups in areas of violent conflict. There is a claim that in some instances weapons were sold to both sides involved in national or civil conflicts.

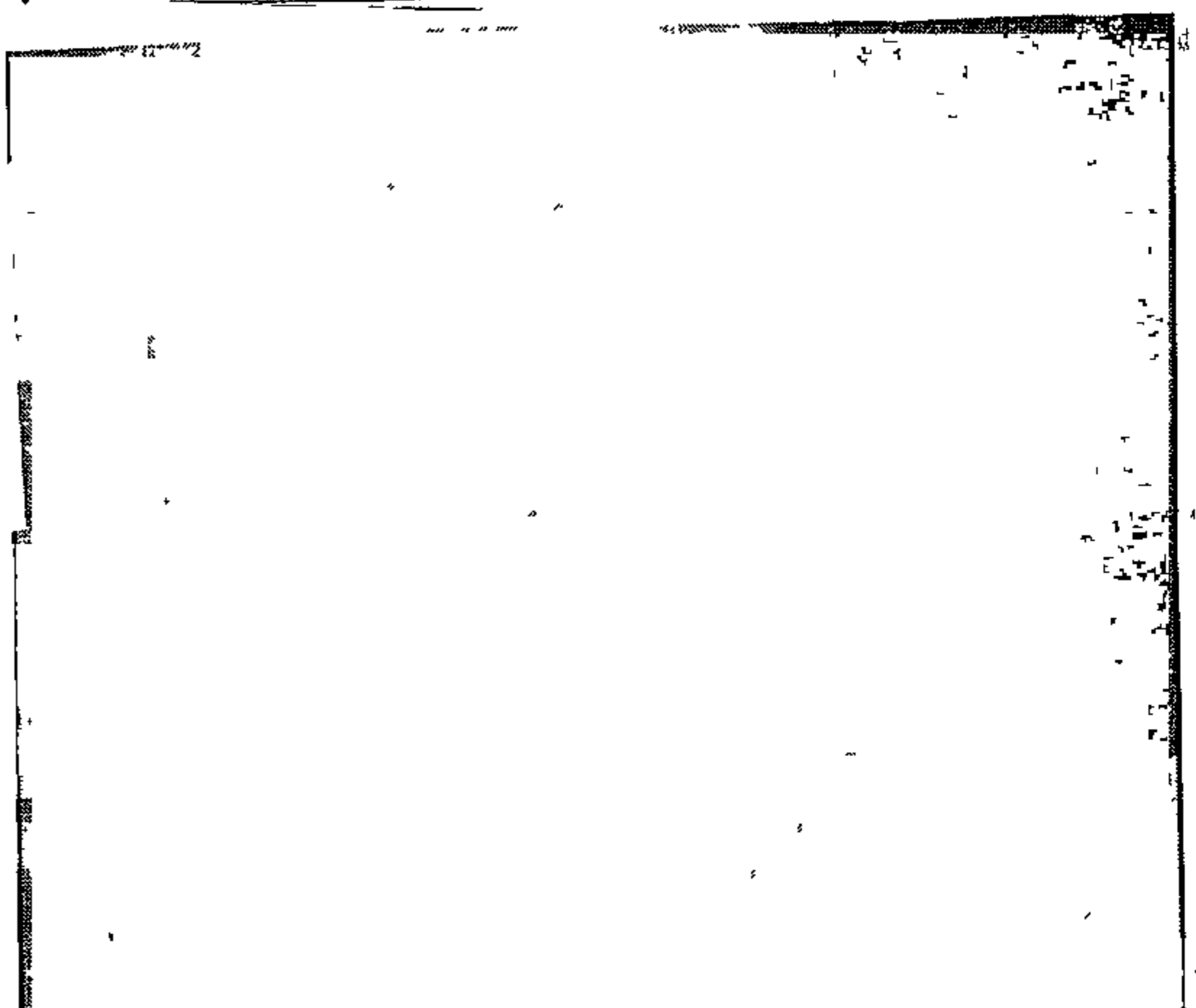
There is legitimate concern that much of the export of weapons was done under great secrecy. Transparency to the South African public was totally lacking. The image of South Africa, therefore, was one of exporting war merchandise to sensitive and volatile conflict spots.

### New Image

The new political dispensation must urgently strive to project a completely new image. Manufacturing secrets of the armament industry must be preserved, at the same time the element of transparency must be introduced. The types of weapons manufactured by Armscor should be public knowledge.

After all, Armscor holds exhibitions to market its products internationally and, therefore, what it manufactures should not be kept secret from the people of South Africa.

It is also important that a criteria code be established governing the sales of these weapons. It should not merely be a business venture. We should not be perceived as a country merely interested in the consequences. We must never be accused of supporting tyranny or oppression. Nor must we be seen as fanning local or national conflicts.



Gora Ebrahim ... weapons used for internal purposes.

Our internal policy of negotiation and reconciliation must guide us when marketing Armscor products.

Some would argue that for Armscor to be a profitable enterprise it must engage in an aggressive marketing policy. Profit should be the primary motive. Otherwise, it is said, the enterprise could become a financial liability.

Armscor as an armament industry should remain. Instead of an exclusive South African venture, it should be-

come a regional venture at the beginning.

It could become a joint venture with a number of countries in the region. Such an arrangement would, first and foremost, keep out other arms peddlers and their political influence, while at the same time assist in standardising weaponry in the region.

Most important of all it will change our image in keeping with our new democratic dispensation.

## Koevoet men can go home

~~22~~ Staff Reporter ~~254~~

THE controversy over the return to Namibia of Koevoet and South-West African Transitional Force members now in South Africa has finally been resolved, with the Namibian cabinet giving its approval for them to return home. **CT 10/6/94**

The Windhoek Advertiser reported yesterday that Information and Broadcasting Minister Mr Ben Amathila made the announcement on Wednesday, and added that the cabinet had resolved that non-Namibians who belonged to the two forces would not be allowed to enter Namibia.

He also said those who were Namibian could only return through conventional channels.

## Integration of MK poor

ET 10/16/94  
THE integration of uMkhonto weSizwe members into the South African National Defence Force was less than satisfactory, the ANC charged yesterday. (25/1)

This was causing unnecessary tensions and hardships for many MK members, it said.

Although it had been agreed to in negotiations, Chief of the Army General Georg Meiring had not confirmed the appointments of the senior officers who were to be charged with overseeing implementation.

"At the same time, administrative errors and deficiencies have resulted in the names of many long-standing MK cadres not appearing on the official list," the ANC said.

It urged Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise and General Meiring to pay special attention to the plight of these soldiers.



# 170 took call-up alternative

APR 10/6/94  
Political Staff

A TOTAL of 170 young white men did community service with a government department last year rather than undergo national military service; the Department of Manpower has reported.

The department's annual report for 1993 was tabled in parliament last week. In 1993 it fell under Minister Leon Wessels. It now falls under Minister Tito Mboweni.

Parliament passed legislation in September last year to end conscription.

The report said that initially the Defence Act provided for people to be classified as religious objectors to national military service. Changes to the Defence Act in 1992 also made provision for people who objected to military service on moral or ethical grounds.

# CCB agents blamed for Lubowski's murder

WINDHOEK — The inquest into the 1989 assassination of Swapo advocate Anton Lubowski ended in Windhoek, Namibia, this week with his lawyers blaming 10 Civil Co-operation Bureau agents for the murder.

They were named as Ferdie Barnard, Calla Botha, Slang van Zyl, Irish mercenary Donald Acheson, Chappie Maree, Staal Burger, Wouter Basson, CCB managing director Joe Verster, Charles Neelse and Johan Niemoller.

In closing arguments before Mr Justice Harold Levy, lawyers said the principal aim of CCB units in

South Africa and Namibia in 1989 was the maximum disruption of their enemy

They argued the 10 CCB members were implicated in the killing on the basis of common purpose

Documents before the court showed the CCB had legitimised murder, they said. A finding should be made against individuals instead of against organisations.

The CCB had considered Swapo to be the enemy, the court heard, and a campaign was launched to disrupt its election activities and prevent it winning the two-thirds majority it needed to unilaterally

write a post-independence constitution.

Lubowski, a rising star in the Swapo hierarchy, was shot dead at close range outside his home on September 12 1989 shortly before he was to have had dinner with Mr Hage Geingob, now Namibian Prime Minister (329)(254)

The activist had recently been appointed deputy director of finance and administration for Swapo's election campaign, and his selection as a target was clearly to further the CCB's objective of disrupting the elections, the court was told — Sapa.

## CCB agents blamed for Lubowski death

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They were named as Ferdie Barnard, Calla Botha, Slang van Zyl, Irish mercenary Donald Acheson, Chappie Maree, Staal Burger, Wouter Basson, CCB MD Joe Verster, Charles Neelse and Johan Niemoeller.

In closing arguments before Judge Harold Levy, lawyers said the aim of CCB units in SA and Namibia in 1989 was the disruption of their enemy by means including assassination. They argued that the 10 CCB members were implicated in the killing on the basis of common purpose. Documents showed the CCB had legitimised murder, they said. A finding should be made against individuals instead of against organisations which could not be tried.

Lubowski was shot dead outside his home on September 12 1989. He had recently been appointed deputy director of finance and administration for Swapo's election campaign, and his selection as a target was to further the CCB's objective of disrupting the elections, the court was told. In early 1989 Burger, Basson, Van Zyl, Maree, Botha and a Nick Nienaber had worked for the CCB's Region 6, focusing on Namibia.

The lawyers said highly placed people connected to the CCB afterwards admitted the murder was a CCB project but were not willing to confirm it under oath.

Murder charges were laid against Acheson in 1989 but were withdrawn in 1990 due to a lack of evidence, caused partly by the police's inability to extradite witnesses from SA.

Four years of investigation by lawyers and police preceded the inquest, which began on April 18. Levy must now consider almost 4 000 pages of evidence before making a finding, expected later this month.

Very little evidence was led on allegations in Parliament in 1990 by then Defence Minister Magnus Malan that Lubowski had been a Military Intelligence spy. Most of the evidence had exonerated the slain activist, lawyers said — Sapa.

# Maharaj, provinces to meet on 'taxi war'

TRANSPORT Minister Mac Maharaj said at the weekend he would meet provincial transport officials today to discuss taxi violence.

He said the industry needed a structure within which it could regulate itself to address issues such as taxi wars, subsidies and road safety, the Sunday Times reported yesterday.

"There are more than 480 different taxi organisations in the country and they need to find a common voice," he said.

Maharaj said he had resisted becoming directly involved in the issue of regulating the industry despite calls to do so by the SA Black Taxi Association.

He said the process of consultation was more important than taking steps which could further divide the main players.

MARK ASHURST reports that industry sources said violence at taxi ranks was "mercifully low" given the lack of regulation and the vast sums of money involved.

Violence was minimised by the "benevolent monopoly" encouraged by the Johannesburg city council, council transport spokesmen said.

Transport policy in Johannesburg reflected the dangers posed by rogue elements within taxi associations and the threat of private hit squads employed to defend lucrative routes, the sources said.

Johannesburg municipality spokesman Greg Meyer said ranks were allocated to taxi associations on a principle of damage limitation.

This was the only viable option for the municipality. "Order can only be maintained by allowing taxi associations to manage ranks independently. Taxi associations with a viable constitution and licensed operators get a monopoly on their ranks."

A new rank would be allocated for use by the Lethable Taxi Association (LTA) if it could prove possession of permits allowing it to use Johannesburg routes, said Meyer.

Business Day Reporter

A new spate of shootings began when the LTA occupied Johannesburg ranks allocated to the SA Long Distance Taxi Association (Saldta) on May 27.

The LTA, previously aligned to Saldta, abandoned the ranks in November after a factional dispute within the organisation.

The municipality, which owns the ranks, had no authority to investigate allegations made by the rival Federation of Local and Long Distance Taxi Associations that Saldta officials had demanded thousands of rands from members for use of its ranks. There was no regulatory structure to prevent this, said Meyer.

Meyer denied claims that applications from the LTA for a new rank in Johannesburg had been ignored by the municipality. No applications from the LTA had been received, he said.

Saldta, the only major taxi association operating as a private company, controlled 10% to 20% of Johannesburg ranks. There was no evidence to support allegations that the municipality treated it "with kid gloves".

A National Transport Policy Forum workshop held in Johannesburg at the weekend called for one centralised Road Traffic Act to ensure standardisation and consensus regarding the successful implementation of traffic safety policies in the nine provinces.

Clear policies which were rigidly adhered to, and close co-operation and consultation could prevent problems such as those being experienced in the taxi industry, delegates said.

They also called for greater funding for traffic law enforcement.

The workshop was attended by representatives from the forum's transport safety committee, taxi organisations, freight and bus operators, the SA Consumer Council, local and provincial traffic authorities and government bodies including the Transport Department.

# Call for navy to expand

254  
of 13/6/94

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA's naval capability should be expanded to incorporate other functions, including Coast Guard and diplomatic roles, according to a report by a retired Danish admiral.

The report, compiled by Rear-Admiral Joergen Jakobsen under the auspices of the Centre for Southern African Studies (CSAS) at the University of the Western Cape, also calls for the navy to receive a greater share of the defence budget in order to maintain and expand its operational capabilities.

Adm Jakobsen, who presented the document at a CSAS conference yesterday, argued for the retention of the navy as "any attempt to cut back the role of SA's navy will be acutely felt by future generations".

But, he said, it should assume control of law enforcement functions at sea and be employed in an important diplomatic and stabilising role in the Southern African region — and receive the funding to be able to do the job.

Adm Jakobsen called for a greater share than the present 7% of the defence budget for the navy, to enable it to buy new ships and the necessary equipment.

## Defence cuts 'will enhance security'

CAPE TOWN — Diverting resources from defence to government's reconstruction and development programme would enhance rather than undermine South Africans' security, military analyst Laurie Nathan said yesterday.

Nathan, director of the Cape Town-based Centre for Conflict Resolution, said a number of arguments had been presented in recent weeks for maintaining or increasing the defence budget.

The argument that it was necessary to maintain a credible defence capability was correct as a general principle, but its application depended on circumstances.

SA was overarmed in the regional context as none of the Southern Africa Development Community states was capable of posing a military threat.

There was no foreseeable military threat from outside the region.

"The potential in fact exists for a high level of political, diplomatic and security co-operation in the post-apartheid southern Africa," he said.

"Disarmament in SA would facilitate disarmament throughout the subcontinent, releasing resources for development and potentially leading to greater internal stability."

In SA the greatest threats to citizens' security were non-military problems such as poverty, unemployment and a lack of adequate social services.

"The bottom line is that money spent on defence could otherwise have been used for development programmes and welfare services," Nathan said.

To argue that SA's foreign policy, particularly in southern Africa, would depend heavily on a military role was dangerously close to SA's regional policy under apartheid and would undermine regional confidence. Ways to cut the defence budget should also be investigated.

Nathan said SA had to establish clear foreign and national security policies and conduct a transparent investigation of its arms industry before it could make rational decisions about the defence budget.

— Sapa

# focus on **ARMSCOR**

THE question of governing in an open society is going to challenge the various South African political cultures. A commandist tendency, with tight and controlled sharing of information, will have to give way to openness, transparency and accountability.

Murky deals, cloak and dagger, cloak of secrecy are terms uncritically accepted as apt descriptions of the arms industry worldwide.

The South African arms industry, forged to a large extent in response to the imposition of sanctions, is no exception.

It has thus been doubly rewarding to work on Armscor's "transparency and accountability policy".

Firstly, because of the challenge of working in an environment unused to public scrutiny.

Secondly, because of the sense that such an endeavour helps in the deepening of democracy in this country.

The definition and boundaries of accountability and openness will forever be the victims of vested interests and the exigencies of time. As the following quote from a *Guardian Weekly* report of the "Iraqgate" scandal the British government finds itself in shows:

"Amid all this sat Sir Robin Butler — cabinet secretary, head of the civil service, guardian of the constitution and Whitehall ethics — arguing that while ministers are in theory 'accountable' to parliament, they were not 'responsible' for the actions of their departments."

He liked the word "accountable" because it was "blame free".

After several discussions with media groupings and analysts of civil society, the following draft policy was adopted by the Armscor management board in February this year:

"We are committed to a profound policy of transparency and accountability aimed at empowering our ultimate client — the South African public — to assess our acquisition and marketing decisions, our human resources and technology development policies within the boundaries of government policy."

## Greater accountability

This policy will be implemented through three tracks. The first, which has been in existence since Armscor's inception, of being accountable to the Minister of Defence, under whom Armscor falls.

This we foresee will expand to include greater accountability to Parliament.

The other two tracks will be greater accountability to the public and greater openness. The Afrikaans word for transparency, "*deursigtigheid*" perhaps captures our objective better — that is to allow for more "see throughness".

The concept of "civil society" is central to our notion of public accountability.

A wide spectrum of organisations make up civil society.

Armscor's path to greater transparency and accountability began with the release of its 1992-

<sup>Sowetan 14/1/94</sup>  
Y Abba Omar, general manager of public relations of the South African arms giant, Armscor, replies to criticism of the corporation by Gora Ebrahim of the Pan Africanist Congress:

93 annual report and the holding of an exhibition of SA's military products (Dexsa '92) in 1992. The '93-'94 annual report was released on June 6 to the public. Dexsa '94 is scheduled for later this year. We realise that empowerment was going to have to be an essential ingredient of accountability because of the complex nature of the armaments business.

Thus when a programme of consultations around the question "what should Armscor's policy on T&A be" was begun, there was a healthy dose of explaining how Armscor worked. This round of consultations has led to the following tentative conclusions.

### ● The Transparency Triangle

All public corporate structures will need to work out the fine balance between the public's right to know, corporate confidentiality and what government defines as top secret. In the context of the armaments industry this becomes even more difficult for the following reasons:

● There exists an unwritten understanding that in the case of arms transfers it is the receiving countries prerogative to announce the receipt of any arms.

The reason for this is quite simple: the receiving country is purchasing arms so that it can obtain a certain advantage — strategic or otherwise. It alone will be able to determine whether it is in its interests to announce that it has received those arms.

This understanding thus also complicates the public revealing of all the arms trade. South Africa may have been engaged under the arms embargo.

Obviously the Cabinet would have to be completely apprised of this history.

An approach worth considering is that of the Swedes which has a thriving arms industry and who are internationally regarded as the most accessible.

According to their Swedish foreign affairs ministry: "The government submits an annual report to parliament containing among other things, details of the value of arms exports by recipient country. In view of foreign policy and commercial secrecy requirements, however, it has not been possible to publish details of the equipment supplied to the countries in question."

This will thus allow transparency as far as who are clients without giving away what they have bought from us.

● That there must be complete formal accountability within the parliamentary system.

This form of accountability existed since the inception of Armscor. It is important to continue with this as a means of explaining how public

money has been spent. It also ensures that government policy is being implemented and acts as a means for exposing errors in the implementation of policy. The routine of working under secrecy will end up the same decision, albeit a good decision, being repeated. This leads to the development of vested interests.

Public accountability should counteract vested interests, while ensuring that political and economic criteria are considered along with technical ones.

Measures which democratic countries have used include:

● Parliamentary debate on the Defence White Paper.

● The Swedes conduct a five-yearly review of their procurement policies to ensure that annual budget allocations have not veered from original objectives.

● Having parliamentary select committees, especially on defence and public expenditure, to scrutinise all Armscor accounts.

● Accountability to Parliament of civil servants.

● Transparency and accountability to civil society.

This is important to:

● Allow the public to make inputs into decision-making.

● Ensure that Armscor reflects priorities of the SA public.

Among the measures Armscor is already implementing are the following:

● Assembling a board of directors representative of SA society.

● Empowering SA society to understand the issues involved. These include pro-active briefings, arranging visits to plants etc.

## Engaged in discussions

To ensure that Armscor is accountable to specific groupings — individuals as part of its efforts of being accountable to the public we are engaged in discussions with organisations from a number of sectors, including trade unions, church groupings, environmental groupings, business associations, technology groupings, defence research group, and the media.

South Africa is already a signatory to all the international protocols concerning the movement and sale of arms. The arms embargo prevented SA from signing the UN arms register. The embargo also prevents SA from revealing its international trade.

Armscor welcomed the lifting of the embargo so that the heavy shroud of secrecy which continues to cloak some aspects of its business can be removed.

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# Arms industry under fire

INTERNATIONAL experience showed that investment in the arms industry was not cost-effective in creating jobs or in terms of technological spin-offs, Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said during a debate at a seminar on defence spending in Johannesburg yesterday.

The Defence vs Development seminar, organised by the Military Research Group, debated whether the defence budget should be cut to fund the reconstruction and development programme, and how the cuts would affect the SANDF and Armscor.

Coleman warned against allowing the economy to become too dependent on the arms industry. SA was one of the lowest spenders on research and development among the newly industrialised countries. And the electronic and other industries had been made dependent on the military.

He said investment in the civilian

KATHRYN STRACHAN

manufacturing sector could generate more jobs, given the capital-intensive nature of the arms industry

More security spending also meant less spending on social upliftment, which was necessary to lessen tension among civilians

Armscor spokesman Andre Buys said budget cuts since 1989 had seen the number of jobs provided by the defence industry drop from 160 000 to 70 000. Besides job creation, the industry generated foreign exchange through exports.

Further cuts would mean that certain of the country's core defence capabilities, such as sea and air surveillance, would have to go. "We will have to make choices."

For example, the SANDF was down to one fighter squadron. Further cuts would mean this squadron would have to be disbanded.

Coleman said there was not enough evidence to back up the claim that

the defence force was dangerously short of resources

"We don't know, we don't have this information and we can't take the assurances of an industry that has deliberately misled us"

The SANDF and the arms industry could not be exempt from the transformation process, and the debate would have to start from the premise that everything was up for negotiation, he said.

UCT Centre for Conflict Resolution director Laurie Nathan said SA was already overarmed in the regional context. None of the states on the subcontinent was capable of posing a military threat, and the potential existed for a high level of political, diplomatic and security co-operation in post-apartheid SA.

Disarmament in SA would facilitate disarmament on the subcontinent, thereby releasing resources for development and potentially leading to greater internal stability.

# Modise withdraws gag order

■ BY ABDUL MILAZI

Defence Minister Joe Modise yesterday withdrew an interdict restraining the Weekly Mail & Guardian from publishing information implicating top Umkhonto we Sizwe officials in spying for the previous government while in exile

On Friday, Modise won an interdict against the newspaper restraining it from publishing information by former Directorate of Covert Collec-

tion (DCC) members Gerhard van Rensburg and Clive Brink, who alleged that they had names of ANC officials who had spied for the NP government while the organisation was still banned (254) (S73)

In a statement Modise said he had withdrawn the interdict after carefully examining information made available to him by the two former Military Intelligence officials and satisfied himself that it did not pose a threat to the democratic tran-

sition

Modise said "I have instructed the State attorney to withdraw the interdict restraining the former officers (Van Rensburg and Brink) from divulging information to the Weekly Mail or restraining the Weekly Mail from publishing whatever information either party so wishes"

He said his intention in initially agreeing to defence force chief General Georg Meiring's request to gag the former

agents and the paper was to satisfy himself as to the security implications of the publication of such information

Modise said "I granted the permission because I did not want to read in newspapers about covert issues pertaining to my department about which I had not yet been briefed"

Modise's actions last week drew strong criticism from the SACP, Cosatu and the ANC, among others



CAPE

# Call to subject defence spending to public scrutiny

(254)  
R25 14/6/94

□ Military analyst says development improves security

**JOHN VILJOEN**  
Staff Reporter

FUTURE defence spending and the size of South Africa's arms industry should be the subject of public investigations and open commissions of inquiry, says military analyst Laurie Nathan.

He is director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution at the University of Cape Town and joint head of the Military Research Group.

In a document released yesterday, Mr Nathan argued that diverting spending from defence to reconstruction and development would improve, not worsen, South Africa's security situation.

The secrecy surrounding Armscor and the Special Defence Account would have to

be lifted if the value of South Africa's armaments industry was to be accurately determined, he said.

While it was necessary to maintain a credible defence capability, South Africa was overarmed in the regional context.

Not one of its neighbouring states was capable of posing a military threat, nor was there any foreseeable threat from outside the region.

Regional co-operation should include security forces and South African disarmament would be repeated elsewhere in the sub-continent, releasing resources for development.

A defence force ensured the security of a country and its citizens, but the greatest threats to South Africa's people were non-military problems.

Diverting resources from defence to reconstruction and de-

velopment to combat poverty, unemployment and the lack of social services would enhance, not undermine, the security of South Africans.

If social problems were not addressed, conflict and violence would increase. Socio-economic development was therefore a security imperative.

He disputed the argument that the defence budget was not high by international standards. Defence spending in South Africa was above the level the United Nations and the World Bank viewed as acceptable for developing countries. South Africa spent several times more on defence than the rest of the region combined.

It was true that defence cuts were impossible because of the costs of integration and demo-

bilisation, but this was a short-term situation, he said.

An efficient demobilisation programme which found jobs for former soldiers and helped them adjust to civilian life was probably the most meaningful contribution the defence establishment could make to socio-economic upliftment.

On arms production, Mr Nathan said it was untenable to argue that ethics should play no part in the arms trade.

"It is not overly pious to ask whether South Africa wishes to boost its economy through the killing of people in other countries," he said.

It was far-fetched to suggest South Africa could limit arms exports to countries which did not suppress their citizens' or have territorial ambitions. It made more sense to limit the categories of arms exported.

# MK commanders being 'upgraded' outside country

ARG 14/18/94  
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The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — More than 160 Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders are undergoing last-minute senior staff courses outside South Africa in an effort to secure top SA National Defence Force positions.

This was confirmed today by MK and SANDF sources.

A SANDF source confirmed that a number of MK junior and senior commanders had failed to assemble at Walmansthal outside Pretoria along with thousands of other MK members as they were on courses in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Ghana, Pakistan and India.

The source said the commanders had been sent on staff courses in January — on orders from the African National Congress leadership — in a move to boost their ranks before integration into the unified SANDF.

While other MK members were returning to South Africa to register for the integration, at least 160 top leaders were flown out of the country to undergo last-minute staff courses.

A MK source confirmed that 167 cadres were still outside South Africa on courses. He said there were 120 members on courses in Zambia, 39 on a cadet course in Zimbabwe, five in Pakistan, two in Ghana and one in India.

He confirmed that the top leaders were on courses to qualify them as brigadiers.

The SANDF source said it was believed a number had returned last month from courses in Zimbabwe with ranks equivalent to colonel and brigadier in the SANDF.

The training includes junior staff training to promote captains to majors, majors to lieutenant-colonels and senior staff courses needed for the ranks of colonel and brigadier.

While some of the courses lasted four months, similar courses in South Africa would have taken at least 10 months, the SANDF source said.

At present, more than 80 percent of all officers in the SANDF are white.

# 'White man seen at site of Goniwe explosion'

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Details have been released of a new witness to the December 1989 car bomb which killed two policemen and an informer between Motherwell and Addo.

During the Goniwe inquest it was alleged that security forces killed the policemen because they knew about the Goniwe murders in 1985.

Police spokesman Captain Michael Faleni said today the witness claimed to have seen a blue 1300 Renault RS in the vi-

cinity of the explosion at the time *ARC 16/6/94*

The driver was described as a clean-shaven white man with medium length ginger hair.

He was wearing a short-sleeved khaki shirt and trousers.

An appeal has also been made to farm workers who lived in the vicinity at the time to contact the police.

Anyone with information has been asked to contact Detective Warrant-Officer Fanie Els at ☎ (041) 54-4605 (work) or 933-2671 (after hours).

1300

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# Prosecution threat if MK spies named

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The SA National Defence Force has threatened to prosecute disaffected former Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) members if they publicly divulge the names of top Umkhonto we Sizwe officials who spied for the previous government

If the Military Intelligence informants were identified, not only would they be severely compromised in their current capacities but the exposure of military secrets would amount to a contravention of the Official Secrets

Act, Major-General Dirk Verbeek, acting Chief of Staff Intelligence of the SANDF, told a media briefing yesterday.

Verbeek was reacting to the recent legal tussle between Defence Minister Joe Modise and the Weekly Mail & Guardian over its intention to publish information from former DCC members Gerhard van Rensburg and Clive Brink, who alleged that they had names of ANC officials who spied for the NP government while the organisation was still banned.

Modise this week withdrew an

interdict restraining the newspaper from publishing the information in its possession on the grounds that, after being briefed on the matter, he was satisfied that the information did not pose a threat to the democratic transition.

Verbeek was tight-lipped about communications held this week between Modise and four spokesmen representing a group of 23 former DCC members, but it is understood a compromise effectively deterring the publication of secret military information has taken place.

Verbeek said the disillusioned former DCC members — who were part of a group of 49 who were paid off in December 1992 following the exposure of a DCC front organisation called Pan Afrika Industrial Investment Consultants — had had a "change of heart" about their resettlement packages (254)

"To this end they have approached the Directorate (of Covert Collection), the Chief of the SA Defence Force as well as the Minister of Defence in order to obtain re-employment or a further resettlement amount"

# Niemoller named in Lubowski inquest

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Chandre Gould w/m 17-23/6/94

**J**OHAN Niemoller, named in 1986 as being involved in a plot to kidnap four top ANC members in London, has emerged as a central figure in the planning of the assassination of Swapo leader Anton Lubowski.

A South African Special Forces member between 1976 and 1981, Niemoller's name cropped up repeatedly at the Windhoek inquest into Lubowski's assassination, which heard closing arguments last week.

The inquest heard that Niemoller was given R600'000 by the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) to "establish himself in the community" and set up a business front, referred to as a "blue plan", which would disguise the real nature of his business, known as the "red plan". Evidence was that he was ordered by "Frnk", the regional CCB manager in Namibia, to gather information and make videos of "everything that was important for use by the CCB".

In the course of executing his "red plan", Niemoller visited Lubowski on more than one occasion under the pretext of seeking advice on matters related to mining operations. Council for the Lubowski family Wim Trengrove argued that he was in fact seeking to gather intelligence about Lubowski which could be used by the CCB.

Niemoller admitted in court that he had videoed Lubowski's house and recruited a colleague, Charles Neelse, to assist him. Both Niemoller and Neelse were named by Trengrove as members of region 8 of the CCB and therefore as having common purpose to murder Lubowski.

Currently a businessman in Windhoek, Niemoller has a classic dirty tricks background. After tak-



Johan Niemoller ... Admitted taking video of Lubowski's house

ing part in the South African raid on Cabinda in Angola in the mid-1970s, Niemoller was sent to London in 1986 where he was drawn into a British operation to take over the Seychelles.

In return he is alleged to have asked for assistance in kidnapping the ANC members, but this operation fell through. He allegedly received a large sum of money from the CCB after tipping them off about the planned Seychelles coup in the mid-1980s.

When Niemoller returned to South Africa he was recruited by Joe Verster as a member of the CCB and assigned as an undercover agent in Namibia from 1989.

In final argument at the marathon inquest, Trengrove referred to affidavits and documents from both the recent inquest into the 1985 murder of Matthew Goniwe and the Harms Commission, which provided a more comprehensive insight into the methods of the military's now disbanded CCB.

The Namibian Supreme Court heard last week that the CCB was responsible for the September 12 1989 assassination of Lubowski. Council for the Lubowski family argued that the shadowy organisation had common purpose to murder Lubowski, and that those consciously operating as CCB members in Region 8, Namibia,

were therefore responsible for murder.

Trengrove accused former CCB chairman Joe Verster and former members Ferdi Barnard, Calla Botha, Abram (Slang) van Zyl, Charles Wildschudt (formerly Neelse), Donald "The Cleaner" Acheson, Chappie Maree, Staál Burger, Wouter Basson and Niemoller of involvement in the assassination.

He argued that Namibian police officers incriminated by some witnesses were not linked to the murder.

The conclusions were supported in principle by the Deputy Prosecutor-General John Walters.

Trengrove argued that the CCB "planned a campaign of violent acts to disrupt Swapo's election activities in the 1989 Namibian election" and Lubowski's murder would have been in line with this.

Former Special Forces and CCB member Calla Botha explained in an affidavit the training programme of CCB recruits and named the CCB's deputy director as Heiner Muller, not previously exposed as a CCB member.

Botha also outlined the CCB's chain of command, saying all CCB projects were approved by the CCB chairman General Joep Joubert and later General Webb in consultation with the state president, at that time PW Botha.

# Spies demands 'being considered'

CT 17/6/94  
Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise is considering the demands of former Military Intelligence agents who have threatened to divulge sensitive information if their calls for restitution are ignored. (254)

The agents, calling themselves the Group of 23, were last week gagged by the Transvaal Supreme Court following an urgent interdict by Mr Modise against them and the Weekly Mail. The interdict was withdrawn.

According to court papers, the Defence Ministry feared the disgruntled former Military Intelligence spies would make public the names of their former informants, some of whom are

thought to be top uMkhonto weSizwe officers.

Acting Chief of Staff Military Intelligence Maj-Gen Dirk Verbeek yesterday told a press conference investigations by Attorney-General Jan D'Oliveira had failed to produce any evidence of criminal activities within the ranks of the directorate.

Gen Verbeek said Mr Modise had met the former agents. The Minister was "applying his mind" to their requests.

Gen Verbeek said payouts for the 23 when a military intelligence front company was shut down were accepted by the men at the time but some of them had undergone a change of heart.

# 200 Bophuthatswana coup soldiers to join SANDF

ARG 22/6/74 (254)

The Argus Correspondent and Sapa

PRETORIA — Nearly 200 members of Bophuthatswana's National Guard who were dismissed in 1988 for their part in a failed coup in Mmabatho are to be accepted into the South African National Defence Force.

The 194 elite former Bophuthatswana Defence Force members were sacked and a number jailed for treason after they ousted then president Lucas Mangope's government and installed opposition leader Rocky Malebane-Metsing

However, less than 24 hours after seizing power and holding Mr Mangope and several cabinet ministers under arrest in Mmabatho's Independence Stadium, South African Defence Force armoured vehicles stormed the capital and reinstated the president

However, North West premier Popo Molefe yesterday announced he had negotiated the reinstatement of the soldiers with SANDF chief General

Georg Meiring

An SANDF spokesman today said it was not yet clear how many of the soldiers would accept the deal or how their re-employment would be undertaken

Meanwhile, Eastern Province Command has begun accepting Umkhonto we Sizwe members as part of the process of incorporating soldiers from two freedom movements and three former homeland defence forces into the SANDF

Soldiers from the Azanian People's Liberation Army and Transkei, Ciskei and old South African defence forces have, however, still to be integrated.

About 500 people wanting to join the army were still gathered outside the African National Congress' headquarters in Johannesburg last night

They were among about 3 000 people turned away from a training camp at Wallmannstal near Pretoria because they were not on an ANC list

# The titanic battle for control of the Defence Force

254 W.M. 17-23/6/94

Threats to expose moles in the ANC were behind the attempt to gag this

newspaper, write **Stephen Lauffer and Anton Harber**

**T**HE aborted attempt by Minister of Defence Joe Modise to censor the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* last week revealed a titanic struggle between Modise and Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring for ultimate control of the armed forces.

And a major element in this battle is information that Military Intelligence operatives claim to have that would compromise individual ANC leaders

Meiring took the initiative last Thursday when, with some last-minute arm-twisting, he pushed Modise into the interdict against this newspaper. Sources close to the Ministry of Defence say the general won Modise over with the threat of major political damage to the ANC and the government through the revelation

of highly placed South African moles in the ANC, dating back to its period in exile.

This has raised fears that such information could give the military a hold over some ANC leaders, including ministers and deputy ministers.

Said one intelligence source: "Meiring is a sharp strategist. He would have known all the implications of the interdict and may have been testing Modise."

But neither of them banked on the strong reaction they faced. In a move unprecedented in South African politics, the minister's own party, the ANC, and its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu, all criticised him sharply and publicly.

Modise won back some ground in a crisis meeting on Monday morning when he ordered Meiring to withdraw the affidavit, blamed him for the criticism he had faced and over-rode Meiring when he did not want to concede the newspaper's legal costs. Modise is now taking steps to surround himself with civilian and polit-

ical advisors, such as his long-standing colleague Ronnie Kasrils, to ensure he does not rely directly and solely on Meiring's advice.

Observers are now watching to see if Modise is able to follow this through and assert his authority as civilian and political leader of the military.

This leaves the question of what, if any, compromising information the military gathered in its decades of fighting the ANC that it can now use.

Government and ANC intelligence operatives believe a decades-long programme to recruit agents inside the ANC by the South African spy services was ultimately successful in penetrating the top echelons of the political and military wings of the organisation.

The South Africans allegedly used "false-flag operations", in which they pretended to be British, American, Israeli or Soviet agents gathering information and won over ANC leaders sympathetic to those governments. At a later point, they would reveal to their source that they had

been supplying information to the apartheid government, thus compromising them and forcing them to continue supplying material.

The South African intelligence operation was allegedly so successful that at least one cabinet minister and one deputy in the present government are alleged to have been South African informants. This newspaper is aware of the alleged identities of the two, but will not publish their names without conclusive proof of any collusion with the apartheid authorities.

Intelligence analysts are sceptical about claims from the MI operatives interdicted along with *WM&G* last week. "They are too junior to have run or even had knowledge of really senior ANC figures working as agents for the other side," said one. Modise appears to have acted with little reference to his advisors, instead trusting Meiring's advice. Contacted by this newspaper on receipt of the interdict last Thursday, the minister's political advisor asked somewhat sheepishly to have a copy of the

court papers faxed to the ministry.

The debacle, commented Institute for Defence Policy director Jakkie Cilliers, "illustrates the need for the Defence Ministry to seek policy advice from outside, from a parliamentary defence committee, from civil society, and other advisors. The minister should not depend solely on the generals for guidance."

The interdict debacle was a prime argument for the rapid establishment of the truth commission, argued several government sources. "It will create an ordered framework for dealing with the past and reduce the risk of blackmail to the government or leading political figures," said one.

It is understood that President Nelson Mandela received an extensive counter-intelligence briefing by the ANC's security department prior to choosing his cabinet. Sources refused to divulge what the president was told, but said "he is a lawyer. You must be careful not to come to him with circumstantial evidence, he demands proof".

And one cabinet insider said:



# Paying for the sins of the past

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WM 17-23/6/94

**Shadley Nash**

THE new government will pay for the sins of the old

A statement from the Ministry of Justice this week confirmed the government would honour its liability towards the civil claims of the family of murdered Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe and others

The new government is inheriting civil suits running into millions of rands arising from the Goniwe case, the Bisho massacre and many others

There is no budget for these claims,

however, and the government will look to the Truth Commission for guidance in dealing with them

Ministry of Justice spokesman David Pogoro said the wrongs done to victims of apartheid must be recognised

Last month, Mr Justice Neville Zietsman, presiding over the reopened Goniwe inquest, found that the security forces were responsible for the Goniwe murders

Although he could not name the individuals involved, the ruling was welcomed by the family's lawyers as

strengthening their civil claim for R1,6-million

The government also faces claims, possibly running into millions of rands by 19 victims injured during the Bisho massacre on September 7 1992 when Ciskei troops fire on demonstrator, killing 29.

Pogoro said the Truth and Reconciliation Commission would have to "handle the issue" and make recommendations to Nelson Mandela

The earliest the government could begin to look into these matters would be after August, he said — Ecna

# What Modise didn't know about DCC

Defence Minister Joe Modise had clearly not been briefed about the Directorate of Covert Collection when he moved to interdict this paper last week. **Louise Flanagan and Chandre Gould** provide some details his generals omitted to tell him

**D**EFENCE Minister Joe Modise has inherited a covert intelligence-gathering unit — the Directorate of Covert Collection — riddled with dirty tricks operatives from the total onslaught era.

Last week Modise moved to interdict the *Mail & Guardian* from publishing further details about the workings of the DCC, which was partially purged after being raided by Mr Justice R Goldstone in late 1992.

Since last week Modise has improved on his technique in dealing with the press. When the *MW&G* asked the military to confirm that 62 people had been members of the DCC he both responded to our request and called a press conference on Thursday after the newspaper's deadline.

A long-term investigation has established that:

- The DCC's director is Brigadier Horace William Doncaster, alleged former head of the Johannesburg City Council spy ring.

- Second in command Colonel Gerry Borman was the handler of former CCB Transvaal chief Staal Burger.

- Two of its operatives were still collecting information on the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress as late as March this year.

- The DCC contains former Rhodesian security agents, one of whom worked for the South African Military Intelligence unit responsible for running Renamo and Unita.

- One of its key front companies, Pan Afrik Industrial Investment Consultants (PAIIC), is apparently still operating, despite South African Defence Force assurances a year ago that it was being de-registered.

A Defence Ministry spokesman said the company was currently in the final stages of being wound up but did not explain the delay.

The Goldstone raid unmasked the



No laughing matter ... General Georg Meiring, Ronnie Kasrils (centre) and Joe Modise

PHOTO: PARATUS

DCC head office front company Africa Risk Analysis Consultancy (Pty) Ltd (Arac). A year later the *M&G* exposed PAIIC, which was used to employ 62 DCC members. As happened with the military's now-disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau, these people were ordered to "resign" from the SADF and work for PAIIC so that their connection with the SADF would be hidden.

About 20 former CCB members were hired by PAIIC. This enabled the 62 to operate within South Africa's borders, which was not part of their brief as MI agents. PAIIC catered only for those operating within South Africa. Operatives based outside the country would have fallen under other front companies which are still unknown. The use of front companies was an officially authorised strategy.

Former DCC member Jan Anton Nieuwoudt stated in court docu-

ments filed during 1993 that he joined PAIIC on the orders of General Joep Joubert, General Witkop Badenhorst and Brigadier Tolletjie Botha.

Immediately after the Goldstone raid then-president FW de Klerk announced that 23 officers had been suspended from duties and might face charges in relation to criminal activities. Despite promises by De Klerk, few further details were revealed and the 23 — about half of whom have never been named, despite De Klerk's assurances that they would be — simply lost their jobs and dropped out of sight.

The results of inquiries by both General Pierre Steyn and Judge Goldstone into DCC were never made public nor handed to the attorney-general's office. Nobody from the organisation was ever charged. At least two former DCC members,

Nieuwoudt and Commander Jack Widdowson, sued the SADF for unfair dismissal and won substantial settlements. Some have quietly been given their jobs back.

A group of 23 of the PAIIC members are appealing to President Nelson Mandela to clear their names. It was the representatives of this group, Gerhard Jansen van Rensburg and Clive Brink, that Modise briefly interdicted from speaking to the press. Van Rensburg and Brink have emphasised that their aim was never to expose either their fellow officers or their sources as Modise claimed in the interdict.

"Contrary to the allegations contained in the SANDF's application for the interdict, we have not revealed the names or identities of sources, collaborators or informers of former colleagues, neither is it our intention to do so now, or in the future," said the

PAIIC group.

"We joked about contacting our old sources (now) in senior positions and asking them for jobs, but decided against it because it's an issue that needs to be dealt with by the new government," said PAIIC group member Wally Wilsenach this week. "We are not prepared to sacrifice them for our own selfish gain."

As Wilsenach was not affected by the gag, he was able to talk to the press. He also emphasised that he would not identify colleagues. The PAIIC group believes their dismissal points to a conflict between intelligence agencies within the country. They allege that the Counter-Intelligence directorate identified them as a way of shifting attention from themselves.

Wilsenach claimed Counter-Intelligence had information about DCC members links with MI6 and Zimbabwean CIO as well as informant about illicit diamond deals and fraud.

The Defence Force has restricted access to the public files on Arac and PAIIC — a restriction which still seems to be in force. More ominously PAIIC appears to be operating despite official SADF claims that it closed down in February 1993.

Goldstone found that Arac was set up in 1988 with the sole director an Eric Johan Pelser. The address Pelser gave turned out to be false. A public register indicates that PAIIC was set up in January 1986 with the sole member a Ernst John Penzhorn, a name interestingly similar to that of Arac's director.

This week Penzhorn, a Pretoria lawyer, denied having any links to the Defence Force or any of its front companies. He said his legal firm had registered PAIIC during the 1980s. "If I am indicated as a director/member it could have been for purposes of initial registration only, as often happens, whereafter the interest in the company or cc is transferred after registration," he said, adding that he could not say whether PAIIC was still in business.

The public records clearly indicate that, although the PAIIC file is restricted, the corporation is still in business. Penzhorn is also named on public records as linked to MI front Global Capital Investments cc, which was finally deregistered in 1992. Penzhorn says he sold Global Capital Investments as a dormant company during the 1980s and no longer had any interest in it.

landmines a gold mine  
Star 18/6/94

# Clearing landmi

A CONSORTIUM including a subsidiary of local arms maker Denel has landed a lucrative contract to remove landmines from Mozambique. However, this has sparked an outcry from human rights groups. **RODNEY VICTOR** reports.

SOUTH Africa could win a number of massive international contracts to clear landmines in former war zones all over the world, according to military conglomerate Denel.

Denel spokesman Paul Holtzhausen (254) says the company's research arm, Mechem, has spent more than 20 years developing the technology to detect and lift landmines. It is currently the world leader in this field.

Last month the United Nations awarded a \$5 million (about R18 million) contract to Mechem, in collaboration with British companies Lonrho and Royal Ordnance, to clear landmines from 2 000 km of roads in central Mozambique.

Work is expected to start within weeks, and other contracts could flow once it has been completed, Holtzhausen says.

The Mozambique contract has drawn fire from human rights groups, which object to arms manufacturers — who have already benefited from sales of landmines — winning further lucrative contracts to remove them.

The profits from such contracts could also be used to develop even deadlier means of killing people, they say.

However, Holtzhausen says none of the landmines to be lifted in Mozambique are of South African origin.

"We stopped making landmines years ago because Eastern bloc countries were flooding the market at prices we could not afford to compete with," he says.

## Humanitarian issue

"Instead we turned to developing the technology to detect and lift landmines, which is why we are now world leaders in this area."

The director-general of the South African Red Cross, Keith Gower, says it is unfortunate that only military conglomerates like Denel have the expertise to lift landmines.

"We are very concerned about landmines because of the humanitarian issue. Landmines go on killing civilians long after the military conflicts that spawned them cease."

Another area where South Africa is hoping to win landmine-lifting contracts is the former Yugoslavia, which is heavily mined.

Other contracts, worth between R110 million and R145 million in total, are expected for additional work in Mozambique and Angola.

The United Nations is believed to be rethinking the wisdom of awarding further demining contracts to arms manufacturers. A senior United Nations humanitarian official in New York told Britain's *The Independent* newspaper this month that the organisation had "learnt its lesson."

"We should have thought about the companies' connections to the landmine industry, but we didn't. I can honestly say it is extremely doubtful that a landmine clearance contract will ever again be awarded to a mines manufacturer," he said.



**FROM NIRVANA TO HELL:** Standard 10 pupils of Lenasia's Nirvana Secondary school are handing over items collected to the Rhenish national collection drive. They will hand over items collected to the Rhenish national collection drive.

## Silicone implants: harmful

### RODNEY VICTOR

THE fact that American manufacturers of breast implants have established a \$4,25 billion (about R15,5 billion) fund to settle claims pending against them indicates that they do not have much confidence in their defence, say two Johannesburg experts in natural healing methods.

The charge is, however, denied by plastic surgeons, who say the manufacturers have done this only because it would have been even more expensive to fight a large number of individual cases in the courts.

They claim that silicone implants are totally safe, and that

the fund has been established for legal and financial reasons, rather than on medical grounds.

The president of the South African Association of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons, Dr Warwick Morris, says he has never come across a woman who has suffered problems arising from a breast implant.

While it is true that there have been cases where certain medical conditions have cleared up after the implants have been removed, there have also been cases where the conditions haven't cleared up.

"That proves to me that the implants were not the cause of

the symptom

"We believe that the construction used and worthy Morris says

However, the author says it is not clear whether the safe and worthwhile cause doctors like they do worthwhile but good holidays

Shearer says the number of effects from

# Goniwe: too little proof to prosecute

Star 18/6/94

LOUISE FLANAGAN

EAST LONDON — There is not enough evidence to prosecute anybody for the 1985 murder of anti-apartheid activist Matthew Goniwe, the Eastern Cape Attorney-General said yesterday.

"After studying the evidence and findings in the reopened inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkonto, Fort Calata and Sice-lo Mhlauli, I have decided not to prosecute anyone for the murders," said Les Roberts.

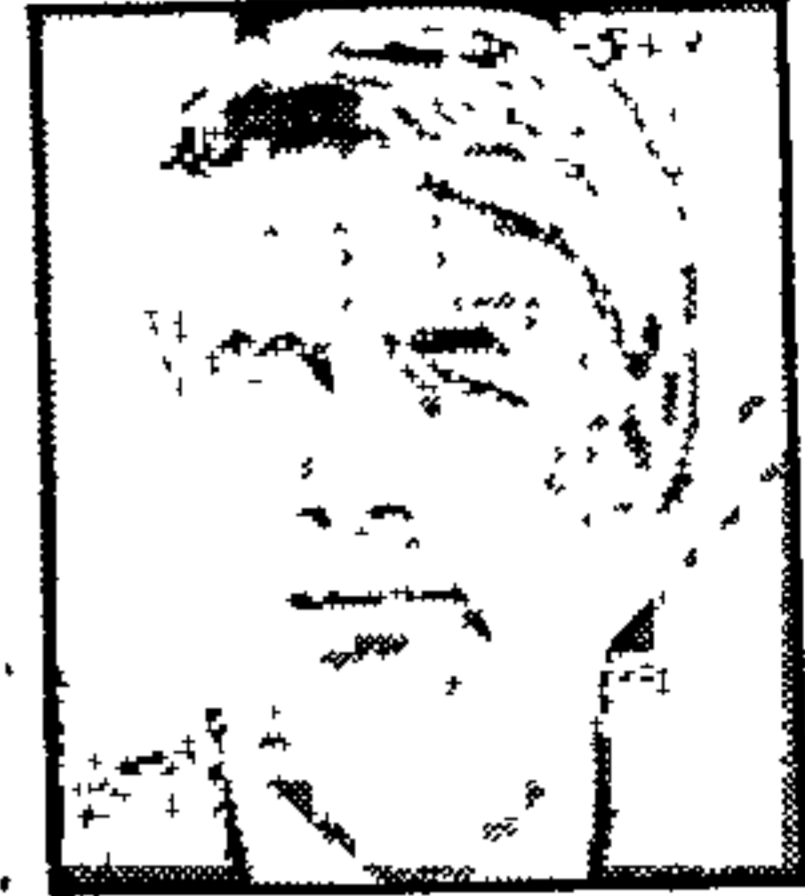
"The available evidence is not strong enough for a reasonable chance of a successful prosecution against any individual or individuals," he said in a statement

The reopened inquest finding announced last

month was that members of the security forces were responsible for the murders. The finding stated that military officers, including former Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen, had been ordered to send, drafted or received the top secret "death signal".

But the court could not pinpoint individuals or even the branch of the security forces responsible, even though Judge Neville Zietsman said there was a strong case of suspicion against three military and two security police officers.

But there was not enough evidence to link it



IMPLICATED: Joffel van der Westhuizen

NO PAGE

Star 18/6/94

## ◆ Goniwe

to specific killers.

Goniwe and three comrades were murdered on June 27 1985 — just 20 days after a top-secret military signal was sent calling for his "permanent removal from society"

"The only person against whom there is a sufficiently strong case (of incitement and conspiracy) to justify prosecution is Colonel Lourens du Plessis. He has been indemnified, however, and thus cannot be prosecuted." (254) (339)

"If any further evidence comes to light which could strengthen the chances of a successful prosecution on any of these charges, then this decision will be reconsidered"

Roberts said he was

still investigating two other matters arising from the Goniwe inquest before making a decision.

One was a "car-bomb blast in a Port Elizabeth township in December 1989, in which four policemen were killed. During the Goniwe inquest, SADF lawyers alleged that members of the police force had killed Goniwe and they were then in turn killed by their own colleagues as part of a cover-up. The second case related to the discovery of the top-secret SADF Operation Katzen documents. Van der Westhuizen planned the operation, which involved a coup attempt against the then-president of Ciskei, Lennox Sebe

# Denel ready to defuse world

AR 18/6/94 (254)

**RODNEY VICTOR**

Weekend Argus Correspondent

**MASSIVE** contracts to clear landmines in former war zones all over the world could be coming South Africa's way, according to the country's military conglomerate, Denel

Denel spokesman Paul Holtzhausen says the company's research arm, Mechem, has spent more than 20 years developing the technology to detect and lift landmines. It is currently the world leader in this field, he says.

Last month the United Nations awarded a \$5 million (R18 million) contract to Mechem, in consortium with British companies Lonrho and Royal Ordnance, to clear landmines from 2 000km of roads in central Mozambique

Work is expected to start within weeks and other contracts could flow once it is complete, Mr Holtzhausen said

The Mozambique contract has drawn fire from human rights groups, who object that arms manufacturers, who have already benefited from lucrative sales of landmines, should win lucrative contracts to remove them

Profits from such contracts could be used to develop more deadly means of killing people, they say.

Mr Holtzhausen denies, however, that any of the mines to be lifted in Mozambique are of South African origin.

"We stopped making landmines years ago because Eastern bloc countries were flooding the market at prices that we couldn't afford to compete with," he says

"Instead, we turned to developing

■ South Africa looks poised to become a world leader in landmine clearing. But many think mine manufacturers shouldn't get the contracts.

the technology to detect and lift landmines, which is why we are now world leaders in this area"

The director-general of the South African Red Cross, Keith Gower, says it is unfortunate that only military conglomerates like Denel have the expertise to lift mines

"We are very concerned about landmines because of the humanitarian issue. Landmines go on killing civilians long after the military conflicts that spawned them cease," he said

One area where South Africa is hoping to win contracts is in the heavily mined former Yugoslavia. Further contracts, worth between \$30 million and \$40 million (between R108 million and R144 million) in total, are expected for additional work in Mozambique and in Angola

The UN, however, is believed to be rethinking the wisdom of awarding further de-mining contracts to arms manufacturers. A senior UN humanitarian official in New York told Britain's Independent newspaper the organisation had "learnt its lesson".

"We should have thought about the companies' connections to the landmine industry, but we didn't. I can honestly say that it is extremely doubtful that a landmine clearance contract will ever again be awarded to a mines manufacturer," he said

## Ex-guerrillas join up in August

35 (254) ARG 18/6/94

WALLMANNSTAHL. — Former African National Congress fighters now being retrained will be deployed to units of the new South African National Defence Force early in August, training officers said yesterday.

Colonel Terence Murphy, commanding officer of the Wallmannstahl assembly point north of Pretoria for former guerrillas told reporters visiting the camp that final integration of all South Africa's armed forces would take several years.

"We are determined here to make a success of the integration exercise," he said. "It requires a great deal of trust and goodwill, which does exist."

Colonel Murphy is working with ANC commander Gilbert Ramano, a former adversary in liberation wars. Both men also fought in what was then Rhodesia.

Asked if there was still animosity between the two sides, Mr Ramano said "You can't rub it out overnight,

but we have passed an important stage in our history, we should be living as brothers and sisters now.

"We have no reason anymore to fight each other."

Colonel Murphy said he had flown helicopters in the Rhodesian war. "I was looking for Gilbert, but I never found him," he said.

The officers said soldiers here last week began 41 days of reorientation training to prepare them for postings to National Defence Force units. They then would receive more specialised training.

One of the ANC soldiers at the camp, Louis Zinyana, 21, said the mood of the camp was happy.

"We are all together now in one country. We don't sing 'Kill the boer, kill the farmer' anymore," he said.

"We are one nation, united. There are no more wars, we must just train now to protect our country" — Reuter

## Goniwe: No prosecution

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From page 1  
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viduals nor even the branch of the security forces responsible, even though Judge Neville Zietsman said there was a strong case of suspicion against three military and two security police officers.

The court found the military officers, including former Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen, were ordered to send, drafted or received the top-secret "death signal" But there was not enough evidence to link it to specific killers.

"I have also considered possible charges of incitement and conspiracy relating to the signal sent from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria on June 7 1985," said Mr Roberts.

"The only person against whom there is a sufficiently strong case to justify prosecution is Colonel Lourens du Plessis. He has been indemnified, however, and thus cannot be prosecuted.

"If any further evidence comes to light which could strengthen the chances of a successful prosecution on any of these charges, then this decision will be reconsidered."

Mr Roberts said he was still investigating two other matters arising from the Goniwe inquest.

# Impasse over top army posts for MK

S1 Times

19/6/94

By PETER De IONNO

**TALKS** between Defence Minister Joe Modise and SANDF chief General Georg Meiring about high-level command posts for Mr Modise's former MK comrades-in-arms have deadlocked.

The impasse is embarrassing Mr Modise by frustrating the expectations of his closest supporters, who see the SANDF opposition as a last-ditch attempt to retain white control of the military command structure.

Calls for Mr Modise to exert his political authority over the generals are rising as he faces a personal test this week with a bid to persuade government leaders to appoint a deputy minister to help him restructure and re-orient the defence force.

Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Modise's long-term MK ally and confidant, is favoured for the post, if the minister can break through the ceiling of 12 deputy ministers.

Mr Kasrils, who has been attending official briefings at Mr Modise's side, favours moves to change the complexion and image of the SANDF with the appointment of black generals. He would give powerful support to Mr Modise in forcing the generals to compromise.

The headquarters generals are insisting on pre-election agree-

ments that appointments and ranking of MK officers could only be based on internationally accepted military standards. This would exclude many veteran MK commanders (254).

Senior MK officers can claim 30 or more years of guerrilla warfare experience and training in African and Eastern Bloc military doctrine. But many do not have academic qualifications and the breadth of command demanded for high office by a modern conventional defence force.

A Defence Ministry source confirmed this week that an MK list suggesting 17 names for leadership posts had been sent back by the SANDF with a demand that it be cut to seven names.

While the arguments are centred on two vacant positions at SANDF headquarters — chief of staff (effectively second in command) and chief of staff intelligence — the outcome will have a direct effect on the ranking of all MK cadres being integrated into the defence force.

MK officers fear that assessment boards will not recognise ranks and commissions awarded in the guerrilla army.

The chief of staff position, vacant since the retirement in November of Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, has been widely expected to go to Siphwe Nyanda,

who succeeded Mr Modise as commander of MK. As chief-of-staff he would be heir apparent to General Meiring.

Mr Nyanda, 43, a former sports journalist who returned from exile in 1988 to head Operation Vula, has spent the past two years guiding MK towards integration, but senior SANDF sources reject him because "he is not qualified".

Similarly, attempts to moot MK's head of operations Lambert Molo for the SANDF intelligence chief's post (which also carries the rank of lieutenant-general), are being dismissed "because he does not have the right background".

"The generals do not realise that there is a political imperative to make provision for our people if the military is to be seen to change and be seen as legitimate by the whole country," said a ministerial adviser.

"The SANDF command just cannot remain lily-white. There has to be political intervention and acceptance of affirmative action."

Meanwhile, initial hiccups at the Wallmannstal assembly area for MK soldiers being prepared for integration appear to have been overcome.

The number of MK cadres listed for integration has been settled at 26 864, more than double the 12 000 originally expected.



# Israel overturns arms embargo against SA

**JERUSALEM** — Israel said yesterday it had lifted its arms embargo against South Africa.

"The cabinet has repealed the restrictions on signing contracts with South Africa following the UN Security Council's decision to cancel the military embargo and other restrictions it had imposed in the past," the cabinet secretary said in a statement.

The UN lifted its embargo after the election.

Until Israel decided in 1987 to stop signing new arms contracts with Pretoria, media reports said annual Israeli military exports to South Africa totalled hundreds of millions of dollars.

The two countries were widely reported to have been co-operating on nuclear weapons and ballistic missile research until the restrictions were imposed.

— Sapa-Reuter (238) (254) CT 20/6/94

# US lifts arms embargo against SA but not Armscor

**PETER FABRICIUS**  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON.— The Clinton administration has lifted its arms embargo against South Africa, permitting the import and export of arms, ammunition and military services between South Africa and the United States.

But the embargo remains in place against Armscor because of an indictment against several Armscor officials for allegedly breaking the law by buy-

ing military equipment from a US company.

The lifting of the arms embargo was published in the Federal Gazette yesterday and backdated to June 8.

It means that it will no longer be US policy automatically to deny licences for the import or export of military items and services.

In future the administration will consider, on a case-by-case basis, all requests for licences to export defence ar-

ticles to South Africa on the US munitions list.

Last week the administration announced the lifting of the embargo against exporting dual-use items to the South Africa military or police.

The lifting of both embargoes implements the US Security Council's decision on May 25 to terminate its mandatory arms embargo against South Africa imposed in 1977.

The only remaining US federal sanc-

tion against South Africa is the 1986 ban on co-operation between US intelligence agencies and the South Africa government.

South Africa ambassador Harry Schwarz said last week that legislation to lift the ban had already been initiated.

A few state and city sanctions against South Africa remain, largely because legislative bodies have not been in session to repeal them.

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Monta



# SA army helps quell mutiny

UMTATA — South African National Defence Force troops from the Eastern Province Command were sent to Transkei help quell the continuing mutiny by former Transkei Defence Force members yesterday

The SANDF's commander in Transkei, Major-General Temba Matanzima, said 195 TDF members from the Umtata Garrison and Port St Johns units had been detained in connection with the mutiny, which began on Tuesday last week. They were being held in military detention barracks.

The first arrests were made on Thursday when soldiers at the Port St Johns base allegedly refused to obey orders. More ar-

## Soldiers held in 'Kei crackdown

rests followed at the Neise base near Umtata.

Well-placed SANDF sources confirmed that Eastern Province Command had been sent to Transkei yesterday morning in response to a TDF request.

A team from the South African Army's legal branch had arrived in Umtata to help investigate the mutiny, TDF spokesman Captain Bafana Nxumalo said.

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"The high command wishes to warn all concerned that the SANDF will not tolerate indiscipline and insubordination in its ranks," Gen Matanzima said.

"Grievance procedures as set out in the regulations are known by everybody and therefore no one has a right to take up arms to force or threaten seniors to address their grievances."

The mutiny began when members of the military police took hostage a senior officer who had been sent to investigate reports of insubordination.

The officer was freed by troops supported by Eastern Province Command.

Details of the mutineers' grievances would not be disclosed yet as they were being investigated, Capt Nxumalo said — Sapa

# US/Arm Scor ban still in place

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Although the United States has officially followed the United Nations in lifting the UN arms embargo on South Africa, the ban effectively remains in force on Arm Scor, its commercial offshoot Denel and two other companies, Kentron and Fuchs

This is because of the still pending indictment against

(254) CT 22/6/94  
Arm Scor, Kentron and Fuchs for their part in a major arms smuggling conspiracy with Pennsylvanian James Guerin

While charges against seven South African employees were dropped in return for their co-operation with prosecutors, the Justice Department wants Arm Scor to pay a substantial fine

US officials were yesterday un-

able to clarify whether these companies were barred for exporting goods to the US

The Commerce and State Departments gazetted regulations permitting exports to the SA Police and military.

Congress is preparing legislation to permit the resumption of intelligence co-operation between both countries.



## BUDGET



Defence cuts . . . from left, former Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach, Umkhonto we Sizwe's Ronnie Kasrils and Defence Minister Joe Modise

# Defence spending cut by 13%

STEPHANE BOTHMA

PRETORIA — The defence budget, excluding allocations for the integration of military forces and assembly points for Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla cadres, has been cut 13% in real terms

Defence also has to provide the lion's share — R650m — of the initial R2,5bn allocated to the reconstruction and development programme (RDP)

A sum of R10,61bn was allocated to defence for the 1994/95 fiscal year, a 4,8% increase on last year's allocation. However, this included R1,486bn for the integration of military forces and R313m for the establishment and running of assembly points at which the non-statutory military forces would be integrated into the SA National Defence Force

The SANDF said yesterday there were 95 000 statutory full-time force members, and 25 000 non-statutory force members could be integrated

"Not only will a force of this size place great strain on the defence budget in salary costs, but many related aspects must also be considered, such as logistic costs. Rationalisation to an affordable force is thus necessary," it said

A target of 91 000 full-time force

members, to be achieved within three years after integration, had been accepted for the rationalisation process of the SANDF. This could mean a reduction of about 30 000 members

Although maximum use would be made of natural attrition, most of the reduction at senior level would have to be achieved by retrenchments which would further burden the budget, the SANDF said.

A report drafted by the SANDF this month said serious gaps had already developed in the SANDF's capabilities and a further reduction in defence spending was not feasible.

It said since 1989, the defence allocation had declined 44% in real terms — the second most drastic reduction of a defence budget in the world after that of the former Soviet Union

The former SA Defence Force absorbed the cuts largely by tapping into its reserves. It was envisaged that these reserves would be replenished at a later stage. They had now, however, been depleted to a level where the SANDF could only logistically support limited operations

The SANDF said the Special Defence Account had decreased 17,3%

in nominal terms and 23,8% in real terms, to R3,093bn

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that the Secret Services budget, which finances the National Intelligence Service and its activities, was cut to R427,5m from R433,7m

The Special Defence Account came into existence in 1952 to purchase weapons systems. Such systems necessitated spreading the procurement costs over a period of years

This year's reduction in the account was the result of a reduced overall allocation and a higher manpower requirement

Currently, 6,7% of the funds in the account was used for capital projects while 30% was used for running expenses such as ammunition, spares and maintenance

ADRIAN HADLAND reports that PWV RDP commission head Ben Turok said the defence budget could have been cut further. "I don't see why we need an army at all."

While the integration of MK members into the SANDF was more of a social issue and no real threats were apparent from neighbouring countries, there was scope for slashing the budget in future, he said.

*Only small hand-out to defence*

## No allocation for new technology

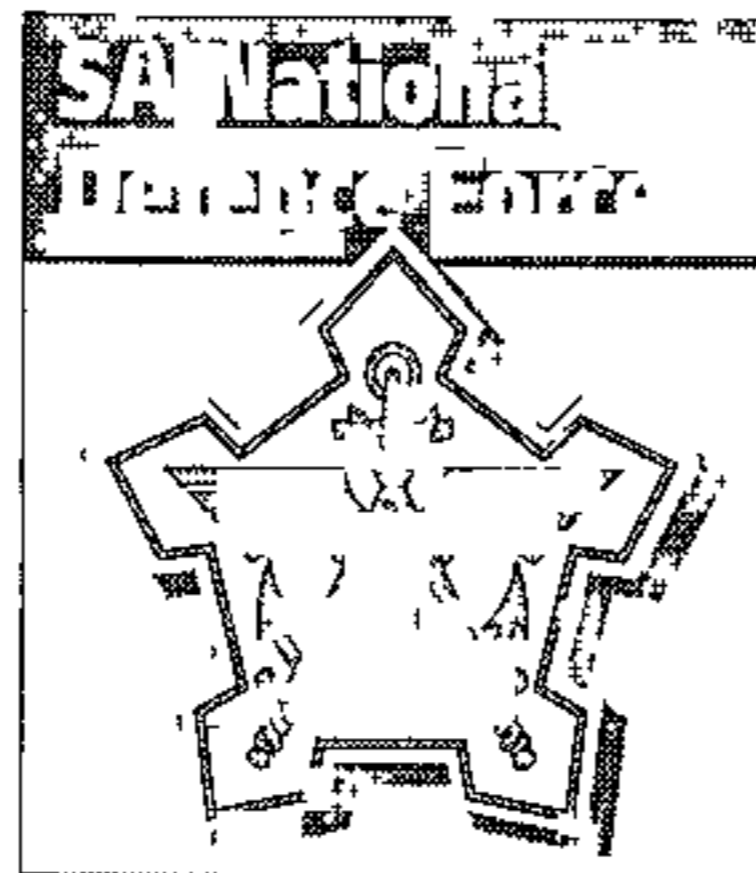
Star 23/6/94

■ BY CHARMEELA BHAGOWAT and CHERYL HUNTER

The marginally increased defence budget announced by Finance Minister Derek Keys yesterday did not facilitate capital growth or technological development. It covered only heavy costs of restructuring the defence force, say experts.

Keys allocated R11,2 billion to defence this year, compared to R9,3 billion last year, and this year's budget was one of the greatest contributors to the Government's Reconstruction and Development Programme.

(254)



However, this budget will pay for the integration of former homeland armies into the SANDF, the absorption of Umkhonto we Sizwe members, the National Peacekeeping Force and other costs in-

curated by the transition process.

Bill Sass, a senior researcher at the Institute for Defence Policy, says the defence force could have done with more money as the approximately R2 billion increase in the budget would barely cover the cost of employing and looking after the large number of new personnel absorbed by the force.

"The nominal increase is not going to satisfy the needs of the Defence Force and the budget is not one on which the force can re-equip itself," said Sass.

The budget was no sur-

prise, however, as there had been strong indications from political leaders of a R2,5 billion increase in the defence budget to facilitate the integration process.

Helmoed Romer-Hertman, correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, an international military magazine, said the defence budget was "too tight. Too much is going into personnel and too little into capital and technology development."

He acknowledged that the high personnel costs were inevitable but said the defence force could not afford the budget to drop any further. "The Defence Force does not have all the capabilities it should have for a country like South Africa."

South Africa's fighter planes were old and needed replacing. So did transport and long range maritime aircraft and the navy needed new equipment.

It seemed the budget was based on the premise that South Africa and the surrounding region would never be threatened militarily.

## Aspirant soldiers are turned away by MK

JOHANNESBURG — Hopeful recruits for the new South African National Defence Force spent a bitterly cold night outside the ANC headquarters on Tuesday night

In Port Elizabeth, the ANC military wing had also had to turn away a number of aspirant soldiers, uMkhonto weSizwe Border Commander Lindile Yam said

He said many people not listed in MK's records had tried to get into the new national defence force

— Sapa

(254) CT23/6/94

# SANDF to probe Transkei 'mutiny'

ET 23/6/94

(254)  
Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Two teams from SA National Defence (SANDF) headquarters in Pretoria are to investigate the "mutinous activities" of 213 detained former Transkei Defence Force members

Eastern Cape Army Command's Brigadier Toon Slabbert denied media reports yes-

terday that white SANDF soldiers had "taken control of military bases in Transkei"

He said they had, along with military police from Pretoria, taken over the detention barracks at Port St Johns

He confirmed that SANDF soldiers had been deployed in Umtata and Port St Johns to contain the mutiny

He said the mutiny had begun after a shooting incident involving striking policemen and the soldiers trying to contain them

A former TDF army officer sent to investigate the situation had been taken hostage by a group of soldiers who released some of the detained rebels, prompting an SANDF opera-

tion to rescue the officer and re-arrest the mutineers

Brig Slabbert said the soldiers might face a court martial if "it is found that they took part in mutinous activities"

He said soldiers' grievances included disputes about salaries, but declined to give further details until the investigations are completed



# Transkei Defence Force 'mutiny' probe: 215 held

□ All armouries and ammunition depots 'secured'

ML 23/6/94 (254)



**CREATIVE CRAFTER:** Art student Sizwe Luphuwana, 23, from Guguletu, shows off the model wooden house with glass windows which he made for an art project. The roof is made of sucker sticks, which he painted grey. Sizwe, who began drawing and making models when he was very young, also makes big trucks and various other models. The house is for sale for R100. Picture OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

UMTATA. — A total of 215 Transkei Defence Force members have been detained pending investigation and disciplinary action, Defence Force commander Themba Matanzima said today.

All armouries and ammunition depots were being secured by the SA National Defence Force and the Transkei Defence Force.

All action mounted by the SANDF was being carried out in co-operation with the TDF and himself, General Matanzima said.

His statement follows more than two weeks of security problems in the Eastern Cape former homeland starting with a strike by Transkei police on June 6 and a shootout between TDF and police personnel on June 8.

It was announced in Port Elizabeth yesterday that an investigation into the military mutiny in Transkei had begun.

Brigadier Toon Slabbert of the Eastern Cape Command said two teams of SANDF senior officers from Pretoria had arrived in Umtata to investigate the situation.

The brigadier told a press conference that the mutiny by a group of former TDF members began on June 8, following a shootout between striking policemen and soldiers ordered to contain the strike.

"On June 12 some TDF members — about six or eight — tried to make an alliance with the striking police but were soon arrested and taken to the army barracks in Port St Johns," he said.

However, the situation went out of control when a former TDF army officer sent to Port St Johns to investigate the actions of the arrested soldiers was taken hostage by TDF members.

Brigadier Slabbert said it was at this stage that General Matanzima summoned help from the SANDF in Port Elizabeth.

A joint operation to rescue the officer and re-arrest the mutinous soldiers was launched.

"During the same evening, a group of junior officers in Umtata stole arms at the army base and travelled to Port St Johns with the intention of releasing the group arrested there. But they were stopped and arrested," Brigadier Slabbert said.

"On June 26, the same situation started in Maluti where 20 more soldiers were arrested."

Saying the situation was now under control, Brigadier Slabbert declined, however, to give detailed information on the reasons behind the mutiny, adding that this was still the subject of investigation.

He dismissed as untrue speculation that the army rebellion was due to uncertainty about the future among former TDF soldiers.

"Salaries, yes, might be one of the reasons, but I do not think it has anything to do with their being integrated into the SANDF or uncertainty about the process."

"In fact, the men held on June 16, when given a pen and paper and asked to write down their reasons for their actions, could not say anything."

Brigadier Slabbert could not say how long members of the SANDF from outside Transkei were likely to remain in the area.

The investigation which began yesterday was expected to be completed later this week, and if any of the arrested soldiers were found to have breached the law, they would be court-martialled — The Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

Army says it now has serious defects

# SANDF has to bite the bullet

CT 23/6/94

(254)

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

SERIOUS shortcomings had developed in the combat and logistical support capabilities of the South African National Defence Force because of cutbacks in defence spending, the SANDF said yesterday.

A document released by the chief of the SANDF, Gen Georg Mearing, said the defence budget would have to increase in future.

The defence allocation was now equivalent to the defence budget of the mid-1970s.

Spending on armaments and equipment had dropped from 44% of the defence budget in 1989 to 28% last year and the SANDF could no longer maintain even minimum strategic technological levels.

He said the costs of integrating forces such as MK and Apla into the SANDF would increase defence spending in the short term, as would re-trenchments.

The DP called yesterday for a moratorium on the export of weapons of destruction which, it said, South Africa sold indiscriminately on the world market.

THE South African National Defence Force had its budget increased yesterday to R10,61 billion from R9,33 billion last year.

However, the SANDF will still have 13% less money to run the force as the extra money is to be used to integrate non-statutory military forces such as MK and Apla.

The integration will swallow up R1 486m and R313m will be spent on running assembly points at which the forces will be integrated.

The SANDF said the lower amount meant the sum for armament replacement was down to 23% of the defence budget — down from 44% in 1989.

The total defence budget amounts to R11,2bn, but this includes R550m for the TBVC defence forces.

The SANDF has allocated R3 687m (34,7%) for landward defence, R1 633m (19,4%) for air defence, R649m (6,1%) for maritime defence, R857m (8,1%) for medical support, R397m (3,7%) for command and control and R3 093m (29,1%) to the Special Defence Account.

## Secret accounts stay

Political Staff

THE two controversial secret accounts are to remain in the current Budget.

These are the Special Defence Account, which is down by 23,8% in real terms to R3 093,4 million, and the Secret Services provision of R427,5m in the State Expenditure Vote.

The Secret Services budget, down from R433,7m, finances the National Intelligence Service and its activities.

The defence force said yesterday 70% of the money in the Special Defence Account was used for capital projects and 30% for running expenses such as

ammunition, spares and maintenance

The Chief of Staff Finance, Lieutenant-General Ben Rautenbach, said about R100m would be spent during the current financial year to buy Pilatus training aircraft.

A small part of the account was used for intelligence and counter-intelligence activities. This was not for salaries of MIs and MIs, but for special activities which could not be covered by the normal budget.

However, all activities associated with the Civil Co-operation Bureau and the Directorate of Covert Collection had ceased, he said.

The National Peacekeeping Force gets R384m

The 13% real decrease in an already stretched defence budget was "shortsighted" and would render the SANDF unable to fill its duties in future, defence analysts warned yesterday.

"It's bloody shortsighted," said Jane's Defence Weekly correspondent Helmoed-Romer Heitman. "The government is assuming there won't be a military threat in the next two decades."

He said the R550m allocated to the RDP "would mean a cut of

13 000 to 16 000 jobs"

To replace axed capabilities later would be prohibitively expensive "Up-and-down funding is the most expensive way of doing things," he said.

Former Cape Times defence correspondent Mr Willem Steenkamp said yesterday the SANDF had in the past few years displayed "expertise" in coping with defence cuts, but there was little left to rationalise now and SANDF chief General Georg Mearing would struggle to make ends meet.

## 'Peace deployments heaviest'

MORE troops were deployed in South Africa in peacekeeping operations than were, put in the field at the height of the Angolan War by the old SA Defence Force and the old South West Africa Defence Force.

of the Angolan conflict," a statement by the SA National Defence Force said.

The chief of staff, finance, Brigadier Ben Rautenbach, said the reduction in the SANDF budget was aggravated by the operational costs it had been called upon to perform

## Navy increase 'marginal'

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT spending on the South African Navy would increase marginally in real terms, the SANDF's Chief of Staff Finance Lieutenant-General Ben Rautenbach said yesterday.

Plans for the acquisition of new blue-water strike craft had not been approved as proposals were still being researched.

The navy was also updating its fleet and modernising its submarines, Lt-Gen Rautenbach said.

He said R649 million had been budgeted for maritime defence and a further R150m had been allocated for capital expenditure for ship systems.



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## Nature body ready to buy W Coast land

Supreme Court Reporter **ARG 24/6/94**  
 THE South African Nature Foundation is prepared to buy and restore the land at the centre of a controversial West Coast housing development.

The SANF was reacting to a landmark decision in the Supreme Court yesterday by Mr Justice Rose-Innes and Mr Justice Foxcroft.

The two judges ruled that permits issued to Myburgh Park Langebaan Pty Ltd by the Administrator, the Minister of Education and Environment Affairs and the Langebaan Municipality giving the company permission to develop cluster housing near Langebaan Lagoon be declared null and void.

The judges were ruling on a review application brought by three companies, Coruim Pty Ltd, Meeuklip Boerdery Pty Ltd and Oesterwal CC. They wanted the court to set aside the permits which allowed development of the land, previously declared a nature area, as they claimed it would be an "ecological disaster".

The judges found that the Administrator had failed to apply his mind in granting the permit and that all the permits were ultra vires.

"Granting of the permits was a contradiction of the purpose of a nature area. The proposed development contradicts the tenets of nature conservations," said Judge Rose-Innes.

He said "no reasonable man" would have granted the permit given by the Administrator.

Frans Stroebel of the SANF said he had been instructed by the organisation's president, Anton Rupert, to start negotiations to buy the land from the developers.

Michael Schuurman-Stekhoven, the man behind the court action to stop the development, said it was a great victory for the "ordinary man".

# Lubowski probed finding hailed

**ARG 24/6/94**  
 'Best argument' for truth commission

The Argus Correspondent  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — The finding of the Lubowski inquest more than four years after Namibia became independent is the best argument South Africa has for establishing a truth commission, says Lawyers for Human Rights executive director Brian Currin.

Referring to the inquest finding which yesterday named Irish mercenary Donald Acheson as the killer of Swapo advocate Anton Lubowski and Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) members as accomplices, Mr Currin said "That is precisely why we need a truth commission here".

He said the commission could get information and record it so that it could be dealt with and the country could move on rather than have a host of skeletons dragged from the cupboard in five or six years' time.

Mr Currin also said the inquest finding vindicated all those who had accused the CCB. But he found it incredible that it had taken so long to make the finding that so many people

expected after CCB members were implicated in Mr Lubowski's killing by the Harms commission of inquiry into hit squad activities.

Wilfried Lubowski, the advocate's father, said at his home in Cape Town yesterday he "definitely" wanted those responsible for his son's death to be prosecuted.

"It is a relief to know that these people have been blamed at the inquest for my son's killing

"Now we just need to make sure they are extradited to Windhoek to stand trial".

Michaela Clayton (now Figueira), who was Mr Lubowski's lover and worked as a lawyer in the early stages of the case, said it had been her desire throughout the court proceedings to ensure that the activities of the CCB were exposed.

"I am not a vindictive person and I never had a desire to see individuals prosecuted. But I did want to have the extent of the activities of the CCB exposed to reduce the chances of those activities being repeated in the future," she said.

215 soldiers <sup>(254)</sup>  
held in T'kei

UMTATA — A total of  
215 Transkei Defence  
Force members have  
been detained pending  
investigation and disci-  
plinary action, TDF  
Commander Major-  
General Themba Matan-  
zima said yesterday.

He said all armouries  
and ammunition depots  
were being secured by  
the SA National Defence  
Force and the TDF.

The move follows a  
mutiny by TDF mem-  
bers — Sapa

# Acheson named as Lubowski assassin

ET 21/6/94  
WINDHOEK — A Namibian inquest court found yesterday that Swapo advocate Mr Anton Lubowski was assassinated in 1989 by Irish mercenary Mr Donald Acheson in a murder arranged by the SA Defence Force's notorious Civil Co-operation Bureau. (254) (329)

Mr Justice Harold Levy said prima facie accomplices to the killing were CCB managing director former colonel Mr Joe Verster and willing members Mr Ferdie Barnard, Mr Chappie Maree, Mr Staal Burger, Mr Wouter Basson, Mr Johan Niemoller, Mr Calla Botha and Mr Slang van Zyl.

A further accomplice was Mr Charles Neelse, though he had not necessarily known he was working for the CCB. A senior policeman was an accessory after the fact for not reporting information he had before and after the assassination.

Mr Lubowski was shot dead outside his home on September 12, 1989.

Mr Acheson was arrested the day after the killing but released in 1990 when Prosecutor-General Hans Heyman said he was unable to find sufficient evidence for a murder case.

Judge Levy described his failure to prosecute as "the height of incompetence" considering the "strong prima facie evidence" against Mr Acheson.

Judge Levy said Swapo MP Mr Danie Botha and Mr Lubowski's former lover Ms Michaela Clayton (now Figueira) had no part in the killing. Evidence against them was a lie.

He dismissed allegations in Parliament by then-defence minister General Magnus Malan that Mr Lubowski had been a South African military spy.

He said Mr Acheson, sometimes known as "The Cleaner", was recruited by Mr Ferdie Barnard in 1989. He had murdered Mr Lubowski on September 12 and then buried the weapon.

Mr Lubowski's father, retired Namibian farmer and businessman Mr Wilfried Lubowski, yesterday expressed relief that the finding was out.

He said his wife, Johanna (better known by her nickname of Molly) had become unwell upon hearing the news on the radio and was "a nervous wreck — she's been kept in suspense for so long".

Ms Figueira said she was relieved the inquest finding exonerated her.

"It was really hurtful. Besides dealing with the death of someone close to you, to have to deal four years later with allegations you were involved," Ms Figueira said.

The SANDF said it would be inappropriate to comment "before the entire legal process has run its course" — Sapa, Staff Reporter

NAMED ...

Mr Donald Acheson



SLAIN ...

Mr Anton Lubowski

Magnus Malan's claim that Lubowski was SADF spy

# CCB man named as Lubowski's killer

Sowetan 24/6/94

**C**CB 'arranged' Anton Lubowski's murder. A Namibian inquest court found yesterday that Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski was assassinated in 1989 by Irish mercenary Mr Donald Acheson in a murder arranged by the SA Defence Force's notorious Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Mr Justice Harold Levy said *prima facie* accomplices to the killing were CCB managing director Mr Joe Verster and willing members Mr Ferdie Barnard, Mr Chappie Maree, Mr Staal Burger, Mr Wouter Basson, Mr Johan Niemoller, Mr Calla Botha and Mr Slang van Zyl.

## Further accomplice

A further accomplice was Mr Charles Neelse, though he had not necessarily known he was working for the CCB.

A senior policeman was an accessory after the fact for not reporting information he had before and after the assassination.

Lubowski, who at the time had just

## IRISH MERCENARY Namibian court rules on Swapo lawyer's death:

been appointed deputy director of finance and administration of Swapo's election campaign, was shot dead with an AK-47 rifle at close range outside his home in Windhoek on September 12 1989. (254)

Acheson was arrested the day after the killing but released in 1990 when prosecutor-general Mr Hans Heyman said he was unable to find sufficient evidence for a murder case. Levy described his failure to prosecute as "the height of incompetence" considering the "strong *prima facie* evidence" against Acheson which he said could have saved a lot of time, money, prestige and reputations.

The judge found no conspiracy by a group of white South West African police officers to murder the activist and

said they had not been involved in the killing. The policemen and a senior defence force officer had been named by *The Namibian* newspaper as conspirators in the killing on the basis of affidavits the judge dismissed as devoid of truth.

However, publication of the officers' names had been in the public interest, the judge said, a finding observers said could help the newspaper fight a potential defamation case. Swapo MP Danie Roshana and Lubowski's former lover Michaela Clayton (now Figueira) had no part in the killing, and the evidence against them was a lie, the judge said.

He dismissed allegations in Parliament by then SA Defence Minister Magnus Malan that Lubowski had been a South African military spy — *Sapa*

# Lubowski: Namibia in treaty bid

ARG 25/6/94

254  
329

Weekend Argus Special Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Namibia intends to pursue an extradition treaty with the government following the judgment in the Lubowski inquest this week in which the judge named certain members of the notorious Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) as having initiated and been accomplices to the death of the activist.

Deputy Justice Minister Vekun Rukoro said after the conclusion of the inquest that it "would be irresponsible if the government did not try to extradite those involved in the murder of Anton Lubowski" and for them to stand trial in Namibia.

Mr Rukoro said South Africa's justice ministry under the former government had dragged its feet on an extradition treaty. "But, now that there is a new administration we will definitely proceed most expeditiously to get a treaty in place."

The judge named, among others, the CCB's managing director, Joe Verster, as well as several members, including Chappie Maree, Calla Botha, Staal Burger, Ferdie Barnard, Slang van Zyl, Wouter Basson and Johan Niemöller as being accomplices.

The inquest outcome, nearly five years after the death of Mr Lubowski, a prominent white Swapo member who was gunned down outside his Windhoek home in a hail of AK-47 bullets on September 12, 1989, has been greeted with some disbelief in Namibian circles.

While no one appears to dispute the involvement of the CCB in the planning and execution of the murder, the judge's

ruling that Irish mercenary Donald Acheson pulled the trigger does not seem to quite ring true.

Mr Acheson, who was arrested the day after the murder and held for several months in custody, was finally released when the state dropped charges against him.

Mr Justice Harold Levy this week rebuked Namibia's Prosecutor-General, Hans Heyman, for failing to try Mr Acheson for murder on the grounds of strong circumstantial evidence against him. Mr Heyman, however, has defended his decision, saying that if he had tried Mr Acheson it would have led to an acquittal because of a lack of witnesses.

Mr Acheson, who subsequently left Namibia for South Africa, later admitted having been sent by the CCB to Windhoek to poison the editor of The Namibian newspaper, Gwen Lister.

Judge Levy maintains there was enough circumstantial evidence against Mr Acheson at the time of his arrest in Windhoek for him to have stood trial.

Citing, among others, the movements of Mr Acheson on the night of the murder, the fact that his hired red Toyota Conquest had marks on the roof indicated it had been used to steady the AK-47 during the shooting.

In addition to this, the fact that he had been seen by his landlady carrying what appeared to be a rifle in a hessian bag, Judge Levy maintained that had Mr Acheson stood trial it would have ended all the conspiracy theories which followed his release.

In May 1993, The Namibian published a front-page report citing sworn affidavits which claimed that high-ranking Namibian police and army officers had been involved in the assassination.

Those in question immediately launched a R1.5-million lawsuit against the newspaper. The suit was held in abeyance until after the inquest.

With the judge's ruling which exonerated the top policemen, who include the investigating officer in the Lubowski murder, Deputy Commissioner Jumbo Smit, as well as the former head of Namibia's security police, General Foffie Badenhorst, the four who were suspended from their duties in the court of the inquest were immediately reinstated on Thursday.

At this stage, it is not known whether the officers plan to pursue their lawsuit against The Namibian, but may well want to do so to "clear their names".

Another aspect of the judgment which surprised Namibians was the total exoneration by the judge of the policemen who had been implicated. Counsel for the Lubowski family, in summing up, told the court it was clear from evidence that an important report concerning the CCB plot to murder Mr Lubowski was made to Inspector Terry Terreblanche of the police prior to Mr Lubowski's death.

Counsel for the family submitted that if proper police investigation and action had been undertaken at the time, the murder may have been prevented.

# SOLDIERS OF MISFORTUNE

## Charge of the jobless brigade

By ZANELE VUTELA

**JOBS! JOBS! JOBS!** screamed ANC election posters all over South Africa — and thousands of youths took the promise literally.

They heard that MK was assembling at the Walmanshal army base and that the new South African National Defence Force was recruiting — and they flocked to ANC regional offices to sign up.

Somehow regional commanders lost sight of the fact that the exercise was not aimed at recruitment but at the integration of existing armed formations.

As a result thousands of starry-eyed youths who went to the army base were registered — and some even taken for short two or three weekcourses.

But their elation was shortlived. Two weeks ago 5 000 men and women were taken away from Walmanshal and

left at Shell House, the ANC's headquarters.

One young woman told City Press: "We did not even know what was happening. We were called to the P-Mort base and someone told us to bring our sleeping bags as we were being taken to live in barracks. We were happy because the tents are cold."

"Even as our names were checked against a list and we were separated into different groups, I thought it was because we were being taken to different barracks. But we were taken to Shell House at a quarter to eleven at night. It was so cold."

Among those who expelled from the assembly point were authentic MK cadres whose names somehow could not be found on the "master" list. An MK source said the error could have occurred in two ways.

Some MK cadres may not have heeded the call made a few months ago through regional and zonal offices for MK cadres to register. On the other hand, mistakes could have been made by the MK officials responsible for feeding the names into the computer.

Somehow the ANC managed to defuse the explosive situation and persuaded the cadres to go home. But they kept returning to Shell House to check if their problems had been solved.

One of the affected youths told City Press a number of them had come on Monday to check on their situation when some mischievous person started a rumour that all the "Walmanshal people" should go home and fetch their luggage as they would be taken back to camp at 10pm.

So began another nightmare for the Shell House staff as hundreds of aspirant soldiers again camped outside the offices, hungry and cold. Some of them raided the bakery across the street.

It took the intervention of President Nelson Mandela to defuse the situation. He told the crowd that whatever grievances they had, they had no right to behave like criminals. "If you are MK, you must behave properly," he said.

Urging them to follow proper channels, Mandela said negotiations were already on and a place would be found for the whole group where they would be screened. Those who met the required criteria would be returned to Walmanshal.

Mandela said there were basically three categories within the expelled group. The situation of MK cadres trained in exile would be addressed first. Then came the cadres trained within South Africa.

And then there were those "who came just because they want money", he said. This statement was supported by an MK commander who said the R800-a-month allowance was "drawing imposters to the army like flies".

Mandela told the crowd it would be fed and each person given money to return home.

The situation was defused — but for how long?



AT EASE!... President Nelson Mandela ends the siege of Shell House.



"BASE 101 Base 101" an impatient guerrilla, clutching a semi-cold food parcel shouted.

"Come on comrades

## Bleak future for returnees



DISCIPLINED SQUAD... Unkhonto weSizwe cadres from Tanzania and Uganda line up on the tarmac after getting off the plane at Hoedspruit air force base.

By ZANELE VUTELA

IN spite of severe teething problems, the integration of the various formations making up the new South African National Defence Force seems now set on a smoother course.

The arrival of clearly well-trained and disciplined MK soldiers from Tanzania and Uganda at the Hoedspruit air force base in recent weeks hopefully means the kinds of problems experienced at the Walmanshal camp will not occur again.

The last group arrived on Thursday and these soldiers, already trained in regular warfare, are assured of a place in the new army and the commanding staff is sure that it would not be lumbered with dubious characters. However, a deep sense of uncertainty and fear for the fu-

ture among the soldiers threatens to undermine the otherwise smooth running of the camp. Everyone in the group of soldiers that surrounded this reporter spoke of acute financial difficulties.

They also complained that almost all of them were academically weak and wanted to know whether the army could do something to help them raise the standard of their education.

Although the whole group had come straight from Tanzanian camps, some of their names were not on the master list, raising fears that they would be left out of the process.

When Steven Hlophle (21) left the country five years ago he left a three-month-old baby behind. When he went home on leave he found his baby, now five, living

with his mother and unemployed father in a shack.

"All I want is the retirement package," he said. "I have to look after my family and still take myself to school. When I left I had only done standard five. Where will it take me in the army anyway?"

Joe said he had been afraid to go home on leave after he had arrived about a month ago. "We only received R350. How could I go home with that kind of money after being away for so long?" he asked.

But it was obvious that most of the fears were a result of a lack of communication with their seniors. Lt Col Brian Du Toit, SANDF liaison officer, acknowledged the lack of communication. "I've got the same concern," he told City Press. "I foresee the problems that occur-

red in Walmanshal occurring here, but I'll take it up."

He also said it was true that some soldiers had been given R350 when they left on leave but this was because they had been paid according to the number of days that they had been at the camp.

General P Coetser, Army Chief of Logistics, told City Press that he did not know exactly what the retirement packages would contain but that those who did not want an army career would be retired and their packages structured according to their rank.

Coetser told City Press that it had been decided at the highest level that the list would be extended to accommodate 500 more cadres as some had been left off it.

## Cold, hungry cadres protest

By THEMBA KHUMALO  
Political Reporter

"BASE 101 Base 101" an impatient guerrilla, clutching a semi-cold food parcel shouted.

"Come on comrades



phine".  
 "I'm waiting to hit an ambush (a guerrilla term for going for a second plate)," said another.  
 The scene took place at the Walmansthal assembly point where journalists were invited to catch a glimpse of the lifestyle of our future soldiers.

Over 2 000 unregistered MK recruits were sent to this camp after they "sneaked" in without the knowledge of their regional and national commanders. Nearly 90 percent of them are alleged members of the pro-ANC self-defence units and MK recruits who were trained inside the country by bush commanders who infiltrated the country during the days of the armed struggle.

This lot is embittered, because it appears that the ANC is dumping them now that the struggle is over. After putting their lives in danger, they have a right to be trained, they argue, as conventional soldiers in a new democratic SA.

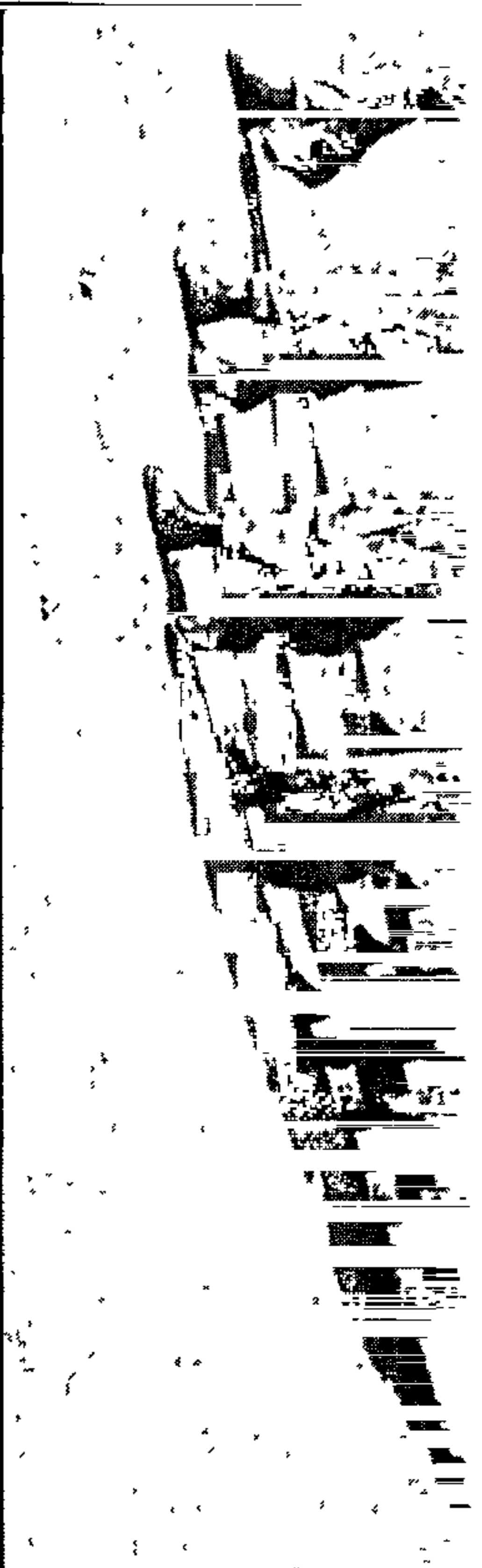
But the MK commanding officer at the camp, Gilbert Ramamo, described them as "a few murderers" who sneaked in, and said they constituted a threat to the integration of the new army.

Some cadres complained that the food was bad, and that they sleep in sleeping-bags and freeze on cold winter nights.

Although our visit left us in no doubt that the discipline at the camp left much to be desired, Msihonde Mbatia, who described himself as the "Sergeant-Major" thinks the guerrillas have behaved well in the face of "extreme provocation".

"You sleep with one eye here. While officers move around with LMGs (light machine-guns) yet we are not allowed to carry even a toy gun."

Although they had been without uniforms for weeks, recently they were supplied with overalls and track suits. The latest supplies seem to have lifted the otherwise sagging morale among the cadres.



**MARCHING FOR THE NEW SA... MK recruits undergo training at the Walmansthal camp before being integrated into the new SANDF.**  
 ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINENKA



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Craven "A" Menthol	R2.70 R4.00		
Craven 120's Menthol	R2 90		
Craven 120's Virginia	R2 90		

By THEMBA KHUMALO  
Political Reporter

THE appointment of Ronnie Kasrils as the Deputy Minister of Defence has brought ANC control of the SA National Defence Force a step closer.

It follows growing dissatisfaction among Umkhonto We Sizwe guerrillas about their treatment by their white counterparts in the SANDF. A former MK intelli-



**KASRILS**

gence chief and member of the ANC's national executive committee, Kasrils was appointed by President Mandela and sworn in

# Rise of Ronnie 'Red Pimpernel' Kasrils

at a quiet ceremony at Tuynhuys on Friday. Mandela said that Kasrils had acquired experience in military affairs as a leading officer of MK. His experience, expertise and skills enabled him to play an important role in the TEC's defence sub-council.

Visibly excited after being sworn in, Kasrils shook hands profusely with Mandela and hugged Defence Minister Joe Modise and Joe Slovo, the Housing Minister, with whom he masterminded many MK military operations in South Africa during the days of the armed struggle. He was popularly known among the cadres in Zambia as "ANC

Khumalo". "I'll do everything possible to serve my people. I've been their servant for many years," he told journalists. In 1991 he was dubbed the "Red Pimpernel" after he went underground for about six months to evade the police after they uncovered "Operation

Yula", an MK operation to smuggle arms from the Frontline states into the country and put highly trained guerrillas on standby in case the peace process collapsed after 1990 unbannings.

Kasrils's appointment is seen by observers as a strategic move by the ANC to gradually enhance its control over the military. The move is also thought to be aimed at placating thousands of disenfranchised guerrillas who, because of alleged discrimination against them in the new army, are struggling to find their feet.

Surrounded by white aides, Modise has been accused by some ANC members of making

glaring mistakes and errors of judgment. (his threatened court action against *Weekly Mail and Guardian* if it published details on the SADF's "dirty tricks" department. After the ceremony Modise said "The integration process is a mammoth task and no Minister can handle it all by himself. I desperately needed someone of Kasrils's calibre. See Page 5

# Peacekeeping force costs 'not a waste'

B. Day

27/6/94

STEPHANE BOTHMA

PRETORIA — The R384m budgeted for the ill-fated National Peacekeeping Force — which was confined to barracks after being deployed only once on the East Rand — was not a total waste, the Defence Ministry said this weekend.

"Nothing would be lost," Ministry spokesman Maj Muff Anderson said. However, she conceded that the cost of their deployment on the East Rand had been a "waste"

According to the Budget Review released last week, the force was allocated R129m for the 1993/94 financial year and R255m for 1994/95. This amounted to about R100 000 a head for the 4 000-strong force.

Since Defence Minister Joe Modise announced the disbanding of the force earlier this month, all logistical and other responsibilities for it had been handed over to SANDF chief Gen George Moring.

Vehicles, clothing and other equipment would be taken over by the national defence force, and the training already received would be put to good use when members were integrated into the SANDF, Anderson said.

Because they had already received

several weeks of training by experts, the force's soldiers would not need as much bridging training as other Umkhonto we Sizwe members currently stationed at SANDF assembly points, she said.

"The light blue berets issued to the NPKF are now being issued to the new Presidential Guard. The overalls issued to them during basic training will still be used by them during further training in the SANDF."

The SANDF would carry almost R1,8bn of the R3,8bn transition costs to pay for the integration of MK soldiers into the defence force — at a budgeted cost of R54 000 a head.

Total defence spending for the 1994/95 fiscal year was R10,61bn, of which R1,486bn was for the integration of all military forces into the SANDF and R313m for the establishment and running of assembly points.

Although no detailed breakdown of how the R1,486bn for integration would be spent, it had been stated that roughly R775m would be for salaries and R77m for administration. The rest would be spent on logistics.

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# NEWS FEATURE Assassins linked to security forces 'eliminated enemies of the State'

# SA's State-run death squads

By Patrick Laurence

**T**HE FINDING in Namibia by Judge Harold Levy that Anton Lubowski was murdered by the country's former covert organisations will reverberate for a long time

Lubowski, a high ranking official of the South West African People's Organisation, was found to have been murdered by Donald Acheson acting in concert with the dreaded Civil Co-operation Bureau

Judge Levy's judgment in the inquest into the death of Lubowski on September 12 1989 proves the existence of State-run death squads during the presidency of PW Botha, even though inquest findings are based generally on a balance of probabilities rather than proof beyond reasonable doubt

### Another watershed inquest

The finding in a Namibia court must be seen in the context of another watershed inquest the one delivered less than a month ago by Judge Neville Zietsman in the inquest into the death of Matthew Goniwe and three of his comrades. Zietsman found that Goniwe, a leader of the pro-African National Congress United Democratic Front in the Eastern Cape, and Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sielo Mhlahi were murdered by security forces on June 27 1985

The findings of the two inquest courts reinforce one another and point irresistibly to the conclusion that assassins with links to the security forces "eliminated" rather than merely harassed political activists who were categorised as "en-

### JUDGES' VERDICT Two inquest findings raises more chilling possibilities:

enemies of the State"

The proceedings and findings of the Lubowski and Goniwe inquests should be placed in the context of another major court judgment. That of Judge A Wilson in the Trust Feed Massacre of December 1988

In a sensational judgment delivered in April 1992, Wilson found five policemen — Captain Brian Mitchell and four special constables — had perpetrated the massacre as part of an attempt to tilt the balance of power at Trust Feed in favour of Inkatha and away from the UDF

Mitchell was sentenced to death 11 times for ordering the massacre. The constables were each sentenced to 15 years' jail for their role in the attack. The Trust Feed judgment has been thrust under the spotlight again by the recent decision to grant amnesty to the four constables David Khambule, Dumisani Ndwalale, Kehla Ngubane and Thabo Skhosana

Mitchell's name does not appear on the list of people granted amnesty. As Natal sociologist Mary de Haas points out, until the conviction of Mitchell and his co-police men, the standard response of the old police establishment to allegations of involvement in "third force" activities was that it had never been proved in a court of law. The Trust Feed judgment shattered that defence

The Lubowski and Goniwe inquests

(254) ~~(254)~~

have had an even profounder effect and it is a questionable if — the Trust Feed massacre can be explained solely as the work of one overzealous policeman, (Mitchell) who considered himself a soldier in a civil war, the same rationale cannot be abided in either the Lubowski or Goniwe killings

The assassination of Lubowski cannot be dismissed as the act of one man, Acheson, who is described in the media as an "Irish mercenary" who sought to ensure a convergence between his rightwing convictions and entrepreneurial instincts and whose CCB code name is "The Cleaner"

Levy found that Acheson acted in concert with the CCB which, in the words of police investigator Brigadier Floris Mostert, was "a unit of the South African Defence Force"

### Convicted murderer

Acheson was recruited as a CCB agent by Ferdi Barnard, a convicted murderer who was employed by military intelligence after the formal disbanding of the CCB

Another CCB man named by Levy was Joe Verster, the CCB managing director

When the existence of the CCB was first disclosed — ironically just before the release from prison of Nelson Mandela — top military men disingenuously denied all knowledge of it until the police uncovered it during their invest-

gations into the murders of Lubowski and, in May 1989, of anti-apartheid activist David Webster.

Former defence minister Magnus Malan issued a statement denying that he knew of the CCB until informed of it by Rudolf "Witkop" Badenhorst, his military intelligence chief

Badenhorst, in turn, insisted that he was unaware of the CCB's existence until November 1989 or after the murders of Webster and Lubowski

These protestations of ignorance about the existence of the CCB were unconvincing at the time, for two reasons first, the CCB was established as a unit of the SADF's Special Forces, second at least R28 million of taxpayers' money was spent on it. Judge Levy's findings make them look positively mendacious

Malan, besieged by speculation that he had connived in the murder of the anti-apartheid activists through the CCB, issued a statement naming Lubowski as an SADF agent. He was careful, however, to do so in Parliament, thus protecting himself from legal redress by Lubowski's outraged family

Levy rejected these allegations, making Malan's statement as calumny designed to — in the words of Lubowski's father Wilfried — "save his own hide"

If Malan was duplicitous about Lubowski being a spy, what credibility can be attached to his denial of knowledge of the CCB when its agents were plotting "maximal disruption" — a euphemism for murder — of enemies of the State?

The findings of Judge Zietsman in the Goniwe inquest provide equally compelling reasons for concluding that assassination was an integral part of PW

Botha's total strategy.

George Bizos, SC, who headed a Legal Resources team in the Goniwe inquest, showed that the security forces were tutored in the doctrines of two theorists, John J McCuen, author of *The Art of Counter-Revolutionary War*, and CA Fraser, author of *Lessons Learnt from Past Revolutionary Wars*

### Permanent removal

The principles of counter-revolutionary warfare exposed by these theorists included the selective murder or "permanent removal" of political opponents, Bizos argued

His reasoning was apparently justified by two critical conclusions in Judge Zietsman's finding. First, that Goniwe and his confidantes were murdered by "members of the security forces". Second, that a military signal message calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe, his brother Mhulelo, and Calata, was a proposal that they should be killed

The Goniwe inquest raised another chilling possibility that not even members of the security forces were safe from their colleagues during the PW Botha era. Four men — three black policemen and an alleged ANC renegade or Askari — were killed in December 1989 when the car in which they were travelling blew up

These State-sponsored political killings took place during PW Botha's presidency

The critical question is whether they continued under the presidency of FW de Klerk. Grave suspicions abound that De Klerk was either unable or unwilling to assert control over the security forces he inherited

# NPKF training costs 'not a total waste'

(254) CT 27/6/94

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — The R384 million budgeted for the ill-fated National Peacekeeping Force — confined to barracks after being deployed only once, on the East Rand — was not a total waste, the Defence Ministry said this weekend.

"Nothing would be lost," said spokesman Major Muff Andersson.

According to the Budget Review released last week, the NPKF was allocated R129m for the 1993/94 financial year and R255m for 1994/95. This amounted to about R100 000 a head for the 4 000-strong force.

However, Maj Andersson conceded that the cost of their deployment on the East Rand had been a "waste".

Since Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise announced the disbanding of the

NPKF earlier this month, all logistical and other responsibilities for the force had been handed over to SANDF chief Gen Georg Meiring, Maj Andersson said.

Vehicles, clothing and other equipment would be taken over by the national defence force, and the training received by the NPKF would be put to good use when members were integrated into the SANDF, she said.

NPKF soldiers would not need as much bridging training as other uMkhonto we Sizwe members now stationed at SANDF assembly points.

The SANDF will carry almost R1,8 billion of the R3,8bn transition costs to pay for the integration of MK soldiers into the defence force — at a budgeted cost of R54 000 a head.

**Kei armies  
(254) CT 27/6/94  
for SANDE**

**EAST LONDON** — The Transkei and Ciskei defence forces will be integrated into the SA National Defence Force by April next year

Eastern Province Command chief of staff Colonel Johann Swanepoel said there would be one command structure, headquartered in Port Elizabeth

● The last of more than 1 200 MK militants sent to Uganda for guerrilla training five years ago have left for home, Ugandan officials said at the weekend. Some will be incorporated into the SANDE — Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter

# Namibia may yet seek extraditions in Lubowski case

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — A decision on whether Namibia should seek the extradition from South Africa of the suspected accomplices in the assassination of Anton Lubowski is still being considered by Prosecutor-General Hans Heyman, according to Deputy Justice Minister Vekui Rukoro.

However, Namibian officials are believed to be considering a new attempt to extradite the three South African rightwingers who escaped from Namibia after being accused of killing a guard in an attack on a United Nations office in Outjo in 1989. Such an application could establish a precedent for the Lubowski matter.

After Anton Lubowski's father, Wilfried, had met South African Justice Minister Dullah Omar yesterday, Mr Lubowski said there was support from the South African government for extradition. Justice ministry spokesman David Porogo confirmed that "we are sympathetic"

Mr Rukoro has backed Mr Heyman's initial refusal to prosecute Irish mercenary Donald Acheson, who was found by Mr Justice Harold Levy last week to have assassinated Anton Lubowski in 1989 as part of a South African military intelligence plot.

The judge called Mr Heyman's failure to prosecute Mr

Acheson while he was in custody in Namibia as "the height of incompetence" considering the strong prima facie evidence against him. Mr Heyman in turn accused the judge of being vindictive and reiterated that he had been unable to prosecute Mr Acheson as essential witnesses had refused to come from South Africa to testify.

Mr Acheson, arrested the day after the Lubowski murder, was freed in 1990 and his present whereabouts are not known.

However, Namibian authorities are interested in extraditing for trial the eight former South African Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) operatives whom Judge Levy found to be implicated prima facie as accomplices in Anton Lubowski's murder.

Mr Rukoro said yesterday a decision on whether to seek the extradition of the eight — Ferdi Barnard, Chappie Maree, Staal Burger, Wouter Basson, Johan Niemoller, Calla Botha, Slang van Zyl and Joe Verster — would be taken only after Mr Heyman had studied Judge Levy's findings.

If it is decided to seek extradition, Namibia has two options. The first is to conclude the extradition treaty that has been under negotiation with South Africa for several years. This may not cover political crimes, however

ART 28/6/94

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# Memo warns on defence cuts

Star 28/6/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**Cape Town** — Further reductions in defence spending to finance the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) are not feasible, according to an explanatory memorandum on the defence budget.

The memorandum, tabled in Parliament, said the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) could make an indirect contribution to the RDP by providing its expertise in training, health care, rural development and infrastructure.

An amount of R650 million —

the largest sum from any government department — was contributed from the defence budget for the initial R2,5 billion needed to kick-start the RDP Fund.

Although the SANDF was aware of the Government's changing expenditure priorities, the memorandum warned that further cuts in the defence budget would seriously affect the effectiveness of the defence force.

## Decreased

(254)

An amount of R10 610 million has been budgeted for defence spending for the 1994/95 fiscal year, representing a real increase of 4,8 percent on last

year's allocation.

Allocation to the Special Defence Account has decreased by 23,8 percent in real terms.

The account was established in 1952 to buy main weapon systems, but was extended in 1974 to include "special defence activities and the procurement of technical defence stores, spares and relevant equipment for aircraft, ships, weaponry and special construction works".

The memorandum said 70 percent of the funds under the Special Defence Account was used for capital projects. Expenditure from the account requires approval from the Ministers of Defence and of Finance.



# SANDF to trim permanent force

28/6/94  
Political Staff (254)

THE South African National Defence Force has set itself a target of reducing its permanent force to 91 000 members from an expected peak of 120 000 when members of Apla and MK are fully integrated

According to a memorandum presented to Parliament yesterday, ahead of a finance

standing committee debate on the defence budget vote this week, the SANDF reports 30 000 members of the former non-statutory and statutory forces will have to be cut back within three years

At present there are 95 000 PF members, including former officers and NCOs from the old homeland armies

The SANDF said that during the 1970s and 80s defence planning took place against a background of a "conventional threat", but the changed "strategic situation" in Southern Africa had led to a reassessment of required strength

The indication of three force sizes had been identified by strategic planners — a war

force, regarded as necessary to defend the country in times of conventional war, a smaller core force, needed for the essential defence of the country and an affordable force

An affordable force of about 91 000 members was the only one permitted by the present budget — but one which would be increased in time to counter any threat to national security

# Bill levels salaries for judges

(254) (252) CT 28/6/94  
PARLIAMENT — Constitutional Court judges are to be paid at least the same as Appeal Court judges, but their gratuity after a seven-year term will be discussed further today

This was the consensus of the National Assembly's Select Committee on Justice yesterday during consideration of the Judges' Remuneration and Conditions of Employment Amendment Bill, which deals with the Constitutional Court

Mr Tony Leon (DP) said a proposed gratuity of R1 million was "excessively generous"

Mr Willie Hofmeyr (ANC) said his rough calculation showed such a gratuity would equal the pension of other judges

Committee chairman Mr Johnny de Lange ruled that the issue be discussed again today when Members could present specific proposals

The other draft legislation un-

der review is the Judicial Service Commission Bill

Mr Koos van der Merwe (IFP) asked why provision had not been made for attorneys-general, who handled thousands of cases a day, to be represented on the commission

Mr De Lange said this would be "flagged" as an issue to be raised

Also to be discussed is the effect of the Senate and National Assembly committees considering the same legislation — Sapa

# Lubowski extraditions likely — father

By CHRIS BATEMAN  
Political Staff

THE parents of assassinated Swapo leader Mr Anton Lubowski are confident that South Africa's Minister of Justice, Mr Dullar Omar, will agree to a Namibian request to extradite the eight CCB operatives allegedly responsible for his death.

Mr ~~Verified~~ Lubowski said this yesterday after he and his wife Molly met Mr Omar and his director-general Mr Jasper Noethe for an hour.

"They'll try everything in their power to help," he said, adding that Mr Omar had "a lot on his plate".

"We're not the only ones in

CF 28/6/94  
this predicament — our son was not the only one assassinated."

The Lubowskis were accompanied by their attorney, Mr Andrew Corbett.

It was reliably learnt that President Nelson Mandela took a personal interest in yesterday's meeting. Mr Corbett, who flew back to

Windhoek yesterday, said he would try to arrange to see Namibian attorney-general Mr Hartmut Ruppel today.

"We have the assurance that, should an extradition application be made, the South African government will take it very seriously," he said.

Yesterday's meeting was prompted by Namibian inquest

judge Mr Justice Harold Levy's finding last week that CCB-hired Irish mercenary Mr Donald Acheson gunned down Mr Lubowski on September 12, 1989, with "prima facie" accomplices CCB director Mr Joe Verster and seven other named operatives.

Mr Acheson is believed to be in Ireland.

## SANDF shake-up announced

# MK officers appointed as generals

BIDay 29/6/94

CAPE TOWN — Defence Minister Joe Modise yesterday announced a major shake-up of the SA National Defence Force, appointing seven former Umkhonto we Sizwe officers as generals.

The only non-MK appointment is former Transkei Defence Force chief Maj-Gen Temba Matanzima, who retains his rank and takes over from Brig Toon Slabbert as officer commanding Eastern Province

Modise also confirmed the posts of 12 serving senior officers

The changes to the SANDF's top echelons will result in serving officers holding on to the top posts, but they have been balanced by the new appointments.

The appointment of two lieutenant-generals, five major-generals and two brigadiers from MK ranks was announced, while serving officers remained as chiefs of the army, air force and navy

The only senior post still to be announced is that of Intelligence chief of staff Lt-Gen Dirk Verbeek is acting chief of staff following the retirement of Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen.

Former MK chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda will become the SANDF's first black chief of staff, but has been appointed in an acting capacity until he completes the necessary courses.

The positions of Army chief Lt-Gen Hattin'g Pretorius, SAAF chief Lt-Gen James Kriel and Navy chief Vice-Adm Robert Simpson Anderson were confirmed.

Modise acknowledged that there had been pressure from within and outside the SANDF about the necessity to "maintain standards" But SA was going through a transitional phase and special arrange-

TIM COHEN

ments would have to be made

SANDF chief Gen Georg Meiring said he was very happy with the appointments but the new senior members would have to undergo the relevant courses to equip them for their posts. (254)

Modise gave the assurance that the defence burden would fall on volunteers in future.

He said the SANDF had been involved in contingency planning for a possible intervention in Lesotho with members of neighbouring countries' security forces. The situation was being monitored

Regarding Angola, he said he was sure contingency plans already existed for possible intervention there if required.

Placement boards, including MK members, were considering the positions of other MK members and how they would be integrated into the new force

No decision had yet been made about Apla members, although Modise made it clear that they would be included.

Meiring said the current force of about 91 000 would be supplemented by about 30 000 MK members. The force would be reduced to its current level again in three years by a process of natural attrition

Other serving officers whose positions were confirmed were: Surgeon-General Lt-Gen Neil Knobel; Personnel Chief of Staff Vice-Adm Piet Loedolff; Operations Chief of Staff Lt-Gen Wessel Kritzinger; Logistics Chief of Staff Vice-Adm At Malherbe; Finance Chief of Staff Lt-Gen Ben Raubenheimer; Inspector-General Maj-

□ To Page 2

## SANDF

BIDay 29/6/94

Gen Chris Lombard; Adjutant-General Maj-Gen Richard Knip; Chaplain-General Maj-Gen JHJ de Witt, and Communication Chief Director Maj-Gen Gert Opperman.

Other new appointments were Service Brigade Chief Lt-Gen Lambert Moloi (formerly MK operations director); Personnel Chief Director SANDF Headquarters Maj-Gen Andrew Masondo (MK political commissar); Chief of Army Staff Maj-Gen J Tshali, Logistics Chief Director SANDF

□ From Page 1

Headquarters Maj-Gen A Ismail, Intelligence Deputy Chief of Staff Maj-Gen P Tshikare, SA Army Command Commander Maj-Gen N Ngwenya, Brig M Motau who will be assigned to military intelligence; and Brig J Molefe as Director Inspections with special responsibility for human resources and women's rights. (254)

Modise said other appointments would be announced soon

## MK man named chief of staff

Chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe Mr Siphwe Nyanda has been appointed acting chief of staff of the South African National Defence Force with the rank of Lieutenant-General 29/6/94

He is one of nine senior MK officers whose placement in top positions in the integrated SANDF were announced by Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise yesterday

Modise said the appointments were

part of the integration and restructuring processes which were taking place in the SANDF (254)

The new appointments include Nyanda, Lieutenant-General Lambert Molo (chief of the service brigade), Major-General A Masondo (chief director of personnel SANDF headquarters) and Major-General J Tshali (chief of army staff). — *Sowetan Reporter and Sapa.*

# SA 'won't go to Rwanda'

## Sowetan Correspondent

DEFENCE Minister Joe Modise has effectively ruled out sending troops to war-ravaged Rwanda, saying South Africa's own problems should take priority.

The Minister revealed, however, that the Government was contemplating leasing 50 armoured troop carriers and donating emergency supplies to the United Nations for use in Rwanda

Responding to questions in the Senate yesterday, Modise said the Government was also considering airlifting to Rwanda a variety of material collected by South African churches

He categorically rejected any suggestion that troops or support staff would be sent to Rwanda

Asked by Democratic Party senator Errol Moorcroft whether he would consider sending troops if the situation in Rwanda worsened, Modise stressed "We have our own problems here at home

"We think the Rwandan situation is taken care of by forces coming from the United Nations and at present there are French forces there," said Modise.

*Sowetan 29/1/94*

*(254)*

# Election costs SANDF R37m

PRETORIA — The duties performed and emergency assistance given to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) during the April election cost the SA National Defence Force more than R37m *B/D*

The SA Army had 143 companies comprising 20 500 men deployed over the period at a manpower cost of R31 061 390, the SANDF said. *2 916 194*

The SA Air Force, which assisted the IEC with monitoring and a number of emergency transport flights to help distribute about 6,5-million additional ballot papers, spent R2,4m on flying hours and fuel alone. Personnel resources cost the Air Force R426 512.

The assistance required by the IEC had necessitated the suspension of training at certain fighter squadrons.

The logistical and communications sup-

STEPHANE BOTHMA

port provided by the army cost more than R2,1m. About 653 250 additional ballot papers were printed by the army's 1 Military Printing Regiment on April 27 and 28.

Road transport was provided to help distribute some of the additional ballot papers. *(254) (3075)*

The SA Navy provided manpower support to the army, specialist protection forces and bomb disposal and telecommunication experts at a cost of R352 491.

The SA Medical Service spent R567 255 to have personnel on standby, provide air evacuation teams and give medical support to deployed units and policemen.

The SANDF said the support provided to the IEC was completed within financial regulations.

# Seven MK generals in SANDF

(254)  
CT 29/6/94

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

A MAJOR shake-up in the defence force, including the appointment of seven senior uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) officers as generals, was announced yesterday by the Minister of Defence, Mr Joe Modise.

The most significant of the appointments was that of a former MK chief of staff, Lieutenant-General Siphwe Nyanda, as chief of staff of the SA National Defence Force. Although Mr Modise said General Nyanda's appointment was "acting" and would only be confirmed after he had completed staff courses, General Nyanda is now in line to take over from Lt-Gen Georg Meiring as head of the SANDF.

Mr Modise confirmed that 12 serving senior officers would continue in their posts.

## Chiefs stay

The only senior post still to be announced is that of Chief of Staff Intelligence, the position that was held by Lt-Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen. Lt-Gen Dirk Verbeek is acting Chief of Staff Intelligence.

Lt-Gen Hattingh Pretorius remains chief of the army, Lt-Gen James Kriel the head of the air force, and Vice-Admiral Robert Simpson Anderson the head of the navy.

The former head of the Transkei Defence Force, Maj-Gen Temba Matanzima, will take over from Brigadier Toon Slabbert as officer commanding Eastern Cape.

Other new appointments include: Chief of Service Brigade, Lt-Gen Lambert Moloï (formerly MK Operations Director); Chief Director of Personnel SANDF Headquarters, Maj-Gen Andrew Masondo (formerly MK Political Commissar), Chief of Army Staff, Maj-Gen J Tshali; Chief Director of Logistics SANDF Headquarters, Maj-Gen A Ismail, Deputy Chief of Staff Intelligence, Maj-Gen P Tshikare; Commander of SA Army Command, Maj-Gen N Ngwenya.



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254

CT 29/6/94

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**WE'LL  
HOLD OFF  
RATES  
INCREASE  
— STALS**

See PAGE 11

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# Arms industry faces uncertain future, says ANC

(254) ARCT 30/6/94

JOHANNESBURG — The future of South Africa's armaments industry is uncertain as its benefits have to be weighed against the need to finance sorely needed social programmes, an African National Congress department has said.

The dilemma over whether to subsidise the arms industry — because its earnings would contribute to social programmes — or to allocate this money directly to these programmes had to be resolved, said the ANC's department of economic planning.

In a lengthy document, it set out the possible costs and benefits of a viable South African arms industry.

It said the cost-benefit analysis, the impact on trade and international relations and the effect on the nation's morale would be equally decisive in choosing the right path.

The document said proponents of the armaments industry claimed it would create jobs and wealth from exports.

"These proponents of the industry reinforce their position

on constitutional grounds, arguing that the constitution calls for a modern well-equipped technologically advanced defence force.

"They also bolster their position on the basis of threat analysis, stating that external instability will spill over South Africa's borders and that, therefore, a strong defence capacity and industry is necessary."

Against this was the argument that it was morally ques-

tionable to export arms to conflict areas.

The document said the export potential of the industry had to be examined as it appeared as if most exports were of the G5 and G6 artillery systems, representing only the heavy mechanical engineering and chemical propellant sectors of the industry.

Of the R600 million worth of arms exported last year, taxpayers had contributed R120 million to the Denel industrial group — Sapa.

# MK welcomes integration steps

Political Staff

(254) ARG 30/6/94

NEWLY appointed acting SA National Defence Force chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda says his appointment was the first positive indication that the integration of all armies was proceeding equally

The former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff added that his appointment was "a welcome, if delayed development".

Lieutenant-General Nyanda noted that the appointment of senior MK officers to the SANDF top structure came at a time when there had been "rumblings" among MK cadres about the perceived slow pace of integration

He said cadres were concerned that although the African National Congress had won a landslide victory in the election, the former SADF establishment was being fashioned into the SANDF into which MK was being "parcelled"

Although his appointment was a positive signal, General Nyanda said it did not signify the end of the integration problems

"It signals the intention to deal with the problems"

Commenting on his appointment to the rank of lieutenant-general, he said "I regard it as a challenge, but I need all the assistance from my fellow officers, especially those from the former SADF"

# School cadets might be halted - Meiring

BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — School cadets are either to be stopped or expanded to all schools, says South African National Defence Force (SANDF) chief Georg Meiring.

Replying to questions by the Finance Standing Committee, he said yesterday that the SANDF subsidised weapons and ammunition for school cadets.

Meiring said the defence budget had been cut by 50 percent since 1989. The cuts had resulted in plans to reduce the 781 air force aircraft to 390 by 2005, fighter squadrons were to be reduced from 10 to three, and flying hours were to be cut from 110 000 hours to 80 000.

Navy vessels were expected to last until 2005 and a decision was to be taken in October on whether new vessels were affordable.

Justifying the cost of buying



Meiring . . . budget cut.

Pilatus aircraft, Meiring said it cost R1 million to train a fighter pilot. South Africa produced the best-trained pilots — with the exception of the United Kingdom — and it could consider "selling" training for pilots.

Questioned on the special defence account, Meiring said R309,9 million was budgeted for the account after a forced cut of R297 million — part of the SANDF's R650 million contribution to the Reconstruction and Development Programme Fund.

# Kasrils: No temptation to censor

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Defence and Protection of Information Acts will be amended to bring them into line with constitutional provisions ensuring press freedom, Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils told Parliament yesterday

The ministry had no temptation to censor news reports on

(254) CT 30/6/94  
sensitive matters, he said in reply to Ms Dene Smuts (DP)

Speaking on behalf of Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise, who was touring the Cape Flats, Mr Kasrils said the minister wished to reiterate his commitment to press freedom

Mr Modise recently sought an interdict to prevent the Weekly Mail from publishing reports about the Directorate of Covert

Collections, a military intelligence operation

Mr Modise's prepared response, read by Mr Kasrils, said he wanted to make it clear his intention in agreeing to SANDF chief General Georg Meiring's request for the interdict was to satisfy himself on the security implications

After doing so, he "instructed the state attorney to withdraw the interdict"

Asked by Ms Smuts whether the Defence and Protection of Information Acts would be amended to bring them into line with the interim constitution on press freedom before the temptation arose to "censor again", Mr Kasrils said "There is no such temptation. The answer is an unreserved 'yes' "

● Call to restrict legal sanctions on the press — Page 5

**SANDEF: R2bn  
to integrate**

ET 30/6/94  
THE cost of integrating the SA National Defence Force would be more than R2 billion, Lieutenant-General Ben Raubenheimer, Chief of Staff (Finance), said yesterday. (254)

He told the joint committee on finance the integration of non-statutory forces such as uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) and Apla would cost R1,486bn, and those of the former TBVC states R505 million.

He said R223m was earmarked for MK assembly points — Sapa

## CP slates post for MK man

PRETORIA. — The appointment of former MK chief of staff General Siphwe Nyanda as acting chief of staff in the SANDF was blatant discrimination, the CP said yesterday. (254)

CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman said General Nyanda's appointment and those of nine other senior MK officers to top positions in the SANDF were "clearly not based on merit but on the government of national unity's policy of affirmative action."

CT 30/6/94  
"The mere fact that General Nyanda was appointed in an acting capacity because he still needed to receive training underlines this fact."

THE ARMY

Fm 117/94

# Getting through to the bone

Senior officers of the SA National Defence Force face retrenchment over the next three years as part of a plan to reduce the strength of the SANDF by 30 000 members. A memorandum tabled in parliament this week by Defence Minister Joe Modise warns that the cost of the retrenchments will further burden the defence budget.

But, according to the document, there is no other option. The integration of the old SADF, the former homeland armies and the guerrilla forces will create a 120 000-member force and push long-term defence costs to an unacceptable level. A target of 91 000 full-time soldiers must, therefore, be achieved within three years. While natural attrition will be relied on to bring down the numbers, reductions at senior level will have to be achieved by retrenchment.

Meanwhile, Modise has announced the first appointments of senior members of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the top structure of the SANDF.

The most significant is that of MK chief Sphiwe Nyanda (44) as acting Chief of Staff with the rank of Lieutenant General. His position will be confirmed once he has passed certain training courses.

The appointment effectively makes Nyanda second in command to SANDF chief General Georg Meiring and probably means he will take over when Meiring retires in five years' time.

The only non-MK member in the list of 10 new senior appointments is former Transkei Defence Force chief Major-General T T Matanzima, who has been appointed head of Eastern Province command. Modise says some senior officers will retire to make way for the new appointees. Further appointments will be made as suitable candidates are identified. The appointments of 12 currently serving senior officers were also confirmed by Modise. They include the chiefs of the Army, Air Force and Navy and the Surgeon-General.

The latest defence budget increased by 13%, from R9,3bn to R10,6bn, due mainly to the R1,8bn cost of integrating the various forces and providing assembly points for members of MK and Apla. However, defence spending as a percentage of total State spending has decreased from 15,7% in 1989 to 8,5% this year.

Against this background, the memoran-

(254)  
dum tabled by Modise warns of the danger of continuing to reduce capital spending in the SANDF, which has declined from 44% in 1989 to 23% this year. It points out that the lead time in the development of new weapons systems is 10-15 years, while the lead time in significant changes to foreign political scenarios is considerably shorter. The current

size of the capital budget means the SANDF runs the risk of being unable to maintain even the minimum levels of strategic technology.

In addition, the cutback in spending has already reached a level where some sectors of the defence industry are unable to maintain cost-effective production. The SANDF has already fallen behind the accepted rate at which equipment such as fighter aircraft, armoured vehicles and submarines need to be replaced or their systems renewed.

The document concludes that while the SANDF is fully aware of government's changing expenditure priorities, it warns that any further defence budget cuts will severely undermine the force's ability to perform its task as set out in the Constitution. ■

## REGIONS

### Lofty ideas?

A rose may well be a rose by any other name, but a decision by the nine regional Premiers to call executive council members Cabinet Ministers could be of more significance than a simple name change. It may be a signal of intent from regional administrations that they want more federal power and autonomy.

Significantly, KwaZulu/Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose, whose Inkatha Freedom Party leads the federal charge, has specifically referred to his 11-member executive council as a Cabinet since May 11, when he and 80 others were sworn into the provincial legislature by Natal Judge President Alan Howard.

Strictly speaking, the terms Cabinet and Cabinet Minister in the interim constitution are reserved for the top, national tier of government. The Cabinet comprises the President, Deputy President and not more than 27 members appointed by the President. Parties with at least 20 representatives

are entitled to Cabinet portfolios in proportion to the seats held in the National Assembly. The provinces, as the second tier of government, have provincial legislatures and executive committees each comprising a Premier and maximum of 10 others.

It could be argued that Mdlalose's administration, as the only one of the former self-governing or homeland ruling parties to have won at the April 27 polls, uses the titles because they are much the same as those used in the former KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

That, however, doesn't explain the unanimous decision by a June 9 meeting of the nine regional Premiers, seven of whom are ANC members, to use the terminology Cabinet Minister, provincial Cabinet, provincial parliament, and member of the provincial parliament (MPP).

Cape Town University's Robert Schrire believes the decision is significant and indicates a strong impetus to elevate the status of these positions. He says, "We certainly seem to be moving in a federal direction, particularly when one looks at previous titles such as administrator or member of the executive committee. These carried strong connotations of being central government agents."

Much of federalism, says Schrire, is about perception and how regional politicians behave, rather than just the nuts and bolts of the constitution. "An important part of this is whether they wear the nomenclature which goes with the various positions." He cites the Australian example where having state Prime Ministers creates the perception and a self-definition of autonomous regions. A similar impression is created in SA by calling provincial leaders Premiers, which is generally interchangeable with Prime Minister. This is now being reinforced by using titles such as Cabinet instead of executive committee.

Schrire adds that another factor is central government's preoccupation with the national unity concept. "The idea of national unity is taken more seriously at the centre,

whereas the perception that there are winners and losers is stronger in the Western Cape, PWV and KwaZulu/Natal — and that their winners are entitled to more leeway than they are at the centre.

"The national unity ideal could mean somewhat



Modise



Mdlalose



# Cabinet 'no' to prison for children

Political Staff

THE cabinet had decided that no person under 18 should be detained in prison before being convicted, Correctional Services minister Dr Sipho Mzimela announced yesterday

Referring to a lack of suitable alternative facilities in the country, Dr Mzimela said the problem would be solved through the creation and identification of new facilities

On May 26 this year, about 800 unsentenced children under 18 were in detention

There is a major gap in facilities in rural areas

Dr Mzimela's statement is the first concrete step towards removing unsentenced children from prison since President Nelson Mandela issued instructions to this effect in his May 24 parliamentary speech

Dr Mzimela said he had "proposed to the cabinet that section 29 of the Correctional Services Act be amended so as to stipulate that no person under the age of 18 years shall, before his conviction, be detained in prison"

Dr Mzimela said the cabinet approved this proposal on June 29 and legislation would be promulgated as soon as possible

July 21/1994

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# Brandy 'n Coke general tops

SENIOR officers may care to note — in case they run into acting chief-of-staff Lieutenant-General Sipiwe Nyanda in an officers' mess — that his favoured drink is KVV brandy and Coke.

Defence Minister Joe Modise said this week that the former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff would be acting chief-of-staff of the South African National Defence Force until he completed a bridging course and a number of staff courses, which could take two to three years.

General Nyanda is now in line to take over from Lieutenant General Georg Meiring as head of the SANDF.

In the 1970s, when Magnus Malan jumped several ranks to become the army's chief-of-staff, there were comments about "leapfrogging".

Although General Nyanda and six others of the MK top brass have now out-leapfrogged them all, comments will remain muted because the appointments are part of the reshaping of the defence force.

General Meiring has said of the appointments

that he is "quite happy, given the process that has been followed", but relationships have not always been so sanguine.

"At the end of 1992," writes Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils in his book, *Armed And Dangerous*, "General Meiring accused Chris Hanu, Sipiwe Nyanda and me of distributing weapons to the township self-defence units."

Mr Kasrils also discloses in the book that somewhere in the country are policemen (or former policemen), who arrested General Nyanda only four years ago, yanking him from his car and pinning him to the ground, "pistols held to his head".

*Armed And Dangerous* is a rich source of information about General Nyanda, including the brandy and Coke story. This is how it happened. In 1984, Mr Kasrils, newly thrown out of Mozambique, invited General Nyanda, then commander of MK operations in the Transvaal, and a colleague to dinner in a secluded Swaziland restaurant.

"We dressed in suits, posing as doctors," writes Mr Kasrils. "To give the meal an authentic finale, I ordered brandies. The wine steward carefully poured three measures of finest KVV brandy in balloon glasses."

"His expression turned to horror as my colleagues filled their brandy glasses with Coke, said 'cheers' and knocked the mixture back. I tried to explain to them how sacrilegious it was to mix Coke with KVV or cognac as they sat back with contented smiles."

Mr Kasrils and the general met for the first time shortly before the brandy and Coke episode. Mr Kasrils writes of him as "a tall, erect and imposing individual named Sipiwe Nyanda, whose MK name was 'Gebhuza'."

"(He was) recruited into the ANC a year before the 1976 uprising and had trained in eastern Europe. 'Gebhuza' had commanded operations in Swaziland from 1977 onwards. He had acquired a

reputation for nerve and audacity and was responsible for many daring operations."

His brother, Zwelakhe Nyanda, was killed "in an assault on a ANC house in Manzini in 1983", writes Mr Kasrils.

When Mr Kasrils, assuming one of his expert disguises, sneaked into South Africa in 1990, he found that Mac Maharaj, now Minister of Transport, and 'Gebhuza', who had been in charge of the Vula project inside the country, had temporarily disappeared three years earlier.

"It had been rumoured they were in the Soviet Union, Mac supposedly recovering from a long illness and Sipiwe Nyanda studying at a military academy. Only Tarnbo, Slovo and a handful of others know the truth."

"(By 1990) Mac and 'Gebhuza' had successfully built underground structures (within South Africa) and were at last providing the kind of leadership which had been absent for years."

"They had a variety of disguises, safe houses and identity documents to assist them. They had a computerised telephone communications network, using encoded messages, which kept them in touch with the external leadership. They were also in contact with Mandela in prison."

In July 1990, 'Gebhuza' and Mr Maharaj were arrested in connection with Operation Vula. Mr Kasrils evaded arrest. At the end of October 1990, the police decided to charge Mr Maharaj, 'Gebhuza' and seven others for "attempting to overthrow the government by force", writes Mr Kasrils.

Bail with stringent conditions was set at R300 000. In March 1991, the charges were dropped. In June 1991, they were all given indemnity, including Mr Kasrils and others still at large.

Mr Mandela, who had been released the previous year, emphasised that "Project Vula had been aimed at relocating the external leadership of the organisation within the country, from well before the lifting of the ban on the ANC. It was not a SACP plot to seize power by violent means. It was not inconsistent with the search for a negotiated settlement."

the lot

Number of volunteer soldiers will be reduced to 5 000 a year

# Army not a respoite for jobless

(254)  
AR 2/1/94

**JEAN LE MAY**  
Weekend Argus Reporter

**DEPUTY** minister of defence Ronnie Kasrils has warned against any thoughts that the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) will become a home for the unemployed. Instead, he says, it will be scaled down.

Mr Kasrils, a former ANC intelligence chief, said the force would be scaled down to 91 000 people by 1997, even though it is expanding its permanent force strength of 90 000 to 120 000 by absorbing about 30 000 Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla members.

"There will be natural attrition in both the present PF and the present MK and Apla forces," he said.

"The armed forces can't answer the problem of the huge numbers of unemployed which I have heard suggested.

"Nor can they be a vacuum cleaner for school leavers. We're looking at a maximum intake of 5 000 a year."

Conscription would be stopped and service in the

■ The armed forces can't answer the problem of massive unemployment, says deputy minister of defence Ronnie Kasrils.

armed forces would be voluntary, he added.

Since 1963 Mr Kasrils, a member of the central committee of the SA Communist Party and of the national executive of the African National Congress, has operated with Umkhonto we Sizwe in other African countries and underground in South Africa.

His appointment has aroused fears that the much-criticised politicisation of the military by the National Party would be repeated.

"The fears were reinforced by recent appointments of former MK officers to senior posts in the SANDF.

The appointment of Major-General Andrew Masondo, former MK political commissar, as chief director of personnel at army headquarters has

come in for particular criticism.

However, Mr Kasrils defended the appointments.

"It must be understood that all MK personnel were politically motivated, so it doesn't matter now what position any of the newly appointed officers may have held in MK," he said.

"The situation now is that all appointments to the SANDF are apolitical and they all accept there will be no politics.

"They all understand this. I haven't detected any unhappiness among the officers. We have confidence in them all, from General Mering downwards. They are all working well together."

Mr Kasrils, interviewed in his office near parliament, gave the impression that he would be happier in army fatigues than in a dark suit.

"I was quite prepared to stay a backbencher, although I had hoped to chair the select committee on defence," he said, tugging at his tie.

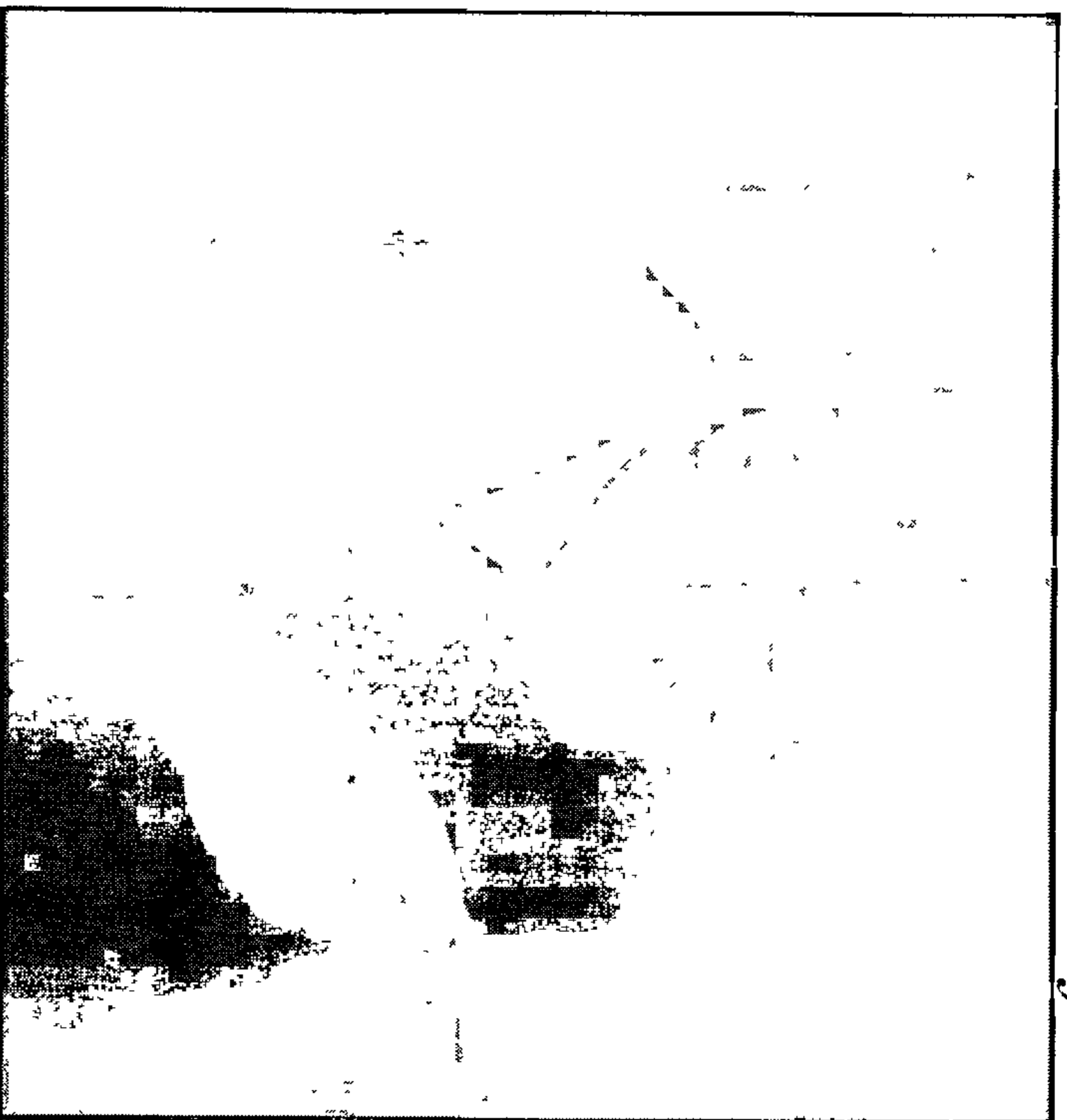
It is dark-blue and emblazoned with all the SANDF badges — a gift from the Navy which he is "very chuffed" to have received.

□ **LATEST DISGUISE:** Ronnie Kasrils, controversial deputy minister of defence, loves his job, although, after years of undercover bush warfare as head of Umkhonto we Sizwe intelligence, he would rather wear fatigues than a suit and tie.

"I'm primarily a specialist in military intelligence," he said.

"My initial 18-month training in Odessa in 1964-65 included a course in military engineering, but in the early 1980s I did a very specialised 10-month course in military reconnaissance for which I have a diploma, in Russian of course.

"I've never admitted this publicly before. It helped to prepare me for the key post as head of military intelligence of



Picture HANNES THIAFI, Weekend Argus

Umkhonto we Sizwe, to which I was appointed in 1983."

Mr Kasrils is a stocky man, but as he spoke of his MK post, he seemed half-a-head taller.

"Given the history of military intelligence in this country, people will expect us to make sure that it functions in a regular and effective manner.

"I'm very impressed with the SANDF's capability in military intelligence. It's very professional

"We have a budget for it of R37 million this year. People ask why we need so much now that everyone loves us, but you never know what might happen. An intelligence institution must be geared to warn the government of any threat that begins to materialise.

"The sooner you can identify any such threat, the better.

"There is a rule-of-thumb that you need five years' warning to get formations in place."

# Tension over army promotions

CIPROOS 317194

By THEMBA KHUMALO  
Political Reporter

THE appointment of eight Umkhonto We Sizwe commanders and a former Transkei army officer to senior SA National Defence Force positions this week has set a precedent for guerrillas to be promoted to more influential army positions in the future.

## Political

All eyes are now on the forthcoming appointment of the Chief of Military Intelligence, which is regarded as a key army rank with regard to the security of the country and to identify potential enemies of the State both inside and outside our borders. The position is presently held by General J Verbyk, who succeeded Lieutenant-General Joffel Van Der Westhuizen when he retired from the army late last year.

There were also complaints by guerrillas of blatant racism among the army prerequisites for a soldier to be promoted to the rank of general. It is felt that he should have at least 30 years experience and impeccable academic qualifications. This led many guerrillas to conclude that white army officers were using unfair tactics to block the appointment of their former enemies to high-ranking positions.

The appointment of Sphive Nyanda, who was MK's acting chief of staff, as the acting chief of staff of the new army, will go a long way to ease tensions that were building between the guerrillas and the army.

The chief of the army, General Georg Meiring, said he was happy with the promotion of MK soldiers because they went through the army placement board which then recommended their promotion.

Other new officers are Major-General Andrew Masondo, appointed as chief of the army staff; Major-General Tshali, chief of army staff; Major-General A Ismail, director of logistics at army headquarters; Major-General P Tshikare, deputy chief of staff intelligence; Major-General N Ngunwenya, Commander of SA Army Command and Lieutenant-General Lambert Moloi, chief of the service brigade.

Although the appointments were thought to be long overdue, military observers suspect that they were more political than military.

Seven of the nine guerrilla commanders were appointed as generals in the army with immediate effect by Defence Minister Joe Modise in Cape Town on Wednesday. The two, J. Molefe and M Motau, were appointed as brigadiers assigned to Military Intelligence and the directorate of inspections with special responsibility for human resources and women's rights.

Also, there was a growing perception among the former SANDF officers who are now in the SANDF that the MK guerrillas were poorly trained and therefore did not deserve to be promoted to senior positions.

General Andrew Masondo, appointed as chief of the army staff; Major-General Tshali, chief of army staff; Major-General A Ismail, director of logistics at army headquarters; Major-General P Tshikare, deputy chief of staff intelligence; Major-General N Ngunwenya, Commander of SA Army Command and Lieutenant-General Lambert Moloi, chief of the service brigade.

Modise said a number of the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army were being considered for similar promotions.

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First civilian control of armed forces in 30 years

# SA's military reined in

BY NORMAN CHANDLER  
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

South Africa's military machine has been placed under civilian control for the first time in 30 years.

The move, the latest in a series of moves which has effectively wrested control of the military from previously all-white hands, has been ordered by Defence Minister Joe Modise.

The first non-white appointments — with the rank of major-general — to the higher echelon of the military have now been made. Previously, the highest-ranking black members were an SA Army chaplain and a lieutenant-commander in the SA Navy.

South Africa has had a military-dominated Ministry of Defence since the mid-1960s, when party-political appoint-

## CONTROL of the defence force has been wrested from hands by Minister Joe Modise

tees were nominated. This resulted in various changes being made to uniforms, ranks and insignia of the former South African Defence Force and caused widespread dissatisfaction in all ranks.

General Georg Meiring, Chief of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF), said in Pretoria at the weekend that a "balanced option" was required for the future administration of the force.

"The Ministry of Defence (MOD) will consist of the office of the Minister and the

Deputy Minister of Defence and their staff, as well as a Defence Secretary and secretary." Meiring's said.

It will mark the first time in South African history that a Secretary for Defence has been appointed.

What his role and powers will be has not yet been divulged.

Existing Defence Headquarters staff will also no longer be a separate organisation from the MOD.

As the the ministry has been more of a military-oriented organisation than civilian, with military officers appointed to senior positions, a special committee has been established to oversee the planning and implementation of the new-look ministry.

This committee includes Modise, Meiring and the Defence Secretary, who is yet to be appointed.

A special-projects team has, meanwhile, also been named to co-ordinate the changeover.

It includes Brigadier J.L. Grundling, Brigadier H.A. du Plessis, Major-General A. Ismail, and R. Saloojee, whose role within the new department has not yet been clarified.

The decision to have a civilian-style ministry has not been unexpected in view of the country's regional military activities over the years.

Modise's department has already incorporated several persons involved in the former National Peacekeeping Force in favour of defence force personnel who had previously occupied the same senior positions. The first hint of major changes came on June 24 when Ronnie Kasrils was appointed Deputy Minister of Defence.

This does not, however, automatically mean that if Meiring decides to retire sooner than stipulated in his contract term, then recently appointed chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda would take over the post.

Unless the new Government decides to change the hierarchy pecking order of the SANDF, one of the existing chiefs of the armed services — navy, army, air force or medical services — would take the top job.

Meanwhile, the SANDF has denied it is freezing promotions of existing military officers and non-commissioned officers.

Promotions may still be made to the rank of sergeant or captain and promotions policy is that no person can be promoted beyond his or her levels of capability.

## Transkei forces

### back Meiring

(254)  
UMFATA — All officers of the SA National Defence Force in the former Transkei have pledged their support for SANDF chief General Georg Meiring.

So said Maj Gen Temba Matanzima, head of the Eastern Province Command, as he welcomed Gen Meiring and members of the Joint Military Co-ordinating Council at the start of a visit to Umtata yesterday.

CT 6/7/74  
Gen Meiring said the force could not tolerate mutiny or strikes, but urged those with grievances to come forward.

— Sapa

# Armcor committed to affirmative action

Political Staff

(254)

ARMSCOR has committed itself to an affirmative action policy — and 70% of new appointments will be black

ARLT 6/7/94

Armcor spokesman Abba Omar said this at an Institute of Maritime Research briefing yesterday.

He also said Armcor plans to be more accountable to the public.

Mr Omar said the new Armcor would seek input from trade unions, human rights organisations, environmental bodies and other interest groups in determining policy.

Armcor also planned to have a board of directors representative of South African society

It was important to empower society in the interests of informed decisions. This empowerment included public briefings and tours of Armcor plants. Educational workshops would be held at schools.

Armcor would continue to act within government policy, but also would strive to be sensitive to people's sentiments

Mr Omar said Armcor was looking forward to seeing the shroud of secrecy around the international arms trade removed.

# Armcor plans big RDP role

By DAN SIMON

ARMSCOR plans to play a major role in the government's R7,5-billion Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) by providing information and management services.

In a briefing at the Institute for Maritime Research in Simon's Town, Armcor executive general manager Mr Tielman de Waal said Armcor's "core business" was management development.

He said that over the past two decades Armcor had built up a reputation for handling complex defence and civilian projects

In the process it had acquired in-depth experience in managing all aspects of trade and finance, high-level human resources, research and development and

CT 6/7/94 (237) (254)  
**'Uniquely  
placed  
to advise'**

manufacturing and marketing, he said.

This placed the corporation in the unique position to provide the expertise to implement the RDP, Mr De Waal said.

Armcor senior manager Dr A J Buys said "In any sphere where a particular need is identified we can do it in such a way to stimulate industry

"This could be done at the same rate (a management fee of 5%) as was done for the SA National Defence Force — which

was a very cost-efficient service," Dr Buys said

He said that as a result of the end of the arms embargo, the corporation would soon be publishing details of its plans to enter the open tender system for defence contracts.

"We are preparing to have a contracts' bulletin published which will see more than 95% of future business in defence contracts going on open tender."

Dr Buys added that at present the SANDF accounted for more than 80% of Armcor business, of which the bulk, 60%, was taken up by the SA Air Force

Armcor general manager of corporate communications Mr Abba Omar said Armcor was implementing a policy of transparency and accountability as the transition had "given birth" to a new Armcor



# UK military team helps integration

PRETORIA. — A British military team is fanning out across the country to help integrate former anti-apartheid guerrillas and homeland troops into the new Defence Force.

The first group from the 31-member British Military Advisory Training Team (BMATT) has arrived at the Wallmannsthal base north of Pretoria; Royal Marine Lieutenant-Colonel Bill Lash told a news conference yesterday.

Another group was due at the De Brug army base near Bloemfontein today, while a third would move "soon" to the Hoedspruit assembly camp in the Eastern Transvaal.

BMATT commander Brigadier Dick Trigger said the team was in South Africa at the request of the government to "assist in the process of integration of the South African National Defence Force".

The SANDF is expected to expand to about 130 000 from its regular force level of around 72 000 as former guerrillas and troops from the now-defunct homeland armies are integrated. — Reuter.

JOHANNESBURG — SA is to sell Oman long-range G-6 self-propelled artillery guns worth \$120m in the first public arms sale since a US weapons embargo was lifted, arms maker Denel Ltd said yesterday

# Denel secures \$120m Oman G6 guns deal

(254) CT 7/7/94

A statement said the deal included ammunition, spares and logistical support for the 155 mm guns but did not say how many of the weapons were involved

The statement said the deal would protect or create more than 4 000 jobs. It added that the UK's Defence Ministry had made an offer to use the Rooivalk helicopter

Meanwhile, Denel announced attributable earnings marginally ahead at R239,2m (R234,9m) for the year to March, as surging exports offset falling sales to its mainstay market, the SA security forces.

The group, which began trading as a private company in April 1992, secured a 34% jump in exports to R644m — representing nearly one-quarter of Denel's R2,8bn total income — despite continued international recession

Denel gained access to 30 new countries during the year, bringing its representation to 37 overseas

markets, despite continued arms sanctions. But domestic cuts in arms spending left sales to the security forces at R1,5bn (R1,7bn), reducing its contribution to total income to 53% (63%)

Earnings were fixed at 39,3c a share (38,5c). Denel said the performance was above expectations, though it again pegged its dividend at 9,8c

MD Johan Alberts said the rapid political changes during the past year had had a dramatic influence on the group. "High levels of domestic conflict and the uncertainties synonymous with a change in national government inhibited negotiations with foreign clients"

Income increased R40m to R2,86bn. Turnover rose R99,4m to R2,65bn, with local commercial sales rising 19% to R387m — Reuter and Own Correspondent

## British team helps SANDF

PRETORIA — The newly-arrived British military advisory and training team in South Africa has so far deployed its personnel in two centres to carry out its principal task of assisting in the integration of the SA National Defence Force. The British commander, Brigadier Dick Trigger, said at the group's first press conference here it had deployed teams at Wallmannstal, north of here, and De Brug, near Bloemfontein, where hundreds of former uMkhonto weSizwe troops were waiting to be mustered into the SANDF.

The integration process was expected to take two years. Sapa

## Modise calls for 'change'

GWERU, Zimbabwe — South African army officer cadets were urged yesterday to play a pivotal role in changing the SANDF into a force that reflected the new SA.

Speaking at a passing-out parade here of 42 Zimbabwean-trained SA officer cadets drawn from the ANC and the PAC, SA Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said the cadets should help the country achieve its "cherished dream" of a democratic society. — Sapa

CT 7/7/94

# SA clinch arms deal with Oman

CT 7/7/94 (254)  
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The sultanate of Oman yesterday announced the purchase of arms worth "millions of rand" from South Africa.

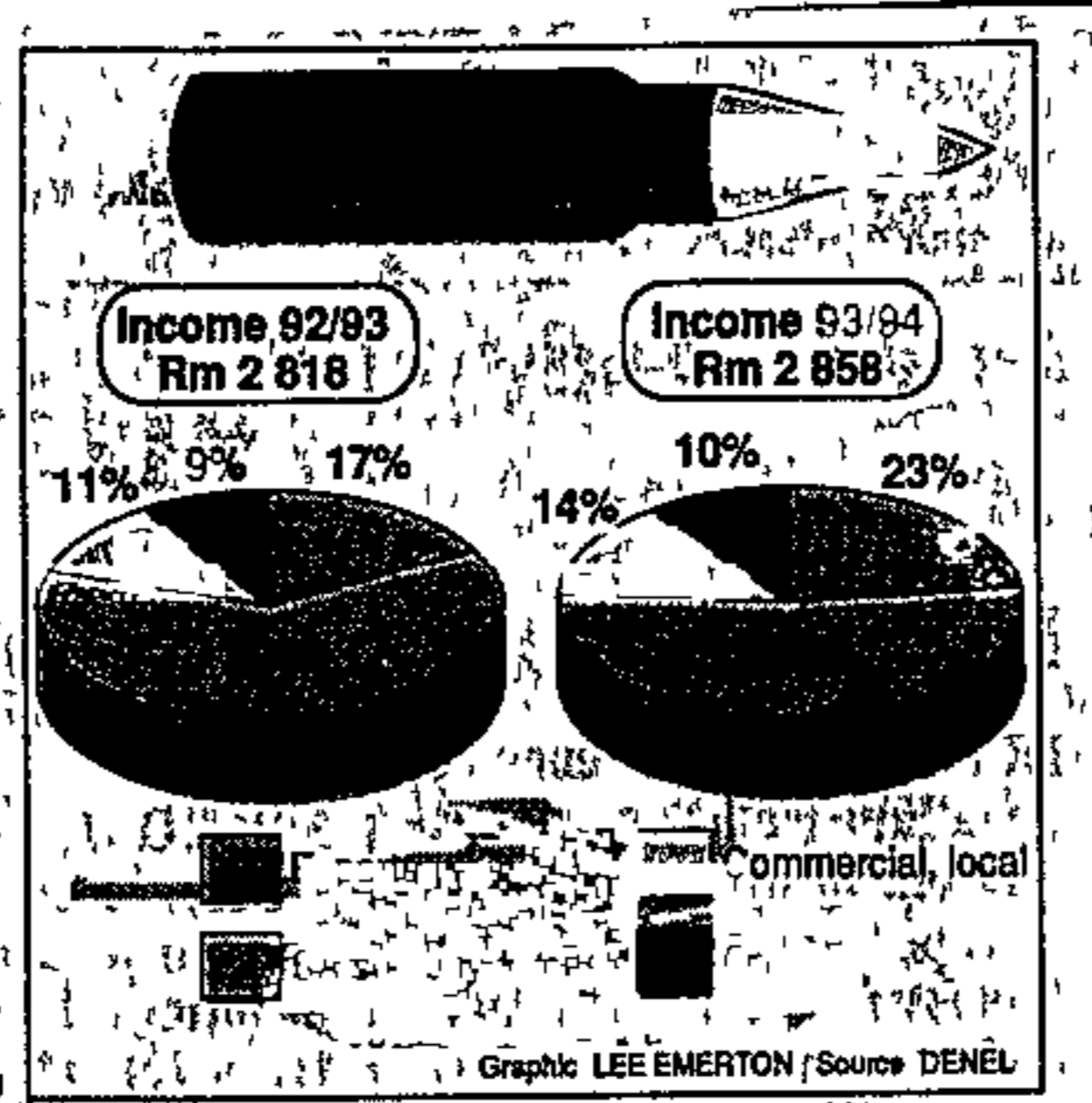
The deal is for local arms manufacturer Denel to deliver an unspecified number of G6 mobile cannons, ammunition, logistical back-up and training to the sultanate over the next two years.

Denel managing director Mr Johan Alberts said a special benefit for South Africa was that "for the first time since the lifting of the arms embargo, a customer was willing to go public" on the fact it was buying a South African product and saying what the product was.

He added that the deal would enable his company to provide between 2 200 and 3 200 jobs in South Africa.

Meanwhile, the latest issue of Jane's Defence Weekly said Denel has designed a modification to its world-class artillery system, the G6, to make it more exportable and attractive to overseas customers.

The publication said a new 155mm artillery turret has been mounted on a Russian T-72 chassis and has completed initial firing trials in the Northern Cape.



## Denel earnings up marginally

YURI THUMBRAN

ARMS manufacturer Denel posted attributable earnings marginally ahead at R239,2m (R234,9m) for the year to March, as surging exports offset falling sales to its mainstay market, the SA security forces.

The group, which began trading as a private company in April 1992, secured a 34% jump in exports to R644m, representing nearly one-quarter of Denel's R2,8bn total income, despite continued international recession.

Denel gained access to 30 new countries during the year, bringing its representation to 37 overseas markets, despite continued arms sanctions. But domestic cuts in arms spending left sales to the security forces at R1,5bn (R1,7bn), reducing its contribution to total income to 53% (63%).

Earnings were fixed at 39,3c a share (38,5c). Denel said the performance was above expectations, though it again pegged its dividend at 9,8c (2,54).

MD Johan Alberts said the rapid political changes during the past year had had a dramatic influence on the group.

High levels of domestic conflict and the uncertainties synonymous with a change in national government inhibited negotiations with foreign clients. This volatile climate also inevitably affected discussions with potential partners and associates.

Despite sanctions, fierce competition in

To Page 2

## Denel

Biday 717194

From Page 1

the declining international arms market and a shrinking local defence budget, income increased R40m to R2,86bn. Turnover rose R99,4m to R2,65bn, with local commercial sales rising 19% to R387m.

Alberts said Denel planned to double exports over the next three years in a bid to earn foreign currency of R1,3bn. The company also wanted to double the sale of commercial products to R750m, double profits to R500m, double dividends to the state and pay a yearly tax of R500m.

The manufacturing arm, including Naschem, Somchem and PMP, recorded a 6%

drop in income to R583m, mainly because of defence cuts. But exports rose 21%, while commercial business jumped 23%.

Income for the aerospace group, Houwteq, Simer and OTB, fell 17% to R848m. But Simer scored a 400% growth in business conducted in South America and Africa. The company also finalised a contract with Rolls Royce to supply the gearbox for the RB211-535 engine.

Denel had seen an uptick in foreign interest following its participation in recent overseas exhibitions, the company said. The UK's Defence Ministry had made an offer to use the Rooivalk helicopter.

# Armcor wing earns R2,86 billion

PRETORIA. — The civilian armaments manufacturing wing of Armcor, Denel Group, has reported total income of R2,86 billion in the 1993/1994 financial year.

Denel's annual report showed that among the performance improvements in the group were a 34 percent increase in exports to R644 million and a 19 percent increase in local commercial sales to R387 million.

Net income after tax improved marginally

from R235 million to R239 million.

During the year Denel became an international player and exhibitor after taking part in five major international exhibitions.

Denel also supported government's efforts in uplifting the economy over the past year by employing between about 14 000 people, paying taxes of R426 million and a dividend of R60 million to the state.

Denel aimed to expand its activities by in-

creasing its exports and by utilising its capabilities in developing new civil products, and in support of defence systems.

The company was committed to supporting the reconstruction and development programme and would execute a ten point plan over the next three years as announced by the Minister of Public Enterprises.

This plan included doubling exports to earn foreign currency

(254)

ARG 7/7/94

PRETORIA

## Arms industry body formed

JOHANNESBURG — An association to boost South Africa's defence industry was launched yesterday. (254)

Chairman Dr John Temple said the South African Defence Industry Association represented about 9 000 public and private organisations.

He said the industry employed about 70 000 people and added that defence-related exports in 1993/94 had earned more than R880 million — Sapa CT 7/7/94

# 'Defence budget cuts may cost 12 000 jobs'

Own Correspondent (254)

LONDON. — The cut in the South African defence budget this year could mean the loss of more than 12 000 jobs, greater reliance on equipment imports and damage to the defence industry's export potential, industry sources say.

An article in the latest Jane's Defence Weekly said the industry had shed more than half its employees since 1989 from 169 000 to about 70 000, with considerable loss of expertise and experience.

Defence Force chief General Georg

Melring has warned that defence force funding had already fallen below minimum levels.

The magazine said real defence expenditure was now below the World Bank's target of two percent and the only major army acquisition programmes were the Rooikat and the Mamba.

Personnel costs would absorb 37,2% of the budget, and the standing strength of the armed forces would be reduced to 91 000, while considerable retrenchment costs would still be incurred.

DENEL

Am 8/7/94

# Fighting for export markets

**Shrinking defence** budgets and stiff international competition do not help newcomers in the international arms business. Nor does a host of unrepealed sanctions legislation beckon would-be customers.

So it's not without pride that Denel this week recorded a 34% rise in exports for the financial year to March 31, earning about R644m in foreign currency. Says Denel MD Johan Alberts: "We aim to double exports and foreign exchange earnings within the next three years, to R1,3bn."

Of course, the emphasis on exports marks a shift in the group's focus from products for

bought what except to say that Denel deals only with recognised governments and not arms dealers or wholesalers.

Heitman estimates that part of the R644m may have come from last year's sale to Oman of 24 G6 guns, usually priced at R10m-R15m each. Says Heitman: "A complete system, including spares and ammunition, would cost around R45m each, so it's safe to assume that the deal brought in around R300m." Some money from a 1991 deal with Abu Dhabi for 80 G6 guns could also be included in the latest figures.

Another source of income could be a substantial downpayment from UK-based arms company Alvis for the world marketing rights for Denel's Iron Eagle air droppable weapons carrier. Heitman says Alberts denies knowledge of a R100m arms deal with Syria, a sale that was believed to have been conditional on approval from Israel

and the establishment of diplomatic relations with SA (announced last month).

Apart from its manufacturing capabilities, Denel also has good experience in packaging and marketing defence products manufactured by its 19 subsidiaries and the private sector. The G6 gun system, for example, is marketed by Denel subsidiary LIW, which manufactures only the gun and turret. Barlow Rand subsidiary Reumech OMC makes the vehicle and Altech's Teklogic developed the target acquisition and fire control aspects. The radio reflects an input from Rooitech's Barcom Electronics and Grinel, the data link system is from Thales.

Most Denel products have notched up impressive records in combat and defence force operations — a criterion Heitman says is crucial to the would-be foreign buyer. "No-one wants to be the first to try out a new weapons system. Customers are reluctant to buy if the exporting country's own defence force won't use the equipment."

This thinking doesn't bode well for Denel's hi-tech Rooivalk combat helicopter, which hasn't been commissioned by the SA forces because of budget cuts. Denel is tendering for a UK contract that would earn R70m-R100m each for 100 helicopters if produced in SA. The British could well buy the Rooivalk without any service record. But Heitman says Denel could lose millions on the deal because the British would probably insist on producing the craft in the UK and adapting it to take UK technologies, then

would market it internationally.

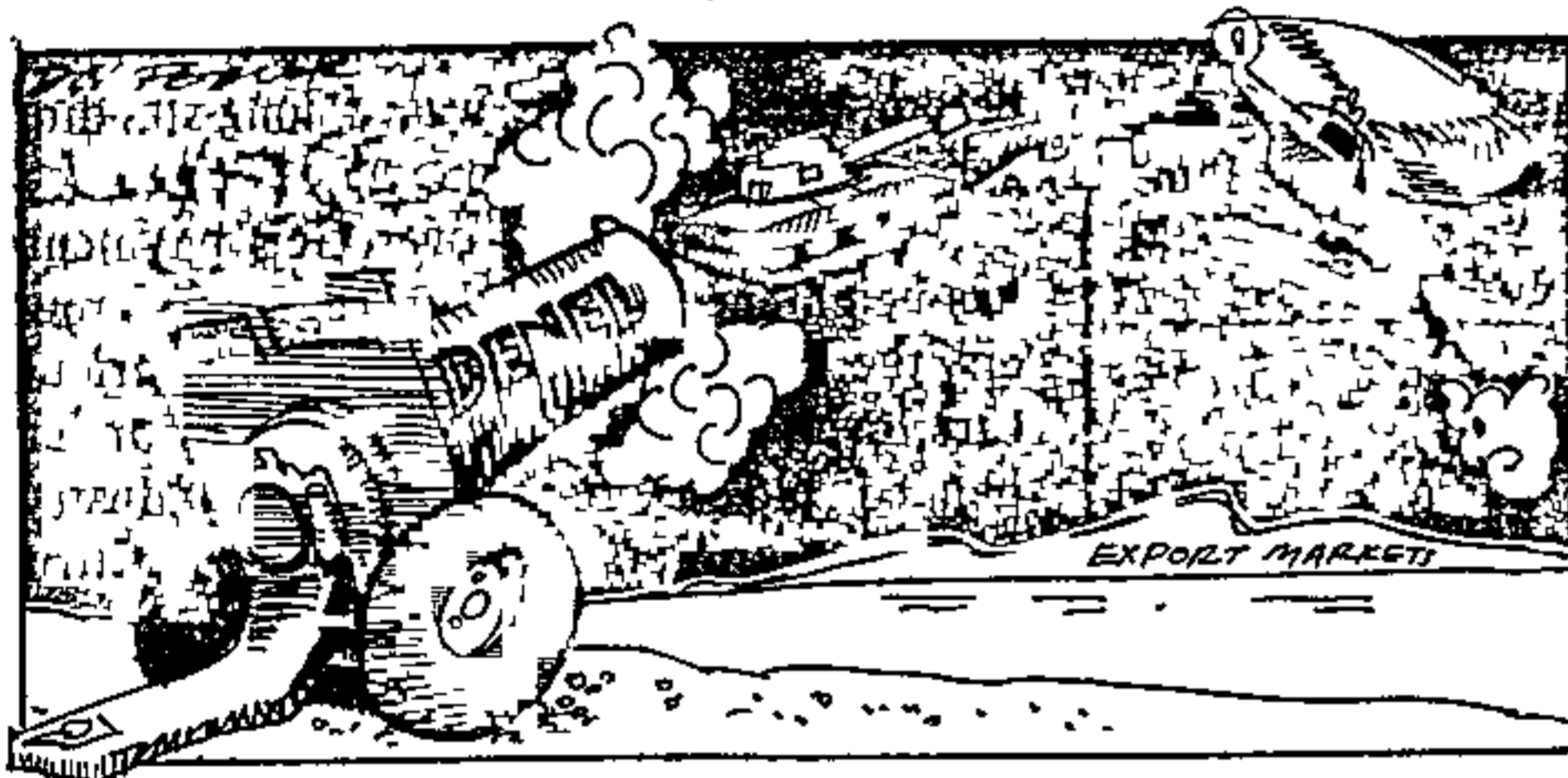
An end to sanctions will help SA market arms more openly. But Alberts says the benefits of many current negotiations will only be reaped later. "Arms purchases are long-term and deals are often tied up in bureaucratic red tape for years." He has managed to establish a network of agents in 37 countries.

On the commercial front, Alberts closed a number of unprofitable Denel divisions and wants to double commercial sales to R750m in three years.

Says Heitman: "Few military manufacturers around the world have survived the transition to commercial goods. Russia, for example, failed dismally trying to adapt tank expertise to prams." Denel's successes include producing paints for cars and manufacturing warning devices that help prevent cot deaths.

But Denel has come under fire for muscling out private sector competitors. The Competition Board has been called in to judge several complaints, one involving pharmaceutical manufacturer Noristan. Board chairman Pierre Brooks says insufficient evidence was found to warrant a recommendation to government to warn Denel or close down any of its operations.

There is no indication that Alberts will ask government to privatise Denel, a possibility that was voiced last year when he said he planned a listing for 1995. "Privatisation is simply not an option right now," he says, a statement that may reflect government's opinion rather than his own. ■



local defence needs to security force products for export and commercial products for local and foreign markets — a move that has been essential to Denel's survival since the company was hived off from Armscor in 1992. Following SA's withdrawal from Namibia and drastic defence budget cuts, government realised that commercialising was the only hope of saving skills and maintaining long-term defence capabilities.

The State-owned corporation again declared a R60m dividend. Profits of R239m were 2% up on last year and taxes spiralled to R65m, 19% up. Significantly though, income from the SA security forces dropped 12% to R1,53bn while income from local commercial sales rose 19% to R387m.

Alberts says Denel would have fared better in the international market had the political climate at home been more settled. "The volatile climate inevitably affected discussions with potential partners and associates who preferred to adopt a wait-and-see attitude, adversely influencing orders for large, high-value systems."

Defence analyst Helmoed Romer-Heitman, however, says Denel has done well to gain international market share given the defence budget cutbacks overseas. "Exports concluded in the past two years have meant a lot of fast talking and moving, which proves just how good this equipment is."

Though Alberts says that roughly 75% of exports were military in nature, he won't divulge what products were sold or who

## HAWKERS

### Vanishing breed?

**PWV premier** Tokyo Sexwale is giving hawkers a bad case of *déjà vu*. In what he describes as an attempt to clean up downtown Johannesburg, hawkers could be relegated to demarcated trading areas away from the city centre. History repeats itself: not long ago Nat government officials banned street trading because it supposedly hurt the country's image.

Sexwale has not outlined where or when this move will take place, but it is part of his stated goal of curbing crime, drugs and taxi violence. Unfortunately, he believes it's also necessary to crack down on working people trying to escape the poverty engendered by 50% unemployment. He told the PWV legislature last month: "We can't market Johannesburg with the unattractive trading that is taking place on our pavements."

The African Council of Hawkers & Infor-

# Army dirty tricks 'studied'

PRETORIA — A report detailing army dirty tricks, including the killing and harassment of activists, was submitted yesterday to President Nelson Mandela

CF 8/7/94  
Mandela spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe said the president was studying the 18-month-old report by General Pierre Steyn on actions of the army under the former apartheid government

Although the report was submitted previously to former president Mr F W de Klerk, it was not made public at that time

Mr De Klerk commissioned Gen Steyn in November 1992 to investigate activities of the shadowy Military Intelligence's directorate of covert collection after the Goldstone Commission reported army hardliners were undermining reforms — Sapa-Reuter

(254)



# Arms deal with Oman creates jobs

Star 8/7/94

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER  
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

Thousands of new jobs were yesterday created in South Africa's arms industry — hobbled by United Nations sanctions for more than 20 years — with the sale of major equipment and further orders in the pipeline

Experts predict that up to 20 000 jobs will be filled by the end of the 1994-95 fiscal year

The big boost has come from an announcement in Oman on Wednesday night that the Sultanate of Oman had signed a R380 million deal with South Africa for the delivery of "a number" of G6 155 mm artillery systems as well as ammunition, spares and logistical support.

The deal means that 4 200 jobs will be provided at the manufacturers, Denel (Pty) Ltd, its subsidiaries, and with subcontractors. (F3) (RS4)

A Denel spokesman said yesterday that contracts of this type would greatly benefit the economy and eventually contribute to the country's development programme.

The public announcement is the first ever by Denel — the civilian subsidiary of

**DENEL, Armscor's civilian subsidiary, makes its first public announcement of a contract to sell arms abroad**

Armscor — since it was decided earlier this year to conduct defence exports in an open and responsible manner.

The G6 is regarded as the most sophisticated long-range artillery piece in the world. It is based on the G5 which was said to have been developed with the help of Canadian scientist Gerald Bull, who was found dead some years ago.

South Africa is known to have sold an unknown number of G5s to Iraq in the 1980s and these were used during the war between Iraq and Iran and later during Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Other South African-produced armaments being looked at by defence departments all over the world include the state-of-the-art Rooivalk attack helicopter and South African-designed and manufactured mine-resistant vehicles

**Defence Minister** Joe Modise has ordered the restructuring of his Ministry and the department to pave the way for a return to civilian control under a secretary of defence

Up to now the Chief of the Defence Force has effectively been head of the department. The post of secretary was abolished more than 20 years ago by former Prime Minister John Vorster. The move was seen as the beginning of the rise of the military establishment, which exerted considerable influence



**Meiring**

**Kasrils**

on government policy until P W Botha's retirement in 1989 (254)

The National Defence Force has almost no nonmilitary staff at the level of a civil

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**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

service director and above. Responsibility for running the department centres on the chief of the NDF and other military personnel

An information bulletin issued by NDF chief General Georg Meiring says Modise has opted for the so-called "balance option" in which the secretary and the chief of the NDF have equal status. This means the Ministry of Defence will comprise the Minister and his deputy and their personal staff, a defence secretary and secretariat and the chief of the NDF and defence headquarters. The department will comprise the Minister, the secretary, Armscor, and the chief of the NDF who will oversee the operations of the four operational arms of the NDF, the army, navy, airforce and medical services

It is likely that many of the military personnel currently employed in the various defence staff directorates will be given the option of converting to civilian staff and come under the control of the secretary. The secretary will have the same civil service rank as a director-general and will be financially accountable to parliament for the defence budget. The secretary and the chief of the NDF will be jointly responsible for administrative matters

A steering committee comprising Modise, Meiring and the defence secretary will oversee the planning and implementation of the process. The appointment of the secretary and his staff is regarded as a priority and a formal announcement is expected soon. It has been speculated that the post could be offered to former SADF Chief of Staff Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn, who has the military and management experience to handle the job

Steyn is respected in the ANC following his probe in 1992 into Goldstone Commission allegations of dirty tricks by senior SADF officers which resulted in 23 of them being purged by F W de Klerk. Last year Steyn retired early from the SADF amid reports that his investigation had made him so unpopular with fellow officers that he saw no future for himself in the defence force

He is currently working as a consultant in the private sector. The appointment of Steyn as secretary would add balance to the Ministry of Defence, which is considered to have become politically skewed following the promotion of Ronnie Kasrils to the Deputy Minister's post

Jakkie Cilliers, executive director of the Institute of Defence Policy (IDP), says Modise's decision to implement civilian control of the NDF is in line with an IDP proposal earlier this year to the Joint Military Coordinating Council of the Transitional Executive Council. The Midrand-based IDP is a politically independent military research institute funded by the SA private sector and the Hanns Seidel Foundation in Germany

The IDP proposal to the JMCC described civilian control as "a condition to be achieved which ensures that the military operates in accordance with the constitution and the wishes of parliament". It identified the problem of armed forces in a democracy as being how to limit the power of the central

*Fm 817194*  
executive on the one hand and that of military commanders on the other, thereby ensuring that the forces serving the nation fulfil their intended purpose (254)

"An effective democracy requires civilian control of the military since military forces have been and always will be susceptible to manipulation by political groupings whose purpose it may be to use these forces to control, capture or replace parliament. Equally, individual military commanders may abuse their authority to turn the forces against the government and parliament and thus seize power"

In terms of the IDP proposal, a division of functions between defence headquarters and the secretariat could mean an equal sharing of responsibility in areas such as personnel and public relations, some overlap in finance and defence policy but with the secretariat taking most responsibility, and sole DHQ responsibility in areas such as intelligence, operations, logistics and procurement other than that undertaken by Armscor

Earlier this year IDP senior researcher Bill Sass, a retired army brigadier, said "civilianising" the Ministry of Defence was one of the major challenges facing the new parliament (*Current Affairs* March 11). However, he warned that establishing greater civilian control over a new Ministry of Defence while simultaneously integrating various armed formations, embarking on affirmative action programmes and possibly countering internal unrest would make the task difficult

Cilliers says the selection of chairman of the parliamentary joint standing committee on defence will be as pivotal as the selection of the secretary of defence in returning the department to civilian control. The committee will include representatives of all parties with 10 or more seats in parliament. It will be able to investigate and make recommendations on a wide range of matters affecting the NDF including its budget, functions, armaments and policy. It is arguably the most important forum for opposition parties to exert direct influence on defence policy and gain insight and information into the NDF's operations ■

# Armstrong's billion-dollar deal with Saddam

Court documents have for the first time put a figure on Armstrong's illicit deals with Saddam Hussein — an amount valued at more than 18 times this year's total official arms exports. **Stephen Lafer** reports

**D**ETAILED of South Africa's illicit arms dealings with Saddam Hussein are emerging for the first time in a Pretoria court action in which a Palestinian businessman is suing Armstrong for unpaid commission on weapons sales.

South Africa supplied Iraq with weapons valued at US\$4.5-billion during Saddam Hussein's war with Iran which ended in 1989, according to court papers.

Though Armstrong no longer denies having sold weapons to Iraq, this appears to be the first time a dollar figure has been put to the arms transfers between Pretoria and Baghdad. If accurate, the figure before the court reflects sales valued at more than 18 times this year's total official exports by the South African arms industry.

The legal action against Armstrong and its international marketing subsidiary, Nimrod International, by Palestinian businessman Walid Saffouri, who is alleging breach of contract and conspiracy to defraud, will add to South African embarrassment at having helped arm Iraq in the run-up to the Gulf war.

The Armstrong hardware fuelled two wars in which millions died. It is said to have included powerful G5 howitzers, military electronics, missile upgrade kits which may have enhanced Iraq's ability to hit Israeli targets during the Gulf war, and munitions, including deadly anti-personnel cluster bombs.

Bought for use during the Iraq-Iran war, many of the weapons are believed also to have been used against Allied forces in the Gulf war.

The morals of the deal don't seem to have concerned the South African authorities much. Iraq is alleged to have paid for the weapons with oil, desperately needed in South Africa as the mid-1980s embargo noose tightened.

Armstrong this week confirmed that it had supplied weapons to Iraq "prior to the Gulf war" and that it is "currently involved in a court case and is contesting claims for damages". But it refused to reveal the magnitude or nature of the sales, saying to do so would prejudice the case "because it is about how much commission is

owed. For us to put a figure on the sales would weaken our legal position."

An Armstrong spokesman denied emphatically that the weapons had been swapped for oil, but declined to say how they had been paid for.

Hearings in the case — the amount in dispute is valued by Saffouri at \$495-million, or 11 per cent commission on assumed sales of \$4.5-billion — are set down for April and May 1995.

Both sides have engaged high-powered legal teams and are apparently still working feverishly behind the scenes in an attempt to reach an out-of-court settlement. Shielded for many years by the wide-ranging Protection of Information Act, Armstrong must now fear that it will be forced under new constitutional provisions to reveal the nature and scope of many of its illicit international weapons deals in open court.

Armstrong has already submitted 171 lever-arch files of pre-trial disclosure documents to the court. The second respondent in the case, the Cochrane family of Zimbabwe and South Africa, has submitted 22 files. But lawyers for

Saffouri, fearing the Protection of Information Act still bars public access to the files until the Act is challenged in the Constitutional Court, remain reluctant to discuss details of the case.

Saffouri, who is based in Cyprus and whose company, Silver Falcon Enterprises, is registered in the Channel Island of Guernsey, says Armstrong and Nimrod are in breach of contract because, though he brokered the contracts with Iraqi officials which led to the weapons deals and was to receive a cut on any sales made, he has seen only \$150,000 in commission.

**S**affouri set up Silver Falcon Enterprises in the early 1980s to formalise a 1982 business arrangement with Edward, John, William, Steven and Una Cochrane's Guernsey company, International Technology Operations (ITO). He was to represent them in Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Jordan on a commission basis.

The Cochrane family were keen to sell a cluster bomb they had developed for use by the Ian Smith regime in former Rhodesia. Cluster

front for the South African weapons dealer bombs helped make the Iraq-Iran war one of the bloodiest conflicts in human history.

Guernsey was chosen as the seat of ITO and Silver Falcon because the Channel Islands are well known as a base for offshore activities by companies keen to avoid European company taxes and close government scrutiny. Companies are allowed under Channel Islands law to operate with nominee directors, thereby allowing the true ownership of companies trading there to be kept under wraps.

Armstrong and its subsidiaries and other government sanctions-busting agencies of the apartheid years are known to have registered front companies in the Channel Islands of Guernsey and Jersey.

Saffouri alleges Armstrong acquired an interest in the Cochrane's cluster-bomb business and, via them, in ITO. Nimrod marketing director Richard Wright, an Ulsterman, became a director of ITO, say Saffouri's lawyers. And if ITO was not an Armstrong subsidiary, it functioned as a

front for the South African weapons dealer



WM 8-14/7/94 (254)  
**Denel sells Oman  
arms worth \$120m**

**Stephen Laufer**

**S**OUTH Africa took another large step towards becoming the armourer of the Persian Gulf this week when Denel announced a \$120-million artillery sale to Oman. The contract is for the G-6 artillery system with ammunition and training for Omani crews, and is the first since the lifting of the UN embargo on arms deals with this country.

The G-6 was used extensively by the old South African Defence Force in Angola, particularly during the battle of Cuito Cuanavale, where it had a superior range to guns used by the Angolan and Cuban forces.

It is an armoured, motorised howitzer with a maximum range of 48km at sea level.

With Armscor/Denel having sold weapons clandestinely to several states in the tense Gulf region in the past, the G-6 sale increases the possibility of regional conflicts in which South African weapons are used by all sides.

The contract will bring smiles to the top echelons of the South African National Defence Force: the generals have been complaining that budget cuts have led to the cancellation of further local G-6 purchases and were worried that Denel would have to cease production.

The Omani order keeps the production line going, allowing the SANDF to plan for purchases further down the road.

The Omani purchase is likely to bring further major orders, according to *Jane's Defence Weekly* expert Helmut Heitmann. He says the Omani army is highly regarded and its decision will help convince other countries to buy the system.

The Omani order will help secure 1 200 Denel jobs and 3 000 jobs at their subsidiaries, said a spokesman



# Arms sales to Iraq confirmed

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

ARMSCOR confirmed yesterday it had supplied arms to Iraq before the Gulf War but refused to comment on claims that a Palestinian arms dealer was suing it for R1,8 billion in unpaid commission (254)

However, Armscor media liaison chief Mr Bertus Cillier confirmed the damages action. He refused to disclose the amount under dispute.

The Weekly Mail reported yesterday the action against Armscor and its overseas marketing arm, Nimrod International, by Palestinian businessman Mr Walid Safour, who is alleging breach of contract and conspiracy to defraud, involves about R1,8bn.

According to court papers, South Africa supplied weapons worth over R16bn during Iraq's war with Iran which ended in 1989.

# Armscor sued over weapons for Iraq

REUTERS/194

(254)

**JOHANNESBURG.** — South African arms giant Armscor says it is being sued by an Arab arms dealer over sales of weapons to Baghdad during the Iran-Iraq war.

But the company yesterday refused to comment on reports that Cyprus-based arms trader Waid Saffouri was claiming \$495 million (R1 332 m) in unpaid commission for secret deals with the Iraqis during the war, which ended in 1989.

"Armscor did do business with Iraq prior to the (1991) Gulf War. We are contesting claims for damages instituted by the claimant (Mr Saffouri). Because the matter is *sub-judice* we cannot comment further," said Armscor spokesman Bertus Celliers.

"I have full faith in South Africa's judiciary system. I also trust the new administration of Nelson Mandela, who are fair and correct people," said Mr Saffouri, who is based in the coastal town of Lammassol

"I'm suing Armscor, owned by the government of South Africa, for conspiracy and fraud and in Guernsey I'm suing another arms company for breach of contract," he added.

The Weekly Mail reported that, according to court documents, South Africa supplied Baghdad with weapons valued at \$4.5 billion (R16 billion) during the Iran-Iraq war.

Armscor's world-beating G-5 howitzers were among weapons supplied to the Iraqis, which the paper said also included military electronics, missile upgrade kits and cluster bombs.

Saffouri, who is claiming commission on the sales, runs a Guernsey-registered company, Silver Falcon Enterprises.

The Weekly Mail said the firm was set up in the early 1980s to formalise an agreement with another Guernsey-registered company, International Technology Operations, run by former Rhodesians who

developed arms for Ian Smith's Rhodesia.

South Africa announced earlier this week that it was selling long-range artillery guns worth \$120 million (R432 m) to Oman in the first public arms sale since the UN weapons embargo was lifted.

A statement by arms maker Denel, formed in 1992 to take over the manufacturing and arms sales of Armscor, said the deal included ammunition, spares and logistical support for the 155 mm G-6 self-propelled artillery guns, but did not say how many of the weapons were involved.

The G-6, based on the G-5 that was developed with the help of Canadian scientist Gerald Bull, who was assassinated while helping Iraq build long-range "superguns", is widely regarded as one of the best of its kind in the world.

The UN embargo was lifted following historic all-race elections at the end of April. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Destination of

## G6s a secret

## Arms giant offers help

VUYO BAVUMA

(254)

Weekend Africanus Political Staff

TOM ROBBINS



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The UN embargo was lifted following historic all-race elections at the end of April. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Destination of G6s a secret

**TOM ROBBINS**  
Weekend Argus Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — A consignment of 18 G6 artillery guns have recently been exported by Denel from Durban harbour to a secret destination.

This follows this week's announcement of a R432-million deal between Denel and the tiny United Arab Emirates state, the Sultanate of Oman.

Early last week the consignment of cannons was seen being readied for shipment in Durban harbour.

A single G6 is valued at between R12,6m and R16,2m — depending on optional extras.

But Denel communications director Ferdi Stark said there were many hidden costs on top of this such as training of personnel and ammunition.

Denel, the privatised offshoot of Armscor, did not disclose how many of the 155mm G6s would be exported to the Middle Eastern State over the next two years.

They will also not reveal who the client is of the recently exported artillery systems.

Denel spokesman Paul Holtzhausen said "due to our contractual agreement with our client we are not at liberty to disclose the destination or the client's name".

This secrecy of the contract is backed up by the Defence Act.

Revealing who the client is or where the arms are to be exported to could open up a newspaper to prosecution.

Despite the present cloak-and-dagger approach to arms sales there is speculation in government defence circles that in line with the new spirit of glasnost this will now become public information.

The destination of the latter consignment, to Oman, has been released because the Sultan of Oman is happy for the world to know where he gets his guns from.

Denel is presently having considerable success with the G6.

## Arms giant offers help

**VUYO BAVUMA** (254)  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

IN a bid to carve a niche for itself in the new South Africa, Armscor is striving to play a part in the new government's reconstruction and development plan.

The arms procurement body, one of the main cogs in the P W Botha's total onslaught era, has volunteered its 30-year-old "abundant management and knowledge skills" to help run RDP projects.

It also plans to set up mobile hospitals which are not "merely tents or caravans with doctors or nurses to issue prescriptions or supply tablets".

These hospitals would be fully equipped and would include generator-powered theatres, X-Rays and laboratories. Armscor spokesman Gabba Omar said mobile hospitals could be the answer to the country's rapid urbanisation because the building of conventional hospitals would take a long time.

Armscor's proposals are set to be incorporated in the White Paper to be discussed in August's parliamentary session.

Referring to Armscor's role in information management, he said they worked in co-operation with the South African National Defence Force to keep track of thousands of soldiers in many bases in southern Africa.

"Having experience of following up detailed issues such as salaries, pensions, boots, rifles and bullets of many soldiers, Armscor has a fairly good information management

"This could be used in an RDP programme which wants to evaluate the malnutrition problem in a specific area — we could get details of things like inoculation, medicine in local clinics and their personnel, etc."

## COMPANIES

# Arm Scor aiming for exports of over R3bn

By JEREMY WOODS

ARMSCOR plans to lift its export earnings from R886-million now to over R3-billion in the next few years, says Tielman de Waal, executive general manager.

"One of the most exciting aspects of the lifting of the arms boycott is the prospect of substantially increasing the exports of defence equipment," said Mr de Waal.

"South Africa has a small share of the international arms market, less than 0,5%, but it has a highly sophisticated defence industry with a substantial range of top quality defence and security products to offer," Mr de Waal said.

"Many of our products, like the Rooivalk combat helicopter, have enormous export potential. If we can increase our percentage of the market from less than half a percent to two percent we will have export sales of over R3-billion," said Mr de Waal.

"I believe we should be able to achieve this, which would make Arm Scor one of the major exporters in the country," he added.

"Apart from contributing significantly to South Africa's foreign currency earnings, export growth could make an important contribution to economic growth and the



TIELMAN DE WAAL

creation of thousands of new jobs."

Mr de Waal estimates that an increase of defence exports to over R1-billion could mean an increase of about 20 000 jobs in the current year.

"For years South Africa suffered under the arms embargo and had to expand its defence industry to protect itself. From out of those dark days has developed an industry that can compete with the best in the world and now fully intends to," said Mr de Waal.

When South Africa's border wars ended, ammunition sales slumped to R18-million from R800-million and Denel, Arm Scor's largest manufacturer, had to compete internationally to survive.

Arm Scor currently exports 42% of its sales to the Middle East, 22% to Asia, 14% to the Far East, 10% to Africa and just 1% to North Ameri-

ca. Mr de Waal said Arm Scor hoped to make public 95% of its military business. "We want to tell people as much as possible without being an embarrassment to a client. In this regard Sweden seems to have the most open attitude and we are using their policy of disclosure as a sort of role model," he said.

"Previously, we were forbidden by law from saying anything because of the national interest. Now that the arms embargo against South Africa has been lifted, we want to be as open as possible.

"We want South Africans to know they have a modern, top quality, defence and security industry of which they can be proud."

Mr de Waal said Arm Scor had recently undergone a "traumatic" transition.

"It was difficult for everyone involved; especially seeing colleagues retrenched and people who had become personal friends over the years, leave the organisation.

"Former colleagues suddenly became contractors, while a new chairman and board of directors took the helm."

Mr de Waal said he nevertheless looked back with "great satisfaction" on what has been achieved over the past two years.

"Our relationship with the SA arms industry has never been healthier."

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NATIC

# SA weapons may have been used on Israel in Gulf war

254 AREG 11/7/94

JOHANNESBURG. — Revelations that South Africa sold Saddam Hussein billions of rands worth of arms in the 1980s has raised the possibility that the Iraqi leader used the weapons to attack Israel, then a key ally of the white minority government, during the Gulf war.

A figure of R16,2 billion, the alleged price tag for sales of South Africa's G-5 howitzers, with a range of nearly 50 km, cluster bombs and kits to upgrade missile systems, has emerged from a suit lodged in a Pretoria court by Palestinian businessman Walid Safouri.

He has accused Armscor and its international marketing agency, Nimrod International, and a Zimbabwean family, the Cochranes, of conspiracy to defraud him of his 11 percent commission, or R1,78 billion.

A spokesman for Denel, as Armscor is now known, would not confirm either the sales nor the price tag, although he did say that if the weapons had been sold, they were not ex-

## □ Sales to Hussein exposed

changed for Iraqi oil as some reports have suggested

Denel announced last week a R670 million sale to Oman of G-6 howitzers, a mobile armoured version of the G-5, with ammunition and training

The sale was expected to be the first of many now that the international arms embargo against South Africa had been lifted. Officials at Mechem, Denel's research arm, have said they were hoping to sell Britain their highly mobile armoured car, the Mamba.

The G-5 and G-6, rated by some experts as the best howitzers in the world, gained fame in southern Angola during the 1987 battle for Cuito Cuanavale, considered by many analysts to have been the biggest engagement in Africa since the World War 2 and the last one involving significant South African ground forces there

The Cyprus-based Mr Safouri, whose Silver Falcon Enterprises is based in the Channel Islands, has claimed he

brokered the sales with Iraqi officials, but has not received his full payment from Armscor. Hearings in the case were not expected until next year.

South Africa's links to the Middle East were especially strong with Israel, which cooperated with Armscor in the development of the Cheetah attack plane, a modified version of the Israeli Kfir, the Olifant tank, based on the British Centurion, and the Kukri air-to-air missile.

Western military observers in Angola have said up to 10 Israeli pilots are flying jets in support of South African mercenaries fighting on behalf of the government against Jonas Savimbi's Unita, rebel movement, which, ironically, South Africa supported during the battle for Cuito Cuanavale.

The Angolan government announced last December it had expelled 18 employees of a private security company called Anglo-Segu run by a former Mossad colonel. The govern-

ment said the company had hundreds of illegal weapons, and Western military sources in Luanda said Anglo-Segu was suspected of passing sensitive military intelligence to Unita.

South Africa's Israeli links have also come under the spotlight in connection with mysterious deaths of several men involved in the chemical and arms industries. Newspapers have quoted police sources as suggesting involvement in the killings by the Israeli secret service, Mossad, which the Israeli embassy in Pretoria has vigorously denied.

The latest casualty was Don Juan Lange, who was found by his girlfriend two weeks ago in his Durban flat with a bag over his head connected to a gas canister. On November 13, 1991, Mr Lange reportedly led police to two men who had offered to sell him radioactive material, caesium 137, in a lead box, presumed to be destined for the middle east.

That was four days after the dismembered body of British immigrant Alan Kidger was found in the boot of his car in Soweto — The Independent

## MK members up for army placement

PRETORIA — Members of the ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe began appearing before a placement board at the General De Wet training camp near Bloemfontein yesterday in connection with their future rank and placement in the South African National Defence Force

The placement board sitting will continue until July 22

According to SANDF spokesman Lieutenant Margie Neethling the process was part of the integration of defence forces

The panel, comprising former South African and homeland defence force members, MK representatives and members of the British Military Advisory and Training Team, is assessing MK cadres

Lt Neethling said the MK members would have 48 hours to accept offers made to them —  
Sapa (254) QT 13/7/94

## Date set for Apla's integration

The Azanian People's Liberation Army has confirmed its inclusion in the SA National Defence Force and has submitted 6 000 names, chief of the SANDF General Georg Meiring announced today.

He said the integration process would begin on July 18 at De Brug outside Bloemfontein.

Apla was not included as part of the SANDF when the new constitution came into effect on

April 27 as it was unable to comply with the statutory requirements in time. But having now met these requirements, Apla and the SANDF had been involved in talks about integration, Meiring said. (254)

He said a statement detailing the assembly process would be made by Apla soon.

Meiring said a media visit to De Brug would eventually be arranged — Sapa.

# Armcor sold arms to Iraq

OT 19/7/94 (254)

JOHANNESBURG. — The head of South Africa's state-run arms manufacturer, lifting a traditional veil of secrecy on the group's activities, publicly acknowledged yesterday that Armcor had helped arm Iraq during its war with Iran

Armcor chief executive Mr Tielman de Waal said the deals during the 1980-1989 war accounted for less than one per cent of total arms sales and all dealings with President Saddam Hussein were halted "100%" after the United Nations imposed sanctions on Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait

"South Africa sold less than one percent of its arms to Hussein," Mr De Waal said. "To claim that South Africa was more unethical than other countries is unfair"

## Secrecy on SA weapon deal lifted

He was reacting to a report on Friday in an English weekly, that Armcor sold Baghdad R16,2 billion worth of weapons

The newspaper uncovered the details in a court action, in which Palestinian businessman Mr Walid Saffouri is seeking \$495 million (R1,78bn) in unpaid commissions from Armcor for weapons sales to Iraq.

The value of the sale to Iraq was not \$495m as claimed by Mr Saffouri, Mr De Waal said

He refused, however, to disclose the correct figure because

"it is part of the court case"

Mr De Waal also said Armcor sales to the Rwandan government were halted in September, before any requests by other countries were received to stop South Africa selling weapons to the war-torn central African state

The ethnic bloodbath in Rwanda — between majority Hutus and minority Tutsis — was triggered on April 6, when President Juvenal Habyarimana, a Hutu, died in an air crash

After more than two decades of secrecy, Armcor is struggling to shed the unsavoury image it developed under apartheid

But Mr De Waal said the government would be severely embarrassed if it tried to force corporation officials to testify before a truth commission for crimes committed during the years apartheid — Sapa-AFP

## Apla members ready to integrate into SANDF

(254)  
JOHANNESBURG. — A group of 505 Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) members will report to De Brug in Bloemfontein on July 18 for integration into the National Defence Force.

Apla commander Maj-Gen Dan Mofokeng said the group comprised 250 men from Tanzania, 25 from Uganda, 80 from Zimbabwe and 150 others. A thousand Apla members will report there on August 15.

Gen Mofokeng said appointments of Apla officers into senior SANDF posts were being considered by Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise. Sapa

CT 14/7/94

# Modise's comments 'referred to arms'

(254)

ARG 14/7/74

PRETORIA. — Anti-Israel comments by Defence Minister Joe Modise were made "specifically with reference to matters relating to arms sales and arms contracts", Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo said today.

Mr Nzo said in Pretoria that South Africa enjoyed a good relationship with Israel.

Israeli president Ezer Weizman's attendance at President Mandela's presidential inauguration, the highest level visit of an Israeli leader to South Africa, "reflected on the state of relations between the two countries".

Mr Weizman, furthermore, had met PLO chairman Yassir

Arafat in the presence of Mr Mandela.

"This meeting had been arranged at the specific request of both parties and was an indication of the positive role which they expected Mr Mandela to play in the unfolding Middle East peace process.

"It is in the context of this even-handed approach that South Africa conducts its relations with the countries of the Middle East," Mr Nzo said in a statement.

Reuters reported yesterday that Mr Modise had signalled an end to South Africa's special relationship with Israel.

The minister promised action against Israel if proof was provided of police charges that

Israel's Mossad secret service murdered two people in South Africa to halt the shipment of strategic chemicals to other Middle East governments.

"We are going to assess every contract. A lot of contracts have been signed between this country and Israel," Mr Modise said.

"Israel was a main partner of this country, the biggest buster of sanctions, including the arms embargo.

"Politically they were more or less in the same trench. The things the Israelis did to the Palestinians were not very different from what South Africa did to its own inhabitants."

## Armcor admits sales to Saddam

254 WJM 15-21/7/94  
Weekly Mail Reporter

**ARMSCOR has admitted to selling arms to Iraq during its war with Iran. The Mail & Guardian revealed last week that Armcor sold Saddam Hussein a range of weaponry during the 1980-1989 Gulf conflict — and that a Palestinian businessman, Wallid Saffouri, was suing it for \$495-million in unpaid commission.**

Armcor chief executive Tielman de Waal said in an interview

this week with Agence France Presse that sales stopped after the United Nations imposed sanctions on Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait.

He said the value of weapons sold was not \$4.5-billion as claimed by Saffouri, but would not say how much was actually involved because "it was part of the court case".

The case is expected to come before the Pretoria Supreme Court next year.

By GREG MILLS

ARMSCOR recently announced the conclusion of a R432-million deal with the Sultanate of Oman, and the sale of 40 Rooivalk attack-helicopters to two unnamed countries, in the Far East and South America

With the end of the arms embargo and boycott, South Africa could increase its share of the international arms market from 0,5% to two percent, or from R385-million now to more than R3-billion within the next few years, Armscor's executive general manager Tielman de Waal, has said

Armscor has argued that this expansion will make the industry a major exporter, would contribute significantly to foreign currency earnings and create thousands of jobs. This would also ensure the survival of an industry which has gone through some harsh times since the end of the border wars

The end of the Angolan-Namibian conflict saw ammunition sales slump to R18-million from R800-million annually, with the resultant closure of a number of Armscor subsidiaries and shrinkage in the numbers employed in the industry (both directly and through sub-contractors) from 160 000 in 1989 to 70 000 today

Despite the apparent advantage of South Africa increasing its export revenue, there are a number of difficulties. The first concerns the morality of arms exports. This has been brought home in stark reality to those who have followed the Rwandan conflict

### Controversial

Hutu government troops involved in the genocide in Rwanda have been armed, *inter alia*, with South African R-4 assault rifles and machine-guns

The morality question is perhaps more controversial for the new government as it is looked to for leadership by many in the developing world. A model of democracy does not fit with a merchants-of-death tag

There are, however, many who would argue that if South Africa was not to provide such weaponry that others would. This might well be so, but it is important for South Africa to control the moral high ground at this crucial juncture in our foreign relations. If Pretoria hopes to achieve a measure of success in mediating an end to Southern Africa's conflicts and those further afield, its image will not be enhanced by unsavoury arms dealings

During the same week Armscor bragged about its sales to the Middle East (42%), Asia (22%), the Far East (14%) and Africa (10%), it has been trying to negotiate an out-of-court settlement with an arms dealer on a R11-billion sale made to Saddam Hussein during the Iran-Iraq war

It has also been contended that South Africa stands to lose one of its few high-

# Armscor: The moral question

254 CT 18/7/94

to be manufactured under licence in the country of destination. This adds a further dimension to the export debate given that South Africa is allegedly on the verge of concluding a major technology-export deal with at least one Far Eastern country

This will allow the manufacture of South African-designed weaponry with none of the political and geographic disadvantages of African production. Yet surely the South African taxpayer should have a say in the conclusion of these "deals", especially where the R&D costs have been funded (along with the capital machinery costs of the state armaments corporation) by the public sector?

### Compromise

De Waal says Armscor hopes to make public 95% of its military business. But there is a significant difference between the knowledge being communicated before or after such deals are struck

Perhaps a useful and pragmatic compromise to the export debate would be for Armscor only to market defensive rather than offensive military hardware

While realising the somewhat nebulous distinction between these two areas, defensive weaponry could include those where South Africa is an acknowledged world-leader: mine-protected vehicles which are particularly suitable for peace-keeping operations, field-hospitals, mine-detection and recovery systems as well as electronic equipment such as the famed frequency-hopping radios. On the other extreme, small arms and anti-personnel weaponry could be banned from export

Clearly, if the South African defence industry is to survive in the changed political climate, where its very foundation is closely identified with Pretoria's unpalatable past, then diversification and conversion rather than external markets should be the order of the day. And without the state-subsidy that made and kept this industry afloat for so long, it remains to be seen whether the much lauded "technical superiority" and "high-tech" efficiency will keep their heads above water in the bullish and real civil market

□ Dr Mills is Director of Studies at the South African Institute of International Affairs, Jan Smuts House, Johannesburg

**THE ROOIVALK . . .** Armscor recently announced the sale of 40 of these armed helicopters to two unnamed countries

technology industries if arms are not aggressively marketed and the local defence budget does not continue to supply the "bread-and-butter" of equipment and research and development (R&D) expenditure. Yet can South Africa afford an industry where the cost of R&D alone during 1994 stands at R420-million, or half the total income (and massively more than any profit accrued) from export sales?

While Armscor has tried to position itself favourably with some adroit political appointments and offers of contributions to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, it would not take a rocket-scientist to see the limited financial benefits in arms without the strategic imperatives that created this industry

Imagine the security benefit and potential exports accruing, for example, from a R420-million investment in techniques and designs of low-cost housing

Questions should also be asked about the export of technology from South Africa

T T Adams

SEE OVERLEAF.



# SA in peace pact

254  
CT 21/7/94

Own Correspondent

MAPUTO — President Nelson Mandela started his three-day state visit to Mozambique yesterday by signing a joint co-operation agreement covering security, trade, agriculture, transport and the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme.

The agreement confirms the Nkomati Accord, signed in 1984 between former SA President P W Botha and former Mozambican President Samora Machel, but it is expected the new security commission will strengthen security arrangements.

Shortly after arriving yesterday afternoon, Mr Mandela held talks with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, after which the agreement was signed.

The main aspect of the agreement deals with security matters, and includes a provision for a joint security commission to oversee illegal immigration, and arms and drugs smuggling between the two countries.

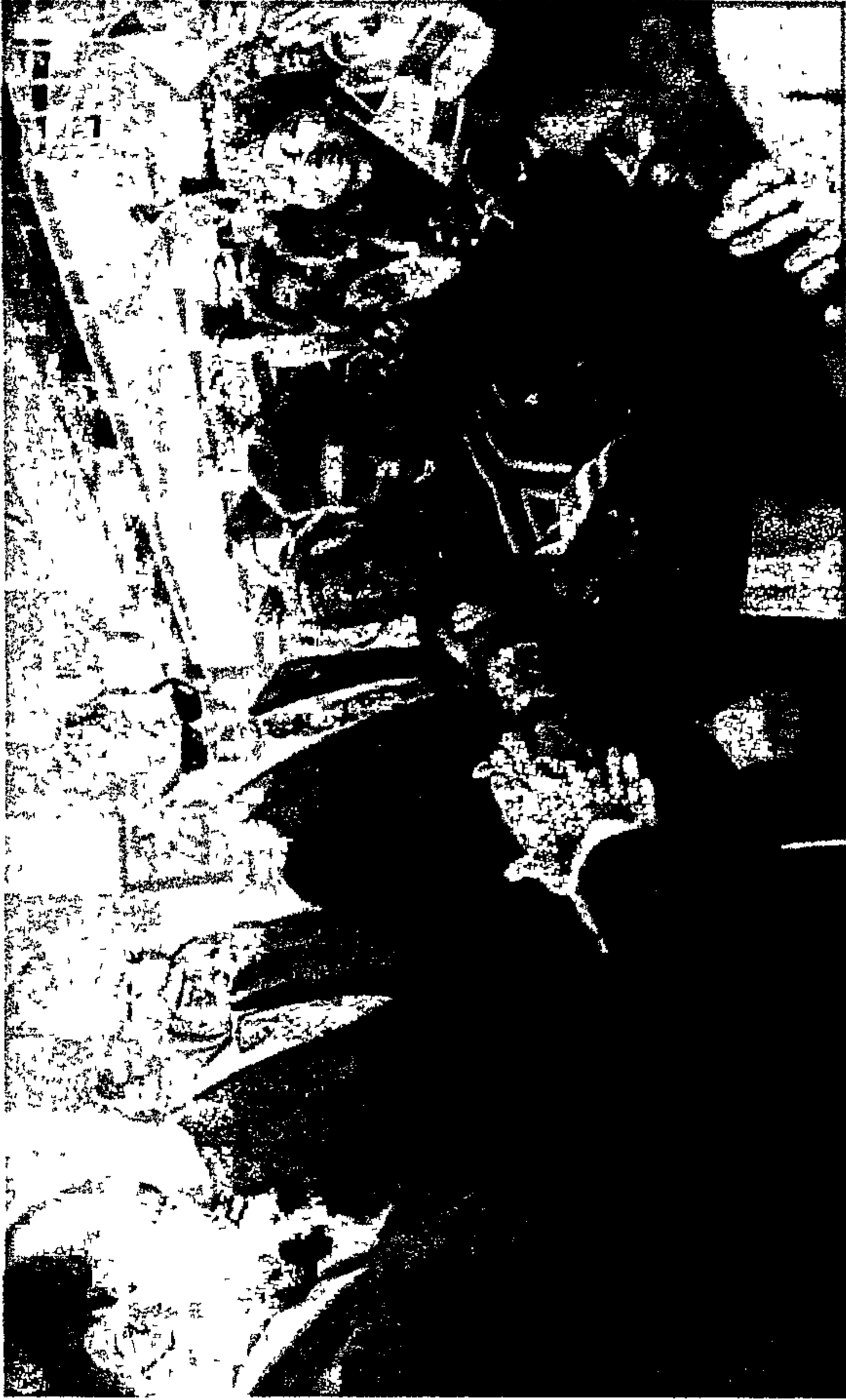
Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise visited Mozambique last week to negotiate the security aspects of the deal.

The agreement will also confirm other international co-operation agreements already negotiated between the two governments, including that on the Cahora Bassa scheme.

Officials expect the supply of electricity from Mozambique to SA will be restored following the deal, but no dates have been set for the resumption of supply.

SA officials expected the Mozambican government to discuss the quota of Mozambican migrant workers on SA mines.

Mozambican authorities would prefer an increase in the quota, but SA



**STATE VISIT** ... President Nelson Mandela, accompanied by Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano (left) is greeted by crowds of Mozambicans waving South African flags. Mr Mandela is on his first official state visit since his inauguration. Picture AP

officials were reluctant to reach any agreements at this stage.

The Mozambican government would also like tariff-free entry of some goods into SA.

This too will be part of further discussions.

Mr Mandela's entourage was welcomed at Maputo airport by about 5 000 people.

A 21-gun salute was fired as the national anthems of both countries were played, after which Mr Mandela inspected a guard of honour.

It took Mr Mandela the better part of half-an-hour to work his way

through the dignitaries and impromptu praise-singing performances conducted in his honour.

"I'm very excited to be here," Mr Mandela told Mr Chissano.

The two leaders were taken from the airport in a cavalcade headed by about 12 motorcycles.

The entourage brought central Maputo to a standstill as thousands of people lined the streets waving South African flags.

Mr Mandela is also expected to meet President Quett Masire of Botswana and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe during his trip,

which coincides with a science and technology conference in Maputo.

Mr Mandela is being accompanied by Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Dr Ben Ngubane, Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Rusty Evans and presidential adviser Professor Jakes Gerwel.

Sapa reports Mr Mandela said at a state banquet here last night South Africa wanted to help build a prosperous Southern Africa to "compete with dignity in the rest of the world".

He said Southern Africa had felt the "shockwaves of international events which have changed the world."

# Whites-only call-up under fire

WJM 22-28/7/94

**S**OUTH AFRICA'S new Ministry of Defence has come under fire for persisting with a whites-only call-up and prosecutions of those who fail to report for duty.

While the Defence Act was amended last year to abolish white conscription and create a non-racial voluntary service, members of the Citizen force and commando units — who are all white because of conscription policies under apartheid — are still routinely called up for camp duties.

Anti-conscription groups branding the practice "racial discrimination in disguised form" have accused Defence Minister Joe Modise of dragging his heels in reforming a system identified by the Negotiating Council as a clear

example of discriminatory legislation. The issue will be raised in parliament next month by Democratic Party MP Douglas Gibson who is to ask whether prosecutions of defaulters will continue.

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said this week amendments of

Whites are still being prosecuted for refusing to attend camps, reports **Stefaans Brummer**

the Defence Act were being drawn up and that a policy statement could be expected before the end of August. "One's got to replace one system with another. All we are asking for is a little more time," he said. A system of incentives, rather than one of coercion, was envisaged until the new voluntary service had built up sufficient numbers. At stake is the experience and manpower vested in the 120 000-strong citizen force and 130 000-member commando units.

"The elections and the state of emergency (in kwaZulu/Natal) clearly

when it became clear after the elections that the practice was continuing. In a letter to Modise, the ECC said the call-up was "a *de facto* continuation of the whites-only call-up. Only whites are required to report for camps and can be prosecuted for not doing so."

Prosecutions underway include those of Louis Miras, a conscientious objector who allegedly defaulted on a sentence of community service and citizen force members Hendrik van Rensburg, Rohn Sibley and Fredenck Barnard.

Kasrils said: "At the moment those prosecutions are not really underway. In a formal sense they are, but no one is actually standing trial or has been sentenced."

demonstrated we need a reserve we can call upon," said Institute for Defence Policy chief researcher Brigadier Bill Sass. "Until the new voluntary system has delivered enough people, it will be very difficult to make do without it."

The Conscription Advice Service and the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) — which would have disbanded last year when conscription was scrapped but is running a skeleton staff to deal with citizen force and commando call-ups — stepped up calls to scrap compulsory camp duty.

# Action on Riemvasmaak bombs promised

By CHRIS BATEMAN  
Political Staff

A MAJOR military operation to clear bombs and mines from the Northern Cape's controversial 70 000-hectare Riemvasmaak Reserve — recently restored to 100 evicted rural families — will begin in September.

Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils gave this assurance yesterday after Riemvasmaak community spokesman Mr Freddie Bosman said the army had until now made "only hollow promises".

Mr Bosman said since their Land Commission victory in February several of his people had moved stock onto the dangerous land and even set up makeshift homes.

"Bombs and bullets" had been found recently near a former Catholic mission station that served until early this year as the field headquarters of Eight South African Infantry Battalion.

The land was subjected to bombardments of all kinds, military manoeuvres and Armscor testing — including using the evicted people's homes for target practice.

Mr Kasrils promised an immediate investigation of claimed bomb finds near the old mission.

He believed there had been a misunderstanding over the starting date for the clean up, which required detailed logistical planning and even specialist training.

"It's an incredibly rugged area, parts of which have been inundated with shells over 20 years — but we will clean it up," he said.

He conceded that the clean-up was postponed by at least one month.

This weekend cabinet delegates from the Ministries of Land Affairs, Water Affairs and Forestry, Defence and Housing and the Northern Cape premier's office will hold a "bosberaad" in the area at Augrabies Falls to set up a repatriation-management plan.

CT 23/7/94



# Call-up creates discord

Star 25/7/94

■ BY MICHAEL SPARKS

The contradiction between planned amendments to the Defence Act — where military service would be based on a voluntary force — and camp call-ups being sent out was unfortunate, according to Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils.

But the contradiction existed because of the changing nature of the society and the ongoing needs of the National Defence Force, he said.

Kasrils added that about 10 000 campers had been called up to report for duty at the Lohatla Battle School in the Northern Cape at the beginning of next month.

However, End Con-

scription Campaign chairman Chris de Villiers pointed out that only whites were part of the Citizen Force, making the call-up racially discriminatory.

He added that the ECC was convinced people could successfully challenge any attempts to prosecute those who refused to report for service.

## Challenge

Kasrils said "It's a bit of a catch-22 situation since we are faced with an interregnum at the moment."

"We are moving towards a new system based on voluntary re-

sponse that makes no reference to race. But in the meantime the call-up process of the past is still in place, and the National Defence Force still has manpower needs.

"We are committed to the new constitution and to change. So we are working as fast as we can to amend the Act."

Kasrils said he was unsure when the amendments to the Defence Act would be introduced, but it would be during the next parliamentary session which runs from August 1 until the end of the year.

He added that since the defence force was no longer serving apartheid, he hoped for a good response to the call-up.

CT 26/7/94

# Committee for Moz border

NELSPRUIT — A working committee to tackle cross-border problems was formed yesterday between a group of Mozambican and South African defence and security officials.

The bilateral meeting followed talks last week between President Nelson Mandela and his Mozambican counterpart President Joaquim Chissano which culminated in the signing of a co-operation agreement between

the two countries (254)  
The committee will deal with security problems on the border between Eastern Transvaal and Mozambique, especially the smuggling of arms and drugs

Two technical advisory committees were also formed comprising representatives from both countries. They would look into several proposals on the border security problems and report back to the working committee

Follow-up planning would be based on the proposals of the technical committees

One technical advisory committee, on policing, would deal with the smuggling of arms and drugs and stock theft and the other, on defence, would look into the border security situation

The committees will also probe the abduction of seven South African women to Mozambique in December last year — Sapa

*Military capability our insurance policy - Kasrils*

# SANDF budget cuts warning

Star 26/7/94

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER  
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

South Africa's military hawks are to take on the doves, particularly in the short term, over the demands of the multibillion-rand Reconstruction and Development Programme

This was spelt out clearly yesterday when Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said defence spending — to reach some R10,5 billion in the 1994-95 fiscal year — could not be cut during the initial stages of the integration process of the South African National Defence Force

The defence budget, which Kasrils said had been decided upon over the past financial year, is to be debated in Parliament on August 10

"We expect opposition from ANC backbenchers. They don't tremble before admirals and generals (and) there will be fireworks on that side of the

**DEPUTY Minister expects opposition from the ANC's backbenchers, who 'don't tremble before admirals and generals'**

House," Kasrils said

He said, however, that the 1995-96 budget would probably be substantially different from the latest one

The former chief of intelligence for MK said "pacifists", whom he described as "the churches", were attempting to force a cut in the 1994-95 budget but that this would be resisted by the SANDF

"Our immediate response to anyone saying we are no longer in a Cold War period is that it is a rather mean world out there. The military has to strategise

accordingly," Kasrils said

"A military capability is our insurance policy," he added

He said Defence Minister Joe Modise would "be fighting like a lion" to prevent cuts in defence expenditure (254)

"It is a real case of how many corvettes versus houses, schools and clinics

"It is an argument that must interrelate issues of security and defence with economic upliftment (because) in order to have prosperity and development, we must have security

"We want to interrelate this to ensure the argument is not an emotional one but one that relates to the prosperity of the country."

Armscor has asked for tenders for four multimillion-rand corvette navy craft to bolster the navy

The air force is also involved in negotiating for expensive new aircraft as well as the upgrading

of existing planes in order to improve the country's defence capabilities in the first two decades of the next century

Speaking about the integration process, Kasrils said the new-look defence force had to be accepted "with credibility and legitimacy" by the population

Going a long way towards reaching this goal had been the appointment of six MK generals, one former Transkei Defence Force general and two brigadiers from integrated forces

He confirmed the SANDF was aiming at a manpower figure of 127 000 after the three-year transition period, and then a pruning exercise would take place to bring the figure down to about 90 000

"We have to see real integration to reflect the real racial composition of our country. We cannot have white officers in the top command and black troops doing patrols on the borders"

# Moratorium on call-up offences

Star 26/7/94

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER  
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

The Government has declared an unofficial moratorium on prosecutions of men who do not report for military call-ups in terms of existing national service regulations.

It is also poised to make a major announcement about the current system.

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said in Johannesburg yesterday there would be no prosecutions of men who have refused to report for duty.

(254)  
While there are no official figures available, it is estimated that up to 30 000 prosecutions are pending in terms of the existing Defence Act. The existing system of conscription was temporarily abolished last year when it was announced that voluntary military service would replace it.

Thousands of volunteers signed up for this new form of service and every student in matriculation classes at all schools had also to be registered, by schools, with the South African National Defence Force in case it was necessary for conscription to be reintroduced.

► SANDF budget cuts  
warning - Page 5

## White call-up still in force

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa will have to rely on white reserve troops for security and law and order for at least the next five years, says leading defence analyst Mr J Cilliers.

"Citizen force members being called up could argue (in the courts) that the system is unconstitutional and discriminatory because it applies only to white males," said Mr Cilliers.

Defence Ministry spokesman Mr Das Herbst confirmed that while the call-up situation was being reviewed, white reserves would be needed for some time.

He said those not reporting for camps would face prosecution. — Sapa-Reuter



## DP slams Kasrils on call-up contradictions

Political Staff

DEPUTY Minister of Defence Mr Ronnie Kasrils and the Defence Force should get together and stop contradicting each other about white conscription, the DP said yesterday

A DP statement welcomed the announcements by Mr Kasrils that white conscription would end and that there would be no prosecutions of those failing to report for service

However, departmental spokesmen had apparently contradicted this (254) CT 29/7/94

ET 29/1/94

## 'Armcor can help with reconstruction plans' (254)

PRETORIA — Armcor is eager to make expertise developed for military purposes available to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, executive general manager Mr Tielman de Waal said here yesterday.

There were similarities between Armcor's activities in the past 15 years and the task facing the government, he said.

Examples of useful Armcor products included mobile medical units, feeding systems and telecommunications systems.

Mr de Waal said the corporation's main contribution would be in management skills — Sapa

## SANDF may reduce force by up to 37 000

JOHANNESBURG — The South African National Defence Force would begin reducing its numbers by as many as 37 000 once integration of all forces had been completed, SANDF deputy chief of staff Maj-Gen P J Venter said yesterday.

Gen Venter was addressing a security conference at Midrand, organised by the Institute for Defence Policy/Centre for Policy Studies. CT

He said integration of uMkhonto weSizwe and Azanian Peoples Liberation Army members would swell SANDF ranks by between 115 000 and 128 000.

The rationalisation programme would take three years from 1995. Sapa (254) 29/7/94

# Armcor's skills 'at RDP's disposal'

Star 29/7/94

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER  
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

Armcor — which for years has been at the sharp edge of the South African defence industry — believes it now has a major peacetime role to play in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

It sees itself in a management support role, particularly in the fields of mobile hospitals, feeding schemes, communication systems and information systems

Executive general manager Tielman de Waal said at a media briefing in Pretoria yesterday that Armcor had made recommendations for inclusion in the RDP White Paper, to be published by the government later this year, and had also initiated talks with provincial governments about where it could assist

(254)

Erich Esterhuysen, Armcor's RDP co-ordinator, said that the defence industry could help the RDP by providing 20 000 jobs for

every R1 billion earned by the sector

The national defence telecommunications network would be integrated with those of Telkom, Eskom and other major organisations to provide a single national system which would provide the infrastructure to expand telephone and other links to rural areas in particular

Health care could be taken to the masses via mobile hospitals and clinics, a scheme which would not only provide a service but also jobs for hundreds of people

Armcor has also developed ready-to-serve meals for troops which could also be diverted to feed people on a mass scale in the education, health, disaster and other humanitarian fields

Satellite technology, using the locally developed Greensat system, would be offered for the gathering of information on crops, drought, environmental planning and natural occurrences, such as disasters and floods

# SA bans export of land-mines

PRETORIA — South Africa has banned the export of land-mines, Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils announced yesterday.

Speaking at Paardefontein near here, he said the ban was in response to a UN request in October last year that member states impose a moratorium on anti-personnel mines.

South Africa had gone "much

further" by banning the export of all types of mines, he said. Mr Kasrils said the Ministry of Defence was considering converting the moratorium to a total ban of land-mines.

He said the government should rather promote expertise in clearing mine fields.

"South Africa has developed one of the world's most advanced counter-mine capabilities

"With the lifting of the UN embargo, many international programmes can benefit from our expertise," he said.

Mr Kasrils said there were about 100 million land-mines scattered over more than 60 countries Africa alone had between 18 and 30 million, making it the world's most heavily mined continent.

He said Armscor had asked the Minister of Defence, in

March to impose an immediate moratorium on the continued marketing, export and transit of all types of land-mines.

The ministry was "surprised" to learn that South Africa had exported only about 3 900 mines before the moratorium.

These excluded mines supplied to the Unita movement in Angola and Renamo in Mozambique — Sapa.

254 CT 30/7/94

# Kasrils announces ban on export of landmines

Weekend Argus Reporter, Sapa

PRETORIA — Deputy defence minister Ronnie Kasrils has announced a ban on the export of landmines

Speaking yesterday on behalf of defence minister Joe Modise at a Press conference at Paardefontein near here, Mr Kasrils said the ban was in response to a United Nations request in October last year that member states impose a moratorium on anti-personnel mines

South Africa had gone "much further" by banning the export of all types of mines, he said

Mr Kasrils said the ministry of defence was also investigating the implications of converting the moratorium on exports to a total ban of landmines

He said the government should rather promote expertise in clearing minefields

South Africa has developed one of the world's most advanced and sophisticated counter-mine capabilities," Mr Kasrils said, adding that the country was also a world leader in mine-protected armoured vehicles

"With the lifting of the United Nations arms embargo many international programmes can now benefit from South Africa's expertise and equipment," he said

"These include UN peace-keeping operations and Red Cross activities in war-torn areas

"We want to help minimise the ceaseless killing of civilians, including helpless women and children"

Mr Kasrils said there were about 100 million landmines scattered over more than 60 countries Africa alone had between 18 and 30 million, making it the world's most heavily-mined continent

New minefields were appearing daily in areas such as former Yugoslavia and in Armenia and Azerbaijan

He said Armscor had asked the Minister of Defence in March this year to impose an immediate moratorium on the continued marketing, export and transit of all types of landmines

The ministry was "surprised" to learn that South Africa had exported only about 3 900 mines before the moratorium These excluded mines

supplied to rebel Unita movement in Angola and Renamo in Mozambique

Mr Kasrils' announcement was followed by a demonstration at the Paardefontein Mechem test range of South Africa's counter-mine technology

Mr Kasrils has been forced back into line after raising false hopes that call-ups of trained white citizen force members had ended

He has backtracked after the SANDF and the Ministry of Defence had contradicted him, saying the citizen force had to do camp duty

Mr Kasrils said trained people should respond positively to call-ups Citizen force members were no longer deferring the old system, but were needed to defend the country, he said

ARG 30/7/94

(25/11)

# Defence integration costs rocketing

(254)

ARG 30/7/94

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRÉTORIA — Taxpayers are to pay billions of rands next year to finance the National Defence Force's integration and rationalisation programme.

According to Deputy Chief of Staff (Personnel) P Venter, the programme, due for completion by December, is likely to cost far more than the estimated R4 billion calculated until December this year.

Presenting a paper at the Institute for Defence Policy and the Centre for Policy Studies in Midrand yesterday, Major-General Venter said the task of integrating five statutory (former TBVC) and two non-statutory (MK/A-PLA) forces by the year-end was being made impossible by the confusion surrounding certified personnel registers.

"The deadline for the submission of these lists was midnight on April 27 and yet we are currently working on the 11th or 12th revised list. This is simply unacceptable," he said.

General Venter said recruits were streaming in from all over Africa, and because there was no accepted final list, the rationalisation process was being retarded.

The estimated cost of integration and rationalisation was estimated at R4 billion by the end of this year, but I doubt we'll complete the process until the end of next year, dramatically increasing the cost to the taxpayer, he said.

The SANDF was expecting an intake of from 16 000 to 26 000 MK, 4 000 to 6 000 Apla and 10 000 former TBVC troops to be added to the 85 000 former SADF members. This would make up a total strength of between 115 000 and 127 000 members, to be pruned to 91 000 over three years.

General Venter said most of the senior reductions would be by retrenchment, placing additional strain on the budget, while the lower levels could be trimmed by terminating contracts. He added that the maintenance of all existing combat capabilities remained important.

He said it was imperative that investment in intelligence gathering be increased to ensure sufficient early warning about a changing threat.

This would ensure that force levels were not maintained at unduly high levels and that lower force levels could be timeously increased to counter threats to national security.



**AT THE SHARP END** in the foreground with an R5 assault rifle is Trooper Jacob Lottering — the man that everyone sees. From left behind him is the support group that keeps him active in the field, comprising armourer Staff Sergeant Avie Melamed, cleaner Masimola Jantje, Chief Corporal Hein Thomas, secretary Hester Alberts, artilleryman Staff Sergeant Collen Schoeman, mechanic Corporal Cassie Bothma, signaller Corporal Owen Geldenhuys, technician Sergeant Roger Rens and Lieutenant Brand Botha. The vehicles are a Buffel armoured personnel carrier and a Samel tanker.

Picture **COBUS BODENSTEIN**

## Front-line trooper is just visible tip of the iceberg

By **PETER De IONNO**

**SOUTH AFRICA'S** front-line troopers are the sharp tip of an iceberg — at least six people stand behind every fighting soldier.

Without cooks, mechanics, secretaries, cleaners, technicians and quartermasters, the SANDF's fighting men would be a rag-tag bunch.

For those who thought the defender of South Africa was a man with a

rifle, a breakdown of the cost per person per day reveals just how dependent soldiers are on those unseen battalions (254).

It costs an average of R150,01 a day to deploy an infantryman, allowing for an ammunition cost of R1,14 a day, equivalent to two rifle rounds. Gunners and armoured troopers cost more, with artillery rounds running into thousands.

Of the total averaged cost of each SANDF member of R55 000 a year, R33 000 goes in salaries — R90 a day. The remainder is logistical costs, R60,01 a day.

Every army marches on its stomach, so the largest direct cost of R14,62 for cooked rations is no surprise. However, it is cheaper to cook fresh food than to provide the nutritionally precise "ratpack" dry rations, which cost up to R22 a day.

Keeping the spending down is an impossible juggling act, said Colonel Antonie Visser, senior SANDF staff officer for logistical finances, who produced this analysis. Rocketing vegetable prices could add R2 to R3 to the daily food bill.

The inflation rate for vehicles is about 20 percent, well above other categories in the table.

### WHAT IT COSTS TO KEEP ONE SOLDIER FOR ONE DAY

	RANDS
<b>DIRECT COSTS</b>	
Logistical costs	1,02
Vehicles	4,26
Signal equipment	26
Weapons	0,32
General purchases	1,02
Fuel	3,25
Rations	4,02
Ammunition	1,14
Stationery	0,16
Clothing	4,71
Cleaning materials	0,12
Decentralised purchases	1,02
Vehicle repair	41
Signal equipment repair	0,81
Other repair	11
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>40,61</b>
<b>INDIRECT COSTS</b>	
<b>AVERAGE SALARY COSTS</b>	<b>110,01</b>
<b>TOTAL COSTS per person per day</b>	<b>R150,01</b>

Graphic **FIONA KRISCH**

Purchase of vehicles and signal equipment totals 21 percent of support costs. Repairs amount to another eight percent.

The SANDF's emphasis on First World hardware is what gives the SA military an edge that defies external challenges. It also skews the figures away from the typical African defence force cost ratio of 80 percent wages and 20 percent logistics.

"We are a bit more expensive than the average

Third World army," said Colonel Visser.

Indirect costs of R19,40 cover regional service council levies, main signal equipment purchases, computer expenses, telephone charges, manpower transfer costs, tools, garden equipment and the buying of dogs and horses.

Buildings come free to the military, but not to the taxpayer. They are paid for by the Department of Public Works — different budget, same pocket.



# Conscription in a tangle

CLIVE SAWYER

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

THE Ministry of Defence seems unwilling to put its generals in their place, says the End Conscription Campaign

There is confusion about whether the government will go ahead with prosecution of thousands of Citizen Force members who have not responded to call-ups. There are reportedly 30 000 prosecutions pending.

The ECC has welcomed reports that deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils has announced a moratorium on prosecutions.

These reports have subsequently been denied by Defence Ministry spokesman Muff Anderson.

The ECC says it seems that Mr Kasrils has let the cat out of the bag because "few if any" prosecutions are proceeding.

"Notwithstanding, the Defence Force is harassing individuals called up for camps, threatening them with prosecution.

"We have had reports of individuals being harassed for alleged failure to

report last year."

Whites-only call-ups are "blatantly" in conflict with the constitution, says the ECC.

"It is outrageous that the Defence Force persists not only with the call-ups themselves, but with threats of prosecution."

The Defence Force seemed unable to come to terms with changes in South Africa and was trying to run its massive call-up bureaucracy as usual.

"It is unclear whether this is due to massive incompetence or deliberate policy.

"Neither possibility is confidence-inspiring."

Responding to Defence Force claims that it is necessary to call up white Citizen Force members for the foreseeable future, due to their "expertise", a Defence Force spokeswoman said they had to keep their battle skills up to date "because lives depend on it".

The ECC says next month's huge war games at Lohathla in the northern Cape will waste "vast sums of money on pointless military exercises".

PUBLIC SECTOR - GOVT. DEFENCE

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AUGUST — DEC,

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# Body mooted to keep tabs on defence budget

CAPE TOWN — A special parliamentary commission must be established to review the Defence Force budget, the joint committee on finance has recommended

In a report on the Budget published on Saturday, the committee also called for an investigation into competition policy, an end to tax discrimination against women, an inquiry into the future of nuclear energy programmes, and a commission of inquiry into labour productivity

It said urgent attention should be given to the complexities of devolution of power to the provinces.

The report was the product of seven days of public hearings following the tabling of the Budget in June, during which the committee heard evidence from cabinet ministers, department heads and interest groups.

It said that despite the hearings, the rationale for the maintenance of Defence Force troop levels remained "out of the ken of the committee and the legislative authority", which made a critical evaluation of the defence budget vote extremely difficult

The SANDF budget, as 10% of the total, warranted the establishment of a parliamentary defence review and evaluation commission to examine its size within a comprehensive strategic reassessment

The budget of the National Intelligence Service should be evaluated to ensure not only that there were enough resources to cover the integration of all intelligence agencies into one, but also that there were funds to train members in human relations and to develop a "continued human rights culture"

Spending on secret projects and the special defence account, as well as the continued existence of the secret services evaluation committee, should be considered for its effectiveness

The committee was concerned that accounting officers had not yet been appointed for all the provinces

No provision appeared to have been made for establishing the commission on gender equality, and the committee strongly recommended that a specific allocation for this be reflected in the President's budget vote.

Urgent attention should be given to ending tax discrimination against women, and particularly to removing the distinction between "married women" and "married persons". — Sapa

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# Moratorium on call-up prosecutions

(254)

ARG 11/8/94

## □ Bid for voluntary participation

### Political Staff

DEFENCE Minister Joe Modise has announced an immediate moratorium on prosecutions of members of part-time forces who fail to respond to call-ups

"In terms of this moratorium, the National Defence Force will not be handing over cases to the civil courts and will not proceed with prosecutions in military courts," Mr Modise said during debate in the national assembly on his budget vote

He also threw his weight firmly behind the country's arms industry, saying it was important to view it as a "national asset" and pointing out that it could generate new jobs

Turning to the debate on the military call-up system, Mr Modise said the moratorium would last "until administrative mechanisms are in place to encourage voluntary participation in the part-time forces"

Since the scrapping of the all-white conscription system, the defence force has relied on an entirely voluntary part-time force

The first voluntary intake of 4,000 recruits for the army and

200 for the navy "was successfully accomplished this year"

In terms of existing legislation, the voluntary system may be supplemented, when the need arises, by a ballot system

Mr Modise said he respected the authority of attorneys-general to proceed with prosecutions against those who had not responded to recent call-ups. But he appealed to them for "co-operation in applying the moratorium"

In spite of his concession, Mr Modise appealed to Citizen Force members to "respond positively" to call-ups

"I believe our part-time forces now have the opportunity to convert the call-up system into a sound volunteer system," said the minister. He also appealed to employers to co-operate in enabling these members to report for duty

Significantly, he added, "We are looking into ways to provide incentives to employers and potential volunteers to co-operate in instituting this system"

Mr Modise said an "equitable dispensation" for classified conscientious objectors was under review and an announcement could be expected soon

*'Budget doesn't target poor communities'*

# Too much cash for defence, says ANC

Star 2/8/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The ANC was "extremely unhappy" about the large share of the Budget allocated to the security forces and intelligence agencies, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Speaking during the Budget debate, he said the defence budget was much too large for a country the size of South Africa.

Citing a range of concerns his organisation had about the Budget, Ramaphosa further questioned R400 million budgeted for the National Intelligence Service.

"We need to be convinced that ex-CCBs and other killers are not being paid from these budgets," Ramaphosa said.

The Budget, which reflected old and new priorities, also did not target rural and poor com-

munities

The ANC was further concerned that 40 percent of the Budget was being spent on running the country's administration (234)

While the ANC accepted that the level of taxation was too high, the Government should address "the erosion of tax morality"

## Priorities

Ramaphosa said State assets had disappeared during the past few months. He proposed that a high-profile campaign be started to identify the culprits.

Opening the debate, ANC MP Gill Marcus, who is also the chairman of the finance standing committee, said the budgetary cycle had prevented the new Government from making sufficient input and its priorities remained ill-defined.

Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel proposed that the Government increase its spending on revenue collection and should consider a once-off indemnity for tax evaders.

Democratic Party MP Ken Andrew told the National Assembly that the Budget deficit remained unacceptably high.

He warned "Any fool can spend money and redistribute wealth. The real challenges are making money and creating wealth. Without economic growth, the RDP is doomed to failure."

IFP MP Gavin Woods expressed concern at the Government's lack of a financial policy framework.

Arguing the necessity of privatisation, Woods said the country was "in for a rough ride unless we follow the examples set by well-established economies."



Pictures DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

Lieutenant-General Hattingh Pretorius, left, with the Castle's first recipient of the Southern Cross Decoration, Brigadier Dan Lamprecht, and the last recipient of the Danie Theron decoration, Colonel Michael Müller, right

# 'Give SANDF ARLT 3/8/94 three years'<sup>(254)</sup>

Staff Reporter

THE success of the integration process of members of various military forces into the new South African National Defence Force will only be evident at the end of three years, says chief of the army Hattingh Pretorius

Lieutenant-General Pretorius told senior officers at a medal parade in the Castle yesterday that the perception existed that the level of training of some of the new members of the SANDF was not very high

General Pretorius said the army was engaged in an integration process which included bridging courses and in some instances re-training

"At the end of this process — which can take up to three years, if not longer — the playing fields should be level and comparisons between the recruits of the various forces could be made"

Budgetary constraints placed on the army by the high cost of the integration process also meant South Africa would not be able to afford the size of the present force

General Pretorius presented medals to 17 senior officers and one non-commissioned officer, including the commander of Western Province Command Dan Lamprecht

Brigadier Lamprecht was awarded the Southern Cross Decoration for "outstanding service of the highest order with utmost devotion to duty"

General Pretorius also awarded the Danie Theron medal to Colonel Michael Müller, from Carnarvon, a member of the commandos who "has distinguished himself by exceptionally diligent and outstanding service"

It was the last Danie Theron Medal to be awarded before the decoration is scrapped

# SANDF: First integration

(254)

CT3/8/94

RATIONALISATION of the SA National Defence Force would only take place after the full integration of the various military forces of South Africa, according to chief of the army, Lieutenant-General Hattings Pretorius

Speaking at a medal parade at the Castle, Lt-Gen Pretorius said that "unachievers" and those found guilty of "bad conduct" would be the ones to leave the army

"I am confident that we will not lose expertise through this process," he said

He urged for co-operation from the "loyal supporters" at the parade and warned that without their co-operation the shaping of the army could be a "long and painful process"

This integration of the armed forces would only near completion towards the end of next year, he said



**S**hould South Africa cut back on defence spending? The debate on this sensitive issue is likely to produce a few fireworks, reports Defence Correspondent Norman Chandler.

Star H18/94

# Fiery debate over defence budget

(254)

**T**he national debate over whether or not the country can afford a defence force at all is likely to intensify in the days leading up to the defence budget debate in Parliament next Wednesday, August 10.

It is a debate which is threatening to become acrimonious and one which could well threaten a split in the Government of National Unity, in the process giving a clearer indication of the rank-and-file support enjoyed by the ANC's backbenchers.

## Maintain

On one side is the Department of Defence and the South African National Defence Force — both of which advocate as few cuts as possible so as to maintain acceptable defence capability levels.

Then there are the so-called pacifists, already identified by Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils as "the churches".

The South African Council of Churches has held talks with the Ministry of Defence (MoD) over the R10,5 billion budget, coming down fully in support of large chunks of it being hived off to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), and also declaring South Africa shouldn't have an arms industry which, incidentally, employs tens of thousands and earns this country over R1 billion in foreign exchange annually.

Also entering the fray are the actual demands of the RDP, and it is from this particular quarter that some of the most telling blows may well be struck at the hawks who are poised to fight tooth-and-nail for money to finance important new acquisitions for the continent's most



port of current and future operations.

The SANDF is presently spending well below the level required merely to maintain its main equipment at current levels. This indicates that defence spending will have to increase in future years.

One result of a 44 percent decline in real terms of South Africa's defence spending since 1989 — the second highest decline in the world after the Russians — has been the level of capability and the all too vulnerable human side which adds up to no defence industry jobs and no other employment opportunities because of the economic situation. A total of 44 000 employees were put on the streets.

Even the minimum strategic technological levels will not be able to be maintained if the defence budget is cut substantially in favour of the RDP — and it would be too costly to reactivate research and development programmes in a few years' time because lagging behind international developments means one has to start at the beginning to all intents and purposes.

It is perhaps to its credit that the old SADF was able initially to absorb budget reductions through dipping into its reserves, but those days are over.

Now the country has been forced to cut back on the manufacture of tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, armoured cars, and artillery guns, among others. The air force's capability has been reduced substantially from 781 aircraft and by the year 2000 will only have 390.

The navy cannot buy what it desperately needs to defend the

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Also entering the fray are the actual demands of the RDP, and it is from this particular quarter that some of the most telling blows may well be struck at the hawks who are poised to fight tooth-and-nail for money to finance important new acquisitions for the continent's most powerful defence force.

Some indication of the thinking of the hawks has come in recent days from Kasrils, who remarked at a newspaper luncheon that his Minister, Joe Modise, would "come out fighting like a lion" to prevent cutbacks.

Modise and Kasrils are a formidable team because they know full well the problems of not having sufficient money with which to buy reliable equipment. Their days in the top echelon of the former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) army, which fought the old South African Defence Force (SADF), are a strong reminder to them — as well as many of those backbenchers and others not in Parliament — that without armaments, trying to engage a well-armed enemy is well-nigh impossible.

But the big question is whether the military strongmen will be convincing enough when the crunch comes in Parliament. Ploughshares (along with social upliftment and the aspirations of millions) are more important to the ANC's constituents than are swords but as Kasrils has pointed out, there is also nothing more important



**Orchestrated manoeuvres in the bush** . . . opponents of Defence spending say the money could be put to better use.

than a strong defence to ensure prosperity and peace in a land which has seen too much war.

He has, however, tempered the hard-line military approach by conceding that some money could be transferred to the RDP but only in the budget for the 1995-96 fiscal year as the current fiscal year's demands were

decided upon many months ago. The SANDF, characteristically, puts the issue far more bluntly and also makes it clear that it will not respond positively to cutbacks in spending.

It says estimates for 1993-94 and 1994-95 did not originally make provision for the integration of the TBVC defence forces

and non-statutory forces such as MK into the SANDF. In other words, when the politicians sat down to negotiate the future of this country, it was far from the minds of treasury mandarins that peace would come at such a fast pace as it eventually did.

"The numbers involved (in the integration) will require in-

creased defence spending over the short term, currently seen as between one and three years," says the SANDF.

It is imperative that notice be taken of the serious gaps that have and will develop in the SANDF's capabilities. This applies to both combat capabilities and the sustained logistical sup-

port of current and future operations. The SANDF is presently spending well below the level required merely to maintain its main equipment at current levels. This indicates that defence spending will have to increase in future years."

One result of a 44 percent decline in real terms of South Africa's defence spending since 1989 — the second highest decline in the world after the Russians — has been the level of capability and the all too vulnerable human side which adds up to no defence industry jobs and no other employment opportunities because of the economic situation. A total of 44 000 employees were put on the streets.

Even the minimum strategic technological levels will not be able to be maintained if the defence budget is cut substantially in favour of the RDP — and it would be too costly to gear up research and development programmes in a few years' time because lagging behind international developments means one has to start at the beginning to all intents and purposes.

It is perhaps to its credit that the old SADF was able initially to absorb budget reductions through dipping into its reserves, but those days are over. Now the country has been forced to cut back on the manufacture of tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, armoured cars, and artillery guns, among others. The air force's capability has been reduced substantially from 781 aircraft and by the year 2000 will only have 360.

The navy cannot buy what it desperately needs to defend the coastline. Bases and units from all arms of the service have been closed and training is curtailed — the latter, of course, is bad news for the 36 000 men and women coming into the military from MK and Apla over the next three years and hoping they will make the grade in terms of evaluation and then placement in the integrated force.

**Redundancy**

They, as well as former SADF personnel, also face redundancy. The defence force is to swell to a mammoth 127 000 in three years and then be reduced to a force size of about 90 000.

One doesn't need to be Nostradamus to predict there will be an outcry that day and pressure brought to bear for jobs to be found for all of them.

# Public service <sup>(254)</sup> minimum pay increases again

ARG 4/8/94

□ 20% rise since last November

**CHRIS WHITFIELD, Political Staff**

THE minimum wage for public servants has been increased by 4.77 percent and pay scales in the service will be restructured, Public Service and Administration Minister Zola Skweyiya announced.

He told parliament during the budget debate yesterday that the "majority of those lower-paid people are black and women" The latest increase would mean that the minimum wage had been improved by 20 percent since last November

The issue of the minimum wage had been discussed with the central chamber of the Public Service Bargaining Council

Mr Skweyiya said "The chamber has decided to appoint a task team to look into the matter and to make proposals regarding a programme for the improvement of the minimum wage

"As a sign of its commitment to the issue of minimum wage, I am pleased to announce that despite the present financial limitations, the government has agreed to further increase the minimum wage in the public service with 4.77 percent as from July 1 this year."

Officials from the Department of Public Service and Administration were unable to indicate last night how many civil servants would be affected by the increase or what it would cost.

The minister said during the debate that salary increases had to be handled "in a way which will be affordable" Increases since April had been below the inflation rate

"We need to maintain that kind of discipline On the other hand, the government has to be sensitive to the needs of the public servants at the lower end of the salary scale and to imbalances which the apartheid era has caused within our wage and salary structure"

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## Modise: SA arms industry to stay

LONDON — The South African government will maintain the country's arms industry, the strongest on the continent, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said in an interview published yesterday. (254)

He told Jane's Defence Weekly the government wants new corvettes for its navy and a new training aircraft to be built in South Africa.

South Africa has said it wanted to procure between 40 and 50 trainer

aircraft to replace its ageing Atlas Impalas, and four corvettes to extend the range of its small fleet.

Mr Modise said "We would prefer to have the corvettes built here, to bring technology into the country."

SA Air Force chief Lieutenant-General James Kriel said in Pretoria he was unaware of plans for a trainer to replace the Impalas.

Armcor's Mr Tielman de Waal said no discussions were underway on such a project — Sapa-Reuter.

# Ex-MK soldiers draw battle lines over pay

South 518-918194

By Quentin Wilson

**B**ATTLE lines have been drawn within the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) over the allocation of ranks and salaries to the former members of Mkhonto weSizwe

According to a source in the SANDF's personnel section at military headquarters, former MK members are being relegated to the lowest rung of the salary ladders in each rank while former SADF personnel are allocated to more lucrative posts

"It is just one of the many complexities that we are facing in this integration process," said the source "Although many of us have many years of experience in MK, that is being totally ignored

"It has been proposed that MK soldiers start on the lowest salary scale within their given rank. There are three salary notches within each rank, and MK people are given the lowest notch each time

"We have rejected this and are negotiating the matter but there is a feeling in some quarters that we are being swallowed up by the SADF. We want the integration process to proceed on more equal terms," he said

Major Merle Meyer, a South African army spokesperson, admitted the process was



**RAW DEAL: Former MK soldiers find themselves at the bottom of the SANDF pecking order**

"proving difficult" but said "all was being done to ensure fair play" (254)

"Everybody is undergoing evaluation from the British Military Training Team, a body agreed to by all parties to help us in the integration process

"Many factors are taken into consideration

before a decision is taken about an individual

"It is a difficult situation because of the different training the various soldiers have undergone, but we are doing everything we can to give people a fair chance," Meyer said

# I'm being victimised, says soldier

Sibusiso Nxumalo

A SOUTH African National Defence Force soldier has accused former members of ANC security department Mbokodo — now senior officers in the new defence force — of victimising him for testifying about abuses in ANC detention camps. (ZS4)

In a letter in the possession of the *Mail & Guardian*, Olefile Mngqibisa describes harassment by high-ranking officers at the camp. The letter is addressed to, among others, the commanders at the base, President Nelson Mandela, the Defence Ministry and the United Nations Human Rights Commission. WM 5-11/8/94

Mngqibisa appeared before the Motu-suenyane Commission appointed by Mandela last year to hear claims of atrocities in ANC camps. He gave evidence of arbitrary arrests and torture carried out by Mbokodo. He also told the commission that current defence minister and former Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise had sent MK soldiers over the border to buy him expensive shoes and clothes.

The letter claims the commanding officer of the MK soldiers at Wallmannstal, Gilbert Ramano, and his second-in-command, Steven Kobe — both ex-members of Mbokodo — have removed Mngqibisa from his post of brigade sergeant major, in his absence and without explanation.

In another letter addressed to Minister of Justice Dullah Omar, Mngqibisa claims the camp's second-in-command told him he was being harassed because he had testified against Mbokodo. He also says that while problems between him and Ramano were resolved amicably, the latter admitted other MK people were unhappy with Mngqibisa's presence at the base.

Mngqibisa describes an altercation with the second-in-command, Stephen Kobe, in which he was threatened with expulsion from the camp. He also claims that Kobe hunted he would shoot him.

Colonel Brian du Toit of the SANDF said it was an internal MK matter, and the SANDF could not comment on it. Attempts to obtain comment from MK commanders met no response.

## SECURITY

Fm 5/8/94

# Back to basics

**Rebuilding** SA's security services for the new democracy could be the toughest task facing the government of national unity

It must find a role for a police force demoralised and in conflict with the communities it must serve and for an army seeking to merge leaders with guerrilla cadres they were trained to kill

The two services face different problems, experts say, but if the solutions are tardy and too costly, they will ultimately affect the ANC's ability to carry out its Reconstruction & Development Programme "It is clear that safety and security are far more closely linked to reconstruction and development than was previously understood," says Safety & Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi

"What does it help to build houses, schools and communities if they can be torn down or terrorised the next day?" The new order solution, he says, is "community policing" Police stations and communities must develop a rapport It has already begun, with consultative forums springing up in townships across SA involving police officers, community leaders and peace monitors

Not only must the police be more representative of their communities, says Mufamadi, they must be in constant dialogue That would enhance the police's information network and hence its crime-fighting ability, leading to greater acceptance by the communities But all of this, warns Mufamadi, "will take longer, cost more and cause more mess than anybody ever anticipated"

Riots and disorder, meanwhile, will continue throughout the transitional period of the new government and beyond These are problems demanding a tougher, more militant form of police action — what the authorities call "public order policing" to distinguish it from the bobby-on-the-beat, community-orientated variety

In the past, such tasks fell to the police's Internal Stability Division (ISD) Formed two years ago and modelled on the French anti-riot police, the ISD drew many members from the Koevoet counter-insurgency force used in pre-independent Namibia

The ISD units, though, were so heavy-handed that they have become hated by violence weary black communities In the most violent areas such as the East Rand, the internal stability units had to be withdrawn and replaced by the army

As the ISD's image declined, it brought down the image of the police, says Institute

for Defence Policy executive director Jakkie Cilliers But he believes the solution is more simple than it seems (254) (254)

Cilliers advocates transferring the ISD out of the police service and combining it with the existing counter-insurgency components



of the army to form a new division of the SA National Defence Force, with a separate budget like the navy and air force The proposed new defence arm could also handle border security, which has deteriorated to the extent that illegal immigrants have become major players in organised crime networks plaguing the nation

It would continue to act as a public order police unit, Cilliers says, in much the same way as the French *gendarmerie*, which falls under military command but acts as a rural and riot control police force

Not only would that demilitarise the regular police service and allow it to concentrate on community policing but it would also free the army from township policing The idea has so far drawn no government response

The already bloated SA National Defence Force is having trouble absorbing between 20 000-33 000 Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla guerrillas Demobilisation of the guerrillas from their central African bases has been so slow and intermittent, says the force's Deputy Chief of Staff, Maj Gen P J Venter, that the integration has had to be extended by a year to December 1995

The delays are adding significantly to the costs of integration and rationalisation, scheduled to be completed by April 1997 at a cost of R4,2m — equivalent to nearly half of the defence budget

The ex-guerrillas, added to the 10 000 soldiers from the former TBVC states, will raise the existing defence force strength 35%-50% to 115 000-128 000 full-time sol-

diers Yet this will have to be cut by 37 000 over the next three years, says Venter

It is crucial, he says, that those released from military service be given some training for civilian life Hence the establishment of development brigades to teach rudimentary skills such as bricklaying, basic plumbing and carpentry

The defence force's problems, though, might not be as bad as those of the police service, says Mufamadi's adviser, Peter Gastrow Though the new SA Police Service exists in name as a single entity, its 11 constituent divisions are still operating under the 11 separate statutes of the apartheid past This has provoked "pathetic" jurisdictional disputes, spats over salary payments, conflicts over authority and so on, he says

The new Safety & Security Act, open for public comment, is not expected to become law until October or November President Nelson Mandela is tipped to issue a stopgap proclamation soon, granting all police officers authority to act beyond the old regional boundaries

"If there is one government department where preparations for the new SA have been lacking and dismal, it is the SA police service," says Gastrow The reason, he adds, is primarily political, ANC leaders were reluctant to become involved in planning for a politically tainted police force during the run-up to the elections

## SANDF plans school recruitment drive

THE SANDF announced yesterday that it would expand its school recruitment drive to 4 000 state high schools countrywide in a bid to include blacks in the officers corps

Speaking at the Heidelberg Army Gymnasium SANDF spokesman Col John Jooste said the young men and women who showed an interest in the army would be told that military service was voluntary

This would be the first time people of all

BIS/24 518/17  
JOHANNES NGCOBO

aces were recruited for a junior leader training course in preparation for leadership roles in the SANDF, and which would help them in careers outside the army

He said the recruits would spend 10 months at a training camp and would be introduced to the basic training of a soldier. The SANDF aimed to produce officers representative of the SA population



## PAC: Talks inconclusive <sup>254</sup>

PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu yesterday held an inconclusive meeting with President Nelson Mandela on the integration of Apla cadres into the Defence Force

Mr Makwetu said afterwards that Mr Mandela promised to discuss the issue at a special meeting last night with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise or his deputy, Mr Ronnie Kasrils <sup>CT 5/8/94</sup>

He was concerned at claims by Defence Force officers that they could not accommodate more than 1 500 Apla cadres at present, he said — Sapa

# Slovo: Spend on homes not ships

~~125~~ 254

CTS/8/94  
Political Staff

HOUSING MINISTER Mr Joe Slovo yesterday joined the growing chorus of demands for an end to plans to spend a reported R4,6 billion on corvettes for the South African Navy

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Budget, Mr Slovo said the R4,6bn would permit his department to provide housing subsidies to 368 000 families.

"We need to be told more clearly before the next Budget what the purpose is of all the hi-tech, high-cost weapons systems the defence force wants"

Turning to the civil service, Mr Slovo said it was a loyal and professional group of people, willing to play their part. However, the ANC wanted to "marry" that group with a new set of civil servants drawn from across the spectrum

"We must change the face of the state apparatus to look more like the face of South Africa."

# SANDF set to lay off part-timers

Star 8/8/94

BY NORMAN CHANDLER  
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

Military personnel temporarily working on special short-term contracts with units of the South African Army are to be laid off as their contracts expire.

Officially the job losses are not viewed as part of the integration process.

The lay-offs will start from the end of this month.

It is not known how many people are involved, but it is believed the exercise covers various tactical groups, particularly the engineers corps. No members of the

Permanent Force are affected.

Those involved are mainly former Citizen Force trainees who, at the end of their call-up elected to sign up to undertake specialised jobs. Many of them had been unable to find employment in the private sector after their training.

Their contracts were regarded as temporary, and could be extended according to Defence Force needs.

They do not form part of the short-term service system (STS) which allows people to join the SANDF for a period of

two years. These particular contracts can be extended for up to six years.

STS offers certain allowances and improved salaries to attract high-quality personnel in the post-conscript era. Conscriptation was officially suspended in January.

In terms of the integration of the former SA Defence Force, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla into the SANDF, a total of 37 000 personnel will have to be retrenched over three years in order to meet the limit of a 91 000-strong force.

represent communities living in former coloured areas. — Sapa.

## Arbitration for Checkers, union

Shoprite/Checkers and the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union have agreed to advisory arbitration following illegal strikes at 24 stores. — Sapa.

## Deadline set for volunteers

Applicants for voluntary military service at the Army Gymnasium at Heidelberg have until September 15 to apply. — Defence Correspondent

*Weapons were not stored at my home, says major*

# SANDF getting MK arms

Star 8/8/94

■ BY CHERYL HUNTER  
CRIME REPORTER

Weapons and ammunition belonging to former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members are being secretly collected and handed over to the South African National Defence Force following the appointment of senior MK officers to high positions in the SANDF.

SANDF spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Margaret Neethling con-

firmed yesterday that arms and ammunition were being secretly moved from a collection point in Troyeville, Johannesburg, to depots outside the PWV area.

Neethling said 200 AK-47s and 47 assault rifles, ammunition, landmines and limpet mines had been transported along the Ben Schoeman Highway in a heavy-duty military vehicle on Thursday.

Major Winston Harper, a former MK member

now in the SANDF logistics section, denied that his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home had been used to store the weapons.

Harper said people had been asked to hand over MK weapons and he had been acting on orders when he agreed to collect the weapons at his home.

The weapons had been collected from areas surrounding Johannesburg and were not intended

for storage at his home.

Harper feared that his home would be targeted by right-wing elements if it was known as a collection point for weapons.

Neethling said yesterday that the weapons collection was "part of an agreement reached in terms of the TEC Act".

A subcommittee of former SADF members and MK leaders was appointed to ensure that the weapons and ammunition

of all former military forces were audited and placed under control.

"Once MK was incorporated into the SANDF, they provided us with lists of their weapons and armoury as well as their assets to be incorporated into the defence force," she said. (254)

Neethling said the weapons were destined for storage or destruction, depending on their condition.

# 40 000 troops face the axe

□ Big cuts over next three years could make way for ex-MK members

(254) AUG 8/8/94

CLIVE SAWYER

Political Correspondent

UP to 40 000 fulltime members of the Defence Force could be discharged within the next three years to accommodate the intake from former guerrilla and homeland armies.

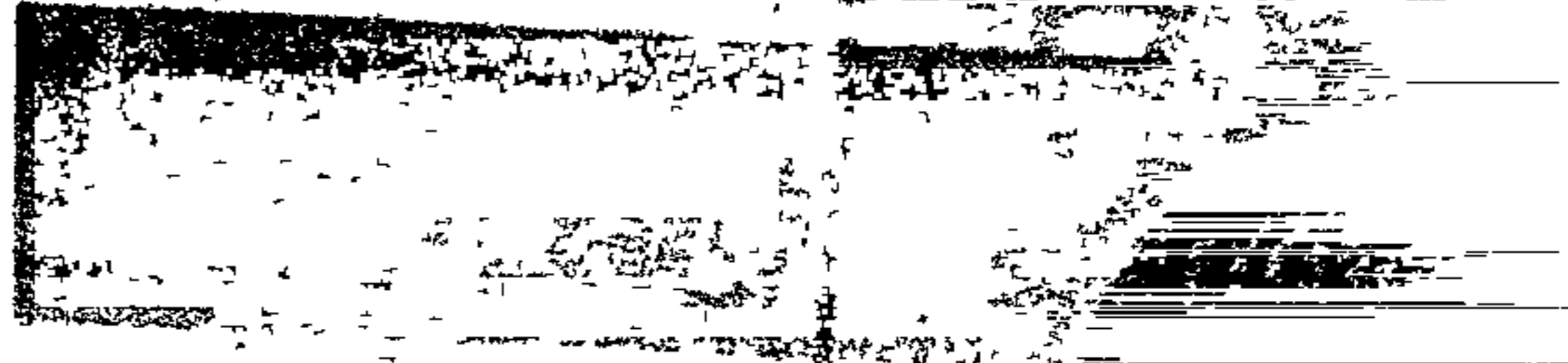
Defence Force chief Georg Meiring told the parliamentary select committee on defence today that integration of armies would add from 30 000 to 40 000 to the new Defence Force.

An equivalent number of members would have to be retrenched.

About 8 800 people or 11,4 percent of the Defence Force had been retrenched since 1990.

Parliament is to be told later this week of a plan to transform the Defence Force into a mainly part-time force of volunteers.

This could signal the phasing-out of compulsory Citizen Force service.



land armies. Defence Force chief Georg Meiring told the parliamentary select committee on defence today that integration of armies would add from 30 000 to 40 000 to the new Defence Force. An equivalent number of members would have to be retrained About 8 800 people or 11,4 percent of the Defence Force had been retrained since 1990 Parliament is to be told later this week of a plan to transform the Defence Force into a mainly part-time force of volunteers. This could signal the phasing-out of compulsory Citizen Force service. General Meiring painted a bleak picture of South Africa's defence capabilities in the wake of budget cuts. The defence budget had been cut by 44 percent since 1989. This year's budget provided for 7,4 percent of national spending to be on defence. This meant reductions in aircraft fighter squadrons, an end to the production of guns, closure of bases and units, cut-backs in armour capability, and "dangerously low" anti-aircraft defence. It had cost R2 billion to reduce the Defence Force because of the cost of cancelled contracts and retrenchment packages. The committee was told it would have cost four times as much not to make the cuts. The full-time component of the Defence Force was 93 000 by April last year. This would increase to 122 000 with integration, and plans were to reduce this to 91 000 by April 1997. Replying to questions by Tony Yengeni (ANC), General Meiring said the Defence Force had contributed R650 million to the reconstruction and development programme — the biggest contribution by any government department. He confirmed that former guerrillas became eligible for pensions only from the date they joined the new national Defence Force. Pensions for previous service would have to be decided by parliament, General Meiring said. He confirmed former guerrillas, once they were given rank, were paid according to the lowest salary notch for that rank. This was in accordance with long-established public service procedures. Negotiations on the question were being held between defence and public service ministry officials. Asked whether women would be integrated into the infantry, General Meiring said defence minister Joe Modise had not yet decided on policy about this.

40 000 defence force jobs may go

# Military must bite the bullet

Star 9/8/94

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Up to 40 000 members of the SA National Defence Force could be retrenched once a similar number of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla and homeland forces members have been integrated into the force

Chief of the SANDF General Georg Meiring told the parliamentary select committee on defence yesterday. "We are going to have to retrench the same number as we are integrating"

However, Meiring could give no indication of who would be retrenched and fears were expressed by committee members that most would be the former MK or Apla members

Meiring said the MK and Apla members would be sent on courses to enable them to compete on an equal footing for jobs

The retrenchment programme would be completed by the end of 1997 — with about 10 000 retrenchments in each of the next three years

In the meantime it was expected that there would also be "natural attrition" as about 3 000 members resigned each year

**NATIONAL force will have to be cut from 130 000 to 91 000 after inclusion of MK, Apla and former homeland personnel**

Meiring said it was expected that up to 19 000 MK members, 6 000 from Apla and 10 000 from the old homeland forces would be integrated into the SANDF

The old SADF had on April 26 handed to the Transitional Executive Council a list of 85 000 of its existing full-time members it wanted included in the new force.

Meiring said the force would be reduced by a combination of "voluntary retrenchments and contracts being terminated".

He estimated that the SANDF could be between 120 000 and 130 000 strong once the integration process had been completed by the end of 1995, and it would have to be reduced to an "affordable" 91 000.

"That will be the size of the full-time component of the SANDF"

The retrenchments would be

phased over three years and he estimated the total cost of retrenchment packages and associated costs would be about R7 billion

The SANDF chief also indicated that the citizen force component of the force would in future be based on an "entirely voluntary basis" — signalling the end to whites-only call-ups

Defence Minister Joe Modise is expected to elaborate on this when he addresses debate on his budget in Parliament today

Meiring also said certain capacities of the SANDF had been reduced to a dangerously low level

He also revealed that:   
■ The export of arms by South Africa could be used to help finance the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

■ South Africa had been poised to play a joint peace-keeping role with Zambia, Namibia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Botswana in Lesotho. This had proved to be unnecessary

Meiring told the select committee that the defence budget had been reduced by 44 per cent in real terms — taking inflation into account — be-

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Star 9/8/94  
**Defence force cuts back**

From Page 1

tween 1989 and 1993. Since 1989 the SADF's planned armour capacity had been "drastically reduced" and its anti-aircraft capabilities had been reduced to a "dangerously low level". The number of aircraft in the air force would have been reduced to 390 by the year 2000, from 781 in 1989, he said.

The number of fighter squadrons had been cut from 10 to three and air time had been reduced. From 1997 there would be only one fighter squadron and "this is a real problem for us".

"We have a problem in our naval capabilities and air capabilities... we have enough at the moment, but will not have them in the future," he said.

Bases had been closed and training curtailed, said Meiring. Since 1990 the SADF's staff levels had been reduced by 8 600 members, or 11,4 per cent.

The "defence industry" as a whole had lost 50 per cent of its staff, or 80 000 people.

# Debate over future role of SA's arms industry

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ARG 9/8/94

□ 'Peaceful contribution needed'

**CLIVE SAWYER**  
Political Correspondent

**SWORDS** into ploughshares — or fire up the furnace for a lot more swords?

That was the essence of exchanges between politicians and arms industry leaders in the parliamentary select committee on defence who met yesterday

Eric Esterhuysen, of Armscor, told the committee every billion rands spent on increasing the size of the arms industry created 20 000 jobs

He said the perception that South Africa was a major player in the world arms market was wrong. The country had only 0,3 percent of the market

"If you increase this by a percentage point you will double the number of work opportunities," he said.

The presentation on the arms industry followed a briefing by SA National Defence Force chiefs who pleaded for

an end to defence budget cut-backs

Committee member Tony Yengeni (African National Congress) took issue with a statement by Armscor chairman Johan Moolman that it was no simple matter to turn from making swords to ploughshares

Mr Yengeni said it was important for the arms industry to commit itself to making a contribution to a peaceful future for South Africa and the rest of the world.

The defence industry should turn to producing more "civilian-oriented" equipment

Armscor managing-director Tielman de Waal said some technology developed by the arms industry could be used for civilian purposes, for example, an electronic navigation and survey system which had been used to locate vehicles hijacked in the PWV area

"But an organisation which makes gun barrels can only make gun barrels"



# New Defence Force will cost taxpayers R 7bn, says Gen Meiring

CAPE TOWN — The integration of the ANC's and PAC's military wings and the homeland armies into the new SA National Defence Force would cost taxpayers R7bn, SANDF chief Gen Georg Meiring told the parliamentary select committee on defence yesterday.

He said 19 000 Umkhonto we Sizwe members and 6 000 Apla members were expected to enlist. With the 85 000 members of the SANDF and homeland armies, this would bring the SANDF's strength to 120 000-133 000 members.

This would have to be reduced to 91 000 by 1998. Natural attrition would account for 3 000 men a year and a further 10 000

would have to be retrenched each year for three years, starting in 1995.

Training costs and integration, plus retrenchments costs would bring the total cost to R7bn. The average cost of retrenching a member, ranging from generals to privates, was R40 000.

It was not possible yet to say what section of the integrated force would be most affected by the rationalisation process. Many of the members from MK, Apla and the homeland armies would be "put through their paces" in a 22-month training programme, which would allow them to compete on an equal basis for places in the trimmed down force.

## Political Staff

However, ANC members on the committee expressed fears that the SANDF's service brigade might end up as "a dumping ground" for MK and Apla members.

Meiring said the process of finalising the force's composition would be complex and voluntary retrenchments and the completion of contracts would play a part.

He said the SANDF had set up a committee to work with Minister without Portfolio Ja Naidoo to finalise the military's support for the reconstruction and development programme. The force had already contributed R650m to the RDP through

budget cuts — more than any other government department. It was also working on a five-point plan to save money and help sustain the RDP effort.

Measures included reassessing arms procurement costs, reducing operation deployment, launching an aggressive arms export drive that could bring foreign revenue and create jobs, handling Defence Force stores more efficiently, and running the force in a more businesslike way.

The SANDF could also contribute to the RDP through skills training projects, using the SA Medical Services to help in health care, for instance, with military doctors helping in immunisation projects, using

the service brigade in rural development such as fixing bridges, building roads and supplying water, and using military equipment and personnel to supply infrastructure in disadvantaged communities, such as sports fields.

However, Meiring warned that budgetary cuts would lead to serious problems in SA's naval and air capabilities in coming years. Major reductions in capital spending meant the SANDF was effectively running itself down, making it difficult to effectively counter future possible threats to SA. If the trend continued, SA's two Air Force fighting squadrons could be reduced

SANDF Biday 9/18/94

From Page 1

to one by 1997. Planned cuts in naval capabilities were also very risky, and it could take five to seven years to bring the country onto an effective war footing.

Meiring said the proposed defence budget for 1994/95 represented a 44% reduction in real terms since 1989. He emphasised that the ending of the

Cold War had not brought stability or peace to the African continent. He also disclosed that SA and the Front-line states — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana and Tanzania — had drawn up plans for a joint military operation in Lesotho. Fortunately Lesotho had found a political solution to its problems, and there had been no need to implement the plan

# SA's cross-border dirty deeds 'never disclosed'

THE truth about South Africa's involvement in the destabilisation of Angola and Mozambique had never been told in Parliament, ANC MP Mr Jan van Eek said yesterday

The consequences of this destabilisation had been horrendous, he said **CT 9/8/94**

"Had it not been for their support from the outset for the guerilla movements Renamo and Unita in Mozambique and Angola, the civil war and the accompanying deaths and economic and social destruction would have ended long ago

"In one horrendous example of NP government inhumanity, it is reported that the SADF stopped the delivery of hundreds of tons of food to thousands of starving Mozambicans, resulting directly in the death of about 100 000 people. **(254)**

# 'SA needs a coastguard'

By DAN SIMON

SOUTH AFRICA should maintain a strong navy — but also establish a "civilian" coastguard service to help protect maritime zones

This was said at an international conference yesterday during which the future role of the SA Navy was discussed

Deputy Minister of Defence Mr Ronnie Kasrils said the navy could become the "leading edge" of the SA National Defence Force in promoting peace, stability and economic development in Southern Africa

He opened the SA and International Naval Co-Operation Conference, attended by navy personnel and guest speakers from Australia, the United Kingdom, Brazil, Argentina, India, the US and France

Mr Kasrills said the SA Navy wanted to help develop the ports of Luanda, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam.

He said a regional alliance would enable SA to more effectively co-operate with traditional sea powers and with south Atlan-

## Kasrils envisages new role for navy

tic states such as Argentina and Brazil, and Indian Ocean states such as India and Australia

Transport economist Mr Bernal Floor, who was chairman of the Department of Transport's committee of inquiry into a new national maritime policy, said the committee had called for the establishment of the South African coastal patrol service

He said "objections" to such a service had been received from the navy, the Department of Environment Affairs and from Cape Nature Conservation

But Mr Floor said implementation of a coastguard service

would result in the "professional management" of government ships under one department

He said a coastguard service should not compete with the navy for funds, nor create a new bureaucracy

Seafarers serving in the proposed coastal patrol service would enjoy long-term career opportunities and receive the practical training prescribed for merchant seamen, Mr Floor said

"Although the fleet would initially comprise existing ships of the government, the replacement of several fisheries patrol vessels is urgently necessary"

Mr Floor said the budget for such a fleet would not exceed 4% of the current SA Navy budget

He said he believed the committee's recommendation for the establishment of a coastguard service would be implemented

"I also believe good sense will prevail in maintaining the SA Navy as a potent defence force without encumbering it with routine civilian tasks"

The conference was jointly hosted by the SA Institute of International Affairs and the Institute for Defence Policy

CT 10/8/94

(254)

# Relief for call-up defaulters

BY ESTHER WAUGH  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

Cape Town — Defence Minister Joe Modise has announced an immediate moratorium on prosecutions of members of part-time forces who fail to respond to call-ups.

"In terms of this moratorium, the (SA) National Defence Force will not be handing over cases to the civil courts and will not proceed with prosecutions in military courts," Modise said during debate in the National Assembly on his budget vote.

Modise also threw his weight firmly behind the country's arms industry, saying it

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# Modise's call-up announcement

◀ From Page 1

was important for it to be viewed as a "national asset" and pointing out that it could generate new jobs.

Turning to the ongoing debate on the military call-up system, Modise said the moratorium would "last until administrative mechanisms are in place to encourage voluntary participation in the part-time forces." Since the scrapping of the all-white conscription system, the defence force has relied on an entirely voluntary part-time force.

The first voluntary intake of 4 000 recruits for the army and 200 for the navy had been "successfully accomplished this year".

In terms of existing legislation, the voluntary system may be supplemented, when the need arises, by a ballot system.

Modise said he respected the authority of attorneys-general to proceed in prosecutions against those who had not responded to recent call-ups. But he appealed to them "for co-operation in applying the moratorium".

In spite of his concession, Modise appealed to Citizen Force members to "respond positively" to call-ups.

He also appealed to employers to "co-operate in enabling these members to report for duty".

Modise said an "equitable dispensation" for classified conscientious objectors was under review. An announcement could be expected soon.

The Minister also confirmed that a process of "civilianising" at his ministry was under way and would be designed to ensure "greater transparency and accountability".

SA signs trade agreement

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# Cash needed for SANDF - Modise

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

MORE MONEY needs to be spent on the South African National Defence Force if its role in serving the country was to be enhanced, Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise says.

Opening the defence budget debate in Parliament yesterday, Modise said the constitution committed the SANDF to being "primarily defensive".

He said that while this implied a decrease in spending the opposite was in fact true as a defensive posture required "expenditure on advanced technology, including early-warning systems".

Modise said "There is the real threat

of conflict in the region and further afield. We cannot assume it will not spill over to South Africa or affect our interests.

"We need to be properly prepared to counter any form of instability that might affect us."

Serious budget cuts, Modise said, "would seriously affect the operational readiness of the SANDF".

While defending South Africa's sovereignty was the SANDF's primary mission, it had secondary purposes, the most important of these being "assisting the South African Police Service in the maintenance of law and order".

A well equipped and adequately staffed SANDF could contribute significantly to the RDP, Modise said.

## Moratorium on call-up prosecutions

CAPE TOWN — Defence Minister Joe Modise yesterday announced a moratorium on the prosecution of conscripts who had not responded to call-ups. **BIDay**

Opening the debate on the Defence budget vote in Parliament, Modise said the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) would not proceed with the prosecution of pending cases and would not hand over cases to civilian courts. The moratorium would come into effect immediately and would last until administrative changes encouraging voluntary participation in the "part-time" forces came into effect. **1118194**

Modise staunchly defended government expenditure on defence, arguing that since

**TIM COHEN**

1989 the Defence budget had decreased 40% while equipment spending fell R800m. Employment in the defence industry had dropped from 157 000 to about 70 000; more than 80 000 personnel had been retrenched, and the private sector had not been able to absorb them. **(ZSH)**

SA had reduced its Defence budget to a "very modest level", from about 4,3% of GDP in 1989 to 2,7% in 1994. Defence spending as a percentage of state expenditure had declined from 15,7% to 7,8% during the same period.

**To Page 2**

## Call-up

**BIDay 1118194**  
"We cannot hope to achieve an effective defence capability if the Defence budget experiences further cuts." **(ZSH)**

Without the Citizen Force the SANDF could not fulfil its constitutional mandate.

"The contribution made by the force in maintaining stability during the election and at other times has been widely acknowledged." He appealed to all members who were called up to "respond positively

and report for duty".

Modise said he envisaged a core force "with all the required combat capabilities, including tanks, fighter aircraft, naval craft and air defence systems. "There is the real threat of conflict in the region and further afield. We cannot assume it will not spill over to SA or affect our interests. We need to be properly prepared to counter any form of instability".

**From Page 1**

# Women want rank in SANDF

By BARRY STREEK

Political Staff

WOMEN should be employed at all levels of the defence force, including the infantry, and women should have parity in the cabinet, the ANC Women's League demanded yesterday

It also said the Development Bank should be dissolved if it could not be changed and its

chief executive, Mr Andre le Grange, removed

Women's League president Mrs Winnie Mandela and senior executive members said at a press conference at the end of the National Women's Day commemorations that women were still suffering from discrimination, including within the ANC

The league's deputy president, Ms Thandi Modise, said "We had women in the trenches and we had women in the struggle, but

we don't have them in the defence force."

ET 11/8/94  
Ms Lulama Xingwane, MP, a member of the league's executive, said that unless Mr Le Grange was removed from his position, the bank should be closed down

254 ~~355A~~  
She said the bank had funded apartheid institutions and today it was supporting the Western Cape because it had supported the National Party

# Export of weapons being <sup>254</sup> reviewed

ET 11/8/94  
Political Staff

**SOUTH AFRICA** is to review its policy of exporting conventional arms and the cabinet would sanction an all-party parliamentary committee to probe the practice, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

And Armscor said it wanted all secrecy in the acquisition of arms and the Special Defence Account to be removed, saying it would be up to Parliament to decide if any purchase of military equipment should be kept confidential.

Armscor chief Mr Tielman de Waal said in a month's time all its tenders and its contract awards would be made public.

The parliamentary inquiry into arms sales — South Africa exported R900 million in arms last year — and the Armscor's moves for greater openness will lift the lid on the country's defence industry which until now has been kept away from public and parliamentary scrutiny.

Mr Mbeki said the cabinet would discuss the matter fully at a future meeting.



# Reprieve for soldiers who don't need call-up

DEFENCE MINISTER Mr Joe Modise yesterday announced a moratorium on the prosecution of national servicemen who refuse to respond to the call-up.

And the position of conscientious objectors currently doing community service is also under review.

Introducing the debate on his budget, Mr Modise said the moratorium on prosecutions meant the SANDF would not be handing over cases to the civil courts and would

not be proceeding with prosecutions in the military courts.

However, a SANDF internal communications bulletin yesterday said part-time members of the force who failed to complete their service commitments after reporting for camps could be prosecuted for dereliction of duty.

Mr Modise said he "fully respected" the authority of attorneys-general to proceed as they saw fit but appealed to them to co operate

in applying the moratorium.

The minister said without the citizen force the SANDF could not fulfil its constitutional mandate.

"The contribution made by the citizen force in maintaining stability during the election and at other times has been acknowledged.

"I appeal to all members who are called up to report for duty. Our part-time forces have the opportunity to convert the call-up system into a sound volunteer system."

He appealed to employers for their co operation.

Spelling out his vision of a future Defence Force, Mr Modise said he envisaged a core force "with all the required combat capabilities including tanks, fighter aircraft, naval craft and air defence systems."

He warned that South Africa could not hope to have an effective defence capability if there were further cuts in the defence budget.

Since 1989 the defence budget

had decreased by 40% while equipment spending decreased R800m.

Employment in the defence industry had also dropped from 157 000 in 1989 to an estimated 70 000 in 1994.

In a decidedly hawkish speech, the minister said many people believed South Africa would never be threatened again.

"Peace is the ideal situation, but ideal situations are difficult to find in the real world.

"There is the real threat of con-

fusion in the region and further afield. We cannot assume it will not spill over to South Africa or affect our interests. We need to be properly prepared to counter any form of instability that might affect us."

The minister said cognisance also had to be taken of the long term effect on Southern Africa of international developments.

"We are seeing a major international re-alignment of forces, with outcomes which cannot be predicted."

There is no guarantee that the world will never again experience another major conflict.

"Our defence policy proceeds from a balanced defence stance founded on a peaceful posture but able to deal with sudden threats and to respond effectively to any major threat that may develop."

● The End Conscription Campaign welcomed "with great relief" the moratorium announcement.

— Political Staff, Sapa

(257)  
ET 11/8/94

# Arms deals up investment

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

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CT 11/8/94

ARMSCOR yesterday disclosed details of seven counter-trade agreements it had signed which will result in R4 billion being invested in South Africa during the current financial year.

It had decided in August 1992 that in all import contracts worth more than R5 million at least 50% would have to be spent in South Africa, Armcor's export manager Mr Peet Smith said.

No other South African company had adopted such a policy but it had been calculated that if a moderate 15% of all imports were subject to counter-trade or offset provisions, R10 billion a year would be invested in the country, he said.

The counter-trade provision on the acquisition of Swiss-made Pilatus aircraft costing a total of R520 million was that 55% of the contract had to be spent in South Africa.

Similar agreements had been signed with two Israeli companies for the refurbishment of aircraft, a Spanish company and with British Aerospace.

Mr Smith said counter-trade agreements were essentially those "where you don't pay in money".

"Regrettably, there is no national policy on this." SA Airways, for instance, bought Boeing aircraft without any offset agreements.

# Call-up fuss a puff of air

WM 12-18/8/94

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Stefaans Brümmer

WITWATERSRAND Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau says Defence Minister Joe Modise's moratorium on prosecuting people who fail to respond to call-ups is a "puff in the wind".

Modise said in parliament members of the Citizen Force and commando units — all white, because they were fed by whites-only conscription until it was abolished last year — would not be prosecuted if they ignored camp call-ups.

"The National Defence Force will not be handing over cases to the civil courts and will not proceed with prosecutions in military courts," Modise said. He said he respected the authority of attorneys-general to proceed with prosecutions, but appealed for their co-operation.

Von Lieres und Wilkau responded yesterday. "The objective facts are that the Department of Defence has for the last approximately two years refused to submit dockets. We never got the stuff, and they acted like a law unto themselves

.. Really, it's a puff in the wind."

He said there might be a few pending cases, but these did not correspond to the "stupendous" number of people reported to have defaulted.

Asked about Modise's appeal for the co-operation of attorneys-general, Von Lieres und Wilkau said it depended on the status of the case. If someone had already pleaded to charges in court, the case could not be stopped. Otherwise, "we will consider the matter", he said.

Under pressure from the End Conscription Campaign and the Conscription Advice Service, who slated the call-up as "racial discrimination in a disguised form", Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils announced last month that prosecutions would be halted — only to be contradicted by ministerial spokesman DAS Herbst who said they would continue.

He said yesterday: "There were no contradictions, it was just a matter of time. This was in the pipeline, but it was one of the problems of having to exercise responsibility for the Defence Force."

# US batters Arm Scor in bombs-for-oil court case

Evidence of a bombs-for-oil trade between Pretoria and Iraq in the 1980s is being used to try to force Arm Scor out of the international arms market  
**Paul Stober and Eddie Koch report**

**A**N American court has accused a former Barlow Rand company of illegally supplying Iraq with bomb technology in exchange for thousands of tons of crude oil in the 1980s. The bombs were used by Saddam Hussein's army during the Gulf War, while the fuel was used to bust the United Nations oil embargo against the apartheid state.

United States prosecutors say Fuchs Electronics (Pty) Ltd, a South African electronics company controlled by Barlow in the 1980s, conspired with an American armaments corporation to supply Iraq with electronic fuses used to ignite artillery rounds and cluster bombs. According to a charge sheet lodged with a Pennsylvania court, an American firm, International Signal and Control (ISC) set up a scheme whereby it would export fuses via South Africa to Iraq.

"As part of the deal ISC would supply up to 300 000 FF-1 fuses to defendant Fuchs for delivery to IMEC (a firm with Iraqi links) and, in turn, would receive in excess of US\$33-million, which would be paid to ISC by defendant Fuchs after it received payment from its customer, Iraq, in crude oil," says the indictment.

"Between in or about 1985 and 1989 the defendants (ISC) would, and did, export in excess of US\$4.4-million worth of fuse power supplies to Darlon in the RSA on behalf of defendant Fuchs to maintain defendant Fuchs' production line of fuses and to assist Fuchs fulfil its fuse production requirements with Iraq."

It has long been known that Barlow affiliates and Arm Scor collaborated with the US-based ISC to supply Hussein's government with hi-tech war materiel in defiance of American arms export regulations. However this is the first evidence that the trade involved a bombs-for-oil swap designed to circumvent the international oil embargo against Pretoria in the 1980s.

American prosecutors are determined to convict ISC, Arm Scor, Fuchs and a number of these companies' directors for violating the arms embargo against Iraq and South Africa.

According to sources involved in other illicit deals with Arm Scor in the 1980s, the South African parastatal is trying to set up an out-of-court deal with the American prosecutors. The company is reported to be willing to pay large fines so that its officials do not have to make humiliating court appearances in the US.

**T**he sources say the Americans are refusing to accept the proposed settlement because they want to force Arm Scor out of the lucrative international arms market, thereby getting rid of a competitor and a potential source of arms proliferation in the Third World.

Arm Scor refused to comment on the allegations. It did, however, confirm that the company was involved in an arms case in the US and was involved in "sensitive negotiations with the US government."

A Barlow spokesman insisted there was no present relationship between Fuchs and the corporation, and said they had no knowledge of the case.

The court hearing, to be held in a US district court in Pennsylvania, is the culmination of years of investigation by American federal investigators into a multibillion dollar set of deals and arms syndicates that revolved around ISC and its director, James Guerin.

Detectives and law-enforcement officers have been probing evidence that Arm Scor and Barlow affiliates received illegal shipments of electronic equipment used for ballistic missiles, artillery shells and cluster bombs from ISC and then passed these on to Iraq.

The American firm is accused of using its South African connections as a conduit for sending illicit consignments of ballistic missile equipment, as well as cluster bomb technology developed in Chile, to Iraq.

"Do you remember watching the anti-aircraft bursts from Baghdad on CNN — the first of the Allied bombing in that country? Well, that was some of the stuff which got into Iraq through ISC shipments to South Africa," a federal investigator is quoted as saying.

Shipments from ISC indirectly helped Iraq build a cluster-bomb factory. Most of this equipment was manufactured by a Chilean firm, Cardoen. ISC brokered deals which ensured that parts were sent from Chile to South Africa and were then shipped on to Iraq.

# Lessons from guerillas

Own Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The integration of the SADF and the non-statutory forces of uMkhonto weSizwe and Apla would be of mutual benefit since there was a lot conventional soldiers could learn from the former guerillas, Major-General Pieter Coetser said at the De Brug training camp yesterday. "We are learning from each other," he said in an interview. "For instance former SADF forces know nothing

about Africa, and in this Apla and MK forces are expert" <sup>(254)</sup> CT 12/8/94

Apla director of training Brigadier Willie Nkonyeni said Apla had about 500 members in De Brug who were drawn from training facilities in Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe

An additional group of 1 000 former guerillas, many of them trained abroad, would be coming to De Brug this weekend to make it a total of 1 500 men and women at De Brug

2  
**NEWS** Former liberation movement

# Hand over arms — call

Sowetan 16/8/94

■ **SERIOUS DANGER** 'Vast weapons  
caches' threaten security and stability:

By **Mathatha Tsedu** (254)  
Political Editor

**D**EFENCE MINISTER Joe Modise has appealed to former liberation movements to hand in their weapons to the South African National Defence Force

In a statement released in Cape Town yesterday, Modise said all "those in possession of arms and ammunition belonging to non-statutory forces" should hand them in

Modise's comments came after the SANDF announced last Friday that the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which Modise commanded before becoming minister, had only handed in 172 AK-47 rifles and 26 pistols after opening its caches in the PWV and Cape Town areas

### Full inventory

The full inventory of MK arms now under SANDF control includes 70 000 bullets, 1 391 grenades, 1 026 magazines and other accessories, 194 limpet mines, 342 explosives and 1 127 detonator fuses and accessories

The Azanian People's Liberation

Army has said it cannot trace weapons stashed away during the years of struggle and could thus not be held responsible for them. Apla has been given 6 000 posts for its soldiers within SANDF

"The vast quantities of weapons in our country pose a serious threat to the safety and security of our people. Handing in of arms and ammunition will contribute to the stability of our country," Modise said yesterday

The handing in of weapons was negotiated with the TEC and MK, Apla, SANDF and the TBVC armies all sent in an inventory of their arsenals

The collection of these weapons by SANDF started last month and MK has already handed in its weapons in Johannesburg and Cape Town, a SANDF official said yesterday. The process was still going on, he said

But defence sources say there is widespread dissatisfaction within the command structures of the SANDF regarding the meagre number of weapons brought forward thus far, hence Modise's appeal

"There just have to be more, or people lied about their strength," one source said

## Unofficial forces must hand in arms

DEFENCE MINISTER Mr Joe Modise has appealed to "non-statutory" forces to hand in their weapons to the SA National Defence Force

He said in a statement that all forces involved in the integration process had submitted lists of armaments in their possession to the Transitional Executive Council (254)

"In accordance with the requirements of the constitution, the equipment of all these forces became the property of the SANDF on April 27," he said in a statement CT 16/8/94

"The process of moving this material is currently under way" — Sapa

# Snags on SANDF integration front

Star 17/8/94

BY NORMAN CHANDLER  
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

The SADF, which once saw action against ANC and PAC forces, is no more, and the first 100 days of the democratic South Africa have seen the debut of the South African National Defence Force which brings the erstwhile enemies together.

There have been a number of significant developments in regard to its personnel as well as that of the Department of Defence.

Probably one of the most telling achievements for the fledgling force was the manner in which the SANDF performed at the inauguration of President Mandela.

The problems with the integration process are taking time to smooth out, with the latest being the return of hundreds of Apla cadres to their homes because they were not included on "integration lists" provided by the non-statutory army's commanders to the SANDF.

First indications that all was not well has come from Natal, where 88 cadres reported for duty at Natal Command last week, had lunch, and then left. (ZSH)

The same situation has taken place at De Brug, near Bloemfontein.

Defence spokesmen describe the issue, however, as "merely a hiccup".

The force will, on completion of the process in three years, total 137 000 and this will eventually be rationalised to 91 000.

The Apla situation is the first publicly-acknowledged problem in the SANDF in a dramatic 100 days.

In it, the Mandela govern-



ment has appointed former MK commander-in-chief, Joe Modise, and MK Chief of Intelligence, Ronnie Kasrils, to the posts of Minister and Deputy Minister of Defence, and also started work on handing control of the Defence department to civilians.

Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, former SADF Chief of Staff, who retired from the military more than a year ago, has been appointed the country's first Defence Secretary since the 1960s.

Senior MK officers have been appointed to the highest positions at Defence HQ while many more are expected to receive promotion.

It was disclosed by SANDF Chief, General Georg Meiring, that the positions of all senior officers in the force could be regarded as "temporary" until they were confirmed by the Government.

This has already happened in the cases of Meiring and senior officers in other arms of the service.

The highest-ranking MK officer in the SANDF is Lieutenant-General Sipiwe Nyanda, who has been appointed Chief of Staff-designate.



# SA arms industry to continue

254  
CT 17/8/94

## Political Staff

THE Minister of Defence, Mr Joe Modise, said yesterday that South Africa would continue exporting arms despite a statement last week by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki that the controversial issue was being investigated by the cabinet

Mr Mbeki said the cabinet had decided to set aside time to discuss the matter and he agreed with the Democratic Party's Mr Colin Eglin that it could also be investigated by an all-party parliamentary committee

Armscor general manager Mr Tielman de Waal said at the time that within a month all Armscor tenders and its awards of contracts would be made public

DEFENCE

Fu 19/8/94

# The cost of threat perceptions

The cosy relationship that appears to have developed between Defence Minister Joe Modise and his generals should not be taken as an indication that the new government is prepared to allow the existing military structure to continue unchanged.

Major reforms are expected to flow from what Modise terms a "full-scale defence review," which is currently underway. It will be followed by a White Paper on defence policy before the end of the present parliamentary session.

The new policy is expected to address two fundamental issues: how to transform and restructure the defence community in order to safeguard democracy, and how to ensure that the defence infrastructure contributes effectively to the national economy through the RDP.

The White Paper will help dispel the perception that Modise has slipped comfortably into a system abhorred by many of his ANC caucus colleagues because of its past deeds and current costs. In the meantime the defence debate will continue to be driven more by emotion than fact.

The debate on spending, in particular, lacks coherence, says Laurie Nathan, director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution at the University of Cape Town and co-chairman of the Military Research Group, an ANC-orientated think-tank.

This is due to a number of factors, including a lack of transparency regarding the arms industry and the Special Defence Account, a preoccupation with short-term rather than long-term factors, and the absence of a post-apartheid defence review based on a threat analysis, foreign policy and national security policy.

The White Paper will address these issues and give new focus to the debate. But until then Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils will bear the brunt of caucus attacks. The trend that emerged in the main Budget debate recently continued last week, when the defence vote was discussed.

At the outset, Modise tried to defuse the pending onslaught by showing that overall defence spending had decreased in real terms by 40% since 1989, and spending on capital equipment by 67%. Employment in the defence industry had dropped from

157 000 to about 70 000

Defence spending is now only 2,7% of GDP and 7,8% of total State expenditure, compared to 4,3% of GDP and 15,7% of State spending in 1989. If the costs of integrating the various armed formations are excluded from the current budget, the figures drop to 2,3% of GDP and 6,5% of total State expenditure.

He said further cuts in the defence budget would have to be absorbed by reducing spending on equipment, which would mean more retrenchments in the defence industry and further undermining of the country's defence capability.

Modise warned against believing SA would never again be threatened. The current threat of conflict in southern Africa could spill over into SA or affect the country's interests. "We need to be properly prepared to counter any threat of instability that might affect us."

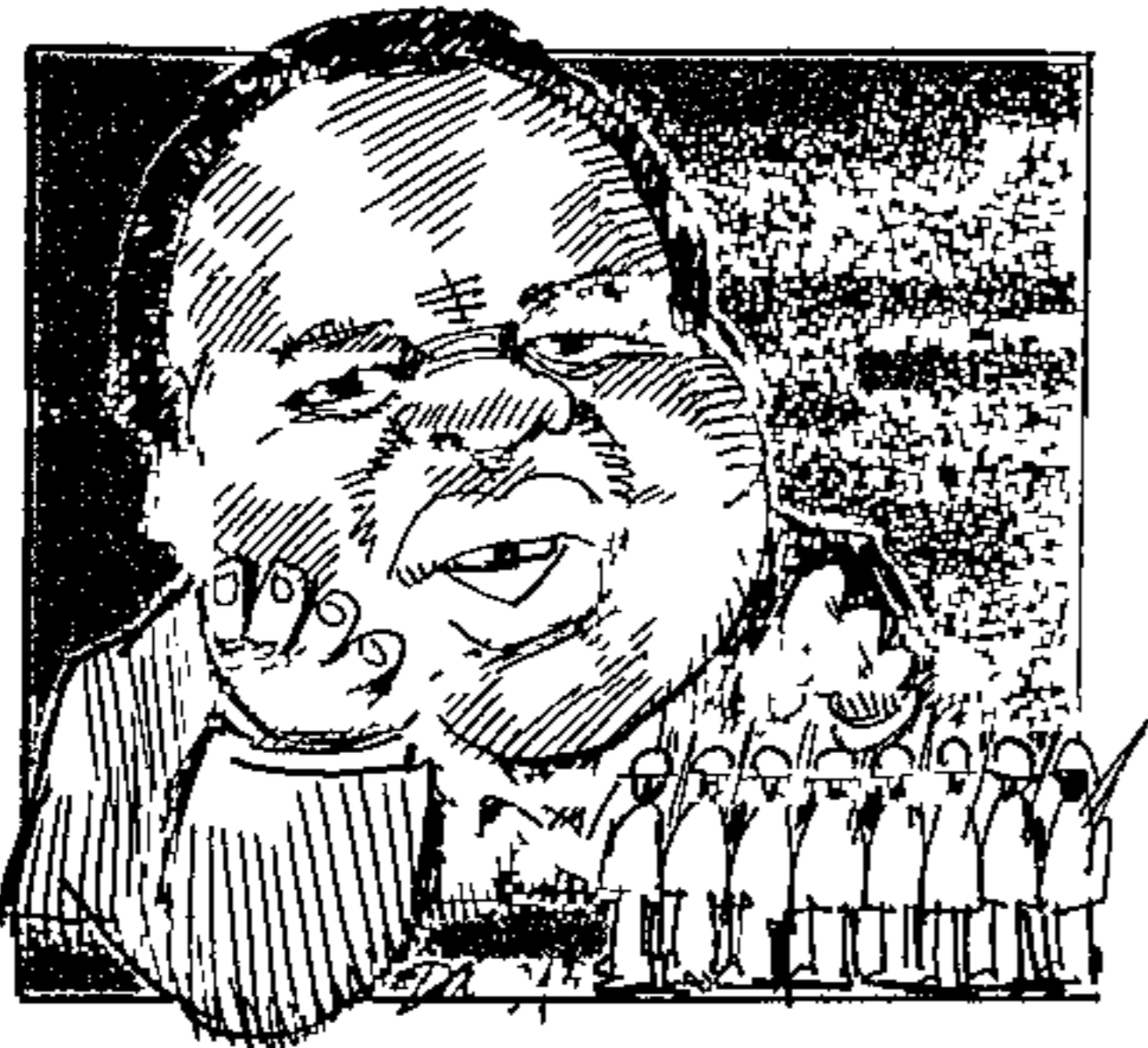
But his reasoning seemed to have little impact on his critics. Even ANC hardliner and former MK field commander Tony Yengeni said his "conscience and instinct" commanded him to back the popular view that defence spending should be cut even further, though he qualified his opinion with a call for further information before taking a "hard and fast position".

SA Communist Party member Ian Phillips was less reserved. He disputed the economic value of the arms industry which he said was capital rather than labour intensive and "highly subsidised" through the Special Defence Account and General Export Incentive Scheme.

While acknowledging the difficulty in converting military industrial complexes to civilian use, he said there were strong arguments to suggest that

more and better job opportunities would result from a divestment from sectors of military spending to civilian enterprise.

One of the ANC's most respected MPs, Adelaide Tambo, said defending the borders of a free SA was different to "defending apartheid and exporting destabilisation, murder and killings". Members of the SANDF had to be "agents of peace" in the region. "Our borders must become bridges of peace and friendship rather than electrified fences."



Modise said the security offered by the SANDF had to be seen in a wider context. It included defence against threats such as poverty and national disasters. "Obviously the SANDF can provide us with long-term security — provided we can pay for it and upgrade it where necessary."

It was ironic, though not unexpected, that the main support for Modise's budget came from the NP which spent much of its time in power creating the military structures inherited by the new government. ■

## CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

### Provincial drag

With only 21 months of its two-year mandate remaining, the Constitutional Assembly met for its first plenary session this week. And now it faces the daunting task of drawing up a final constitution before the full implications of the interim constitution are apparent.

This could mean that problems buried in the interim constitution, particularly regarding provincial government, will simply be written into the final document and only emerge in years to come.

Another issue that may not be fully resolved before the deadline is the debate and possible legal testing of fundamental rights such as abortion and censorship.

The problems of proportional representation and possible introduction of a constituency system will also take time to be resolved before possible amendments can be written to the final constitution.

Though speakers during this week's debate in the Constitutional Assembly were generally positive that their task could be completed by the deadline, there is a view that the interim constitution should be fully implemented and begin functioning before changes are considered.

This could require a constitutional amendment to extend the two-year period, but would make little difference to government, which is mandated to remain in power for five years even if the final constitution is approved within that time.

Last week Provincial Affairs & Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told delegates to a Cape Town conference on federalism that changes to the provincial government system should be delayed for at least a year to allow for an informed assessment of how it operates and what reforms are needed.

But if this happens the Constitutional Assembly would be left with only a few months to negotiate what could be fun-

# 250 ex-MK members to join navy

(254) ARC 22/8/94

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — About 250 former Umkonto we Sizwe members are to start new careers in the South African Navy, 11 of them as officers in training

The men, drawn from the MK group which was mobilised at Wahlmansthal, near Pretoria, were selected for basic training at Saldanha after intensive selection and screening by navy staff

Because the navy is the

smallest of the defence force's arms, the number of men selected is regarded as a significant contribution towards reconciliation.

The navy expects to gain two commanders, one of whom will be employed in a technical position, four lieutenant commanders, of whom one will go into personnel and three will become combat "wet" (go to sea), and five lieutenants — three technical, one personnel and one wet

These officers will start courses at Gordon's Bay Naval College on August 29

A spokesman said those selected for officers' courses would have a year's training in various courses

The (non-commissioned) members sent to Saldanha would be offered special enabling courses to allow them to meet the standards required by the navy

*New careers in the SA Navy*

## From the bush to the sea for 250 MK men

Star 23/8/94

■ PRETORIA  
CORRESPONDENT

About 250 former MK members are to start new careers in the South African Navy, 11 of them as officers in training

The men, drawn from the Umkonkotho we Sizwe group which was mobilised at Wahlmansthal near Pretoria, were selected to undergo basic training at Saldanha after an intensive selection and screening process by navy staff

Because the navy is the smallest arm of the SANDF, the number of men selected is regarded as a significant contribu-

tion towards reconciliation between the former SADF and armed wing of the ANC

The navy expects to gain two commanders, one of which will be employed in a technical position, and four lieutenant-commanders of whom one will go into personnel and three will become "combat wet" at sea.

There will also be five lieutenants three technical, one personnel and one to sea

These officers under training will start their course at Gordon's Bay Naval College on Monday

The course will include

a naval orientation course for officers

The rest of the 250 men left Wahlmansthal in two groups, the first about two weeks ago, and a similar group left last week

Confirming the moves a naval spokesman said the men would all undergo a basic orientation course into the navy

This will end in December with a passing-out parade

Further former MK recruits could then be selected for a midshipman's course for officer training at Gordon's Bay.

The spokesman said the men would be mustered according to vacan-

cies available and their skills, and it is expected they will be billeted in all sections of the navy, including personnel, stores and security (2 SA)

There is also the possibility that a number of them would go to sea, but as two to three navy members are shore-based for every one at sea, opportunities were limited.

Those selected for officer's course would undergo a year's training in various courses

Those (non-commissioned) members sent to Saldanha would be offered special enabling courses to allow them to rise to the standards.

*Aid offered to 9 provinces*

# SANDF ready to lend hand to RDP, says Joe Modise

Star 24/18/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) was geared to support the nine provincial legislatures in implementing the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Defence Minister Joe Modise said yesterday.

Speaking in the Senate debate on the Defence Budget, Modise said the army had 10 territorial commands which were well placed to assist communities down to a grassroots level.

"I appeal to you not to hesitate in making use of their (SANDF) expertise, capabilities and facilities which are readily available," he said.

But, the minister noted that there were money and human resource limitations in such

assistance.

He was aware of a "degree of uneasiness" about some of the provinces not having aircraft.

Since it was impossible to provide each province with a small airwing, the best option was to centralise control of the Air Force's assets. (ZSA)

Such a move would ensure efficient and cost-effective use of aircraft.

Modise said that the South African Air Force had the expertise to assist in the use of air and satellite photography in the planning of rural and urban development.

"To meet the provinces' needs, the NDF needs to know what they are.

"I therefore appeal to you to use the channels and to get all arms of the SANDF involved in your provincial and local planning," he said.

Modise added that the South African Medical Services' computerised medical information systems could be used in areas where there was no infrastructure for the supply of primary health care.

The SANDF, he said, was ready to assist in public works programmes to build roads, bridges and dams as well as water reticulation.

Modise, who came under fire for the size of the Defence Budget in the National Assembly last week, yesterday defended the purchase of four Corvettes for the Navy.

He said the patrol corvettes would cost R1,5 billion spread over eight years.

Only the hull structure and the propulsion system were to be bought and all other parts were to be made and installed locally.

# Modise warns against further defence cuts

CAPE TOWN — SA could not hope to achieve an effective defence capability if the defence budget was cut further, Defence Minister Joe Modise said yesterday

Sapa reports that Modise, introducing his budget in the Senate, said the SA National Defence Force already had to rely on certain outdated equipment systems and that these would have to be replaced.

The defence budget had decreased 40% since 1989, with almost 9 000 full-time military personnel retrenched. Defence spending had been reduced from 4,3% of GDP in 1989 to 2,7% in 1994. As a percentage of state expenditure it had decreased from 15,7% to 7,8% in the same period.

It was clear that even modest cuts in the defence budget would have to be absorbed by reducing spending on equipment, Modise said.

"If we do not do this, it will mean further retrenchments at a time when we are in the process of integrating forces," he said.

The Minister announced his intention to institute a full-scale defence review and publish a White Paper before the end of the year.

This would enable Parliament to develop a more comprehensive understanding of defence issues.

Our Political Staff reports Modise also strongly defended the purchase of patrol corvettes for the SA Navy, stating that the real cost was in the region of R1,5bn over eight years, and not R4,6bn, as had been suggested.

Only the hulls and propulsion systems of the corvettes would be imported. All other components and systems would be made and installed locally. This would boost industry and create jobs. 24/8/94

Modise said that as the world's population grew, demand for food and "full exploitation of a country's natural resources will increase".

In the past, SA had neglected to protect its exclusive economic zone. There was now serious concern over the foreign exploitation of SA's fishing resources. (254)

"The navy must have the capability to patrol and defend not only inshore and deep-sea fishing waters, but also our harbours and under-sea mineral resources."

# SADF raid charge 'dropped'

254 CT 24/8/94  
Own Correspondent

**EAST LONDON** — The state has withdrawn murder charges against a Port Elizabeth man detained for 10 months after last year's ill-fated SADF raid on an Umtata home which claimed the lives of five people.

A spokesman for Lawyers for Human Rights in Umtata, Mrs No-

mondle Yako, said yesterday the state prosecutor had declined to prosecute Mr Nzuzo Matiwane of New Brighton when he appeared in Umtata Magistrate's Court last Friday.

Mr Matiwane was apparently told there was insufficient evidence to continue the court proceedings against him.

Mr Matiwane was detained with-

out trial for four months before making his first court appearance in March. He remained in prison after failing to meet the R500 bail set down.

LHR later protested that he had not been properly treated for two bullets lodged in his right leg.

Mrs Yako said yesterday she had no information on Mr Matiwane's whereabouts.

# De Klerk slated for 'vagueness' over defence force report

(254) ARLT 25/8/94  
CLIVE SAWYER  
Political Correspondent

DEPUTY President F W de Klerk has been slated for giving parliament vague answers about the Steyn report on secret defence force operations

Replying to questions in the national assembly yesterday by Doug Gibson (DP), Mr De Klerk said he had been given a verbal report by Pierre Steyn in December 1992

As a result, he had ordered the rationalisation of some defence force units and retirement or compulsory leave for 10 generals

He had ordered a further investigation and had discussed the report with President Mandela on "a few occasions"

Asked what allegations were made by General Steyn, Mr De Klerk said some had been referred to the Transvaal Attorney-General, who had found insufficient evidence to prosecute

Mr De Klerk later told the national assembly these allegations included murder

Tony Leon (DP) asked Mr De Klerk to elaborate on why it had been necessary to impose measures like early retirement and compulsory leave.

Mr De Klerk said "certain activities" had been closed down because they were be-

yond the scope of military intelligence

Asked by P J Groenewald (FF) why the generals had not been reinstated if there had been insufficient evidence to prosecute, Mr De Klerk said the fact there was too little did not mean there was none at all

Tony Yengem (ANC) said Mr De Klerk had not answered questions adequately.

He asked whether it was correct to assume the generals were suspended because of involvement in orchestration of violence or hit squads

Mr De Klerk said Mr Yengem's question was "full of generalisations"

He said "in some instances" people had acted beyond the scope of their duties

He was not aware of any hit squads run by the previous government

Mr Leon said Mr De Klerk's confirmation that the 10 generals had been retired or sent on leave because of General Steyn's investigation was profoundly disturbing.

"It is extraordinary, given the deputy president's deserved reputation for thoroughness and legality, that he should have taken such steps entirely on the basis of a conversation

"He says there is no written report on which to justify his actions"



# Steyn report was verbal,

## FW admits

CT25/8/94

By BARRY STREEK,  
Political Staff

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FORMER president Mr F W de Klerk admitted for the first time yesterday that the report on covert activities in the security forces made to him by General Pierre Steyn in December 1992 was verbal.

In October last year Dr Allan Boesak accused Mr De Klerk of refusing to show Mr Nelson Mandela the report.

Mr De Klerk's statement was "deeply disturbing, if not profoundly startling", the acting leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Tony Leon, said.

Mr De Klerk, now Deputy President, responded to a question which Mr Douglas Gibson (DP) had tabled in Parliament about the matter.

Mr Leon said Mr De Klerk had confirmed that 10 SA Defence Force generals were retired or placed on compulsory early retirement as a result of the investigation by General Steyn, who was recently made Secretary for Defence.

Mr De Klerk said the action was preventive and remedial because there were reasonable grounds for believing that some of these officials had committed acts outside the scope of their work.

He said the former government was unaware of any illegal plans to kill people or of the existence of hits squads organised by the government.

We refuse to serve... Young men opposed conscription into the apartheid army, the South African Defence Force



PHOTO SOUTHLIGHT

# Battle is over: ECC packs up its kitbag

The End Conscription Campaign has demobbed. Its success lay in individual creativity, counter-cultural inspiration and youthful anger. **Gavin Evans reports**

**T**HE launch of the End Conscription Campaign 11 years ago was one of those rare moments of creative inspiration that happen so seldom in protracted political struggles. Not only did it play a major part in reaching

(254) W/M 26/8-11/94

In less determined hands the whole thing might have floundered. Instead, the move prompted a strategic rethink and it was correctly decided that a campaign opposing the law would be likely to attract the broadest support. In late 1983 the ECC was launched with the backing of scores of existing anti-apartheid organisations and soon developed its own momentum and membership.

One of the early decisions was that it would not affiliate to the United Democratic Front as this would limit its potential in the white community. After that, relations with the UDF were generally warm, though occasional attempts to



also contributed to a fledgling "peace" culture, influenced the ANC in its attitude to military service, drew thousands of young white people into the realm of resistance politics and diverted the energies and resources of the apartheid security and intelligence services away from more violent designs.

Three things kept it largely free from the tedium and factionalism that characterized other white, anti-apartheid groups in the 1980s. It maintained its focus by sticking squarely to its single issue. It avoided the temptation of becoming yet another "accountable" wing of the liberation movement. And, most importantly, it operated in a free-wheeling style that succeeded in drawing on individual creativity, counter-cultural inspiration and youthful anger. It was, in most areas, a sexy organisation — green friendly, gay friendly and a watering hole for a generation of artists, musicians and actors who were alienated from the rest of the left.

The security forces saw the ECC as simply a creation of the ANC. From my own experience I can say this assessment was only partially correct, and the ANC's influence diminished as the campaign grew.

When I was recruited by the ANC in 1980 one of the first tasks I was given by my Zimbabwe handlers was to encourage debate on the "military issue" within the student movement. At the time Nusas was taking a hands-off stance towards the issue and several of its leaders were preparing to do their military service. The possibility of resistance, along the lines taken by the early conscientious objectors, such as Peter Moll and Richard Steele, was not even considered. When visiting Harare early in 1982 I was instructed to oppose those taking the "strategic participation" line and to start organising anti-military campaigns on university campuses. An ANC unit was created with this in mind, and several others who later became central in the ECC were recruited over the next two years.

While this had the negative effect of starting a protracted cold war within Nusas, it also led to a lasting link between the white student left and the church-based objector movement — initially through the Conscientious Objector Support Group.

After that, things happened rapidly. By 1983, 13 men had been sentenced for refusing to do military service on politically-related grounds and the movement had developed a momentum that pushed the state to over-react (by boosting prison sentences for objectors to six years).

always stoutly resisted

Only once did the ECC make the mistake of complying with a UDF directive. This happened in early 1986 when a pair of prominent UDF leaders who were former Pretoria Central political prisoners, objected to the presence of Breyten Breytenbach on an ECC platform for what were extremely esoteric reasons. After much pressure the ECC backed down, alienating its emerging Afrikaner support-base in the process.

Relations with the ANC were more complex, but also more distant. It is certainly true that several of us who were in the campaign's national and regional leadership were also members of the ANC and/or South African Communist Party underground structures (though, for the most part, until the ANC was unbanned, we weren't aware of who else was involved). ANC members reported regularly on the campaign, but invariably the response was one of blanket approval with few directives offered. The exception came with regard to recruitment, for which the ECC was obviously fertile ground — and fortunately no one was caught despite the considerable energies of the security police and South African Defence Force military intelligence.

**A**t an organisational level, however, there was virtually no contact between the ANC and ECC until the late 1980s. The only instance I am aware of came when a particularly hardline leader of the London-based Committee of South African War Resisters took it upon himself to criticise in print the apparent frivolity and lack of political correctness of ECC's campaigns, among other sins. ECC then secured the intervention of senior ANC members who put the fellow in his place — a rare example of censorship.

The campaign reached its peak between late 1984, when the SADF sent its troops into the townships, and mid-1986 when the national State of Emergency was declared. During this 20-month period it had a spurt of phenomenal expansion, growing into a national movement with 12 branches, about 1 000 active members and a far larger support base. It began to attract parents, schoolchildren, former soldiers, Afrikaner youth and many others from outside the realms of liberal universities. Meetings in Cape Town attracted over 3 000 people and its momentum seemed unstoppable.

Some campaigns had a hard edge — "Troops Out" of Angola, Namibia and the townships, for instance — but were softened by a "peace"



The ECC's campaigns ranged from the creative to the more serious, such as its 'Working for a just peace' rally in Cape Town in 1986

PHOTO: SOUTHLIGHT

thrust (fasts, candlelight vigils) and a variety of cultural initiatives — concerts, festivals, comics, the "Forces Favourites" music tape, and so on. Other campaigns were less confrontational ("Working for a Just Peace", "De a Yellow Ribbon") and were designed to build the movement and focus on its central theme. There was always a creative media thrust, ranging from "in-your-face" posters with such slogans as "Mantjies! — didn't they tell you? Cadets Maak Mal-lejies!" and "Wat soek jy in die townships troepie?", to the "Know your rights in the SADF" booklet adorned with a cartoon of a conscript kissing his girl goodbye.

The state responded with predictable heavy-handedness. More than 100 ECC activists were detained for periods ranging from a day to a year, while the organisation itself and many of its members were restricted under the Emergency regulations. Houses were petrol-bombed, vehicles sabotaged, individuals assaulted and a propaganda offensive was launched, ranging from the use of nightwing front-groups to the production of fake pamphlets, such as those of the appropriately named "Anti-Liberal League" dropped by helicopter on an ECC fête in Cape Town.

After receiving information of an anti-ECC dirty tricks campaign co-ordinated from Western Province military headquarters in Cape Town's castle, the ECC retained Sydney Kentidge and took the SADF to court.

In his affidavit, General Jan van Loggerenberg acknowledged the dirty tricks campaign, admitting to almost all the incidents alleged (with the exception of instructing a trooper to defecate on the ECC's Cape Town office carport), but said it was justified because the country was in a state of war. The judge found otherwise and interdicted the SADF against further harassment.

As with all anti-apartheid organisations there was always the problem of spies. In general the line taken was that we had nothing to hide, and several suspected informers were left alone (though watched carefully). During the Emergency this became more of a problem, and

instance in Johannesburg, where Joy Hamden was known to be a spy (years later she emerged as a security police lieutenant), meetings had to be re-held once she'd departed. Eventually she was expelled, much to the chagrin of individuals in the Black Sash national leadership who claimed her innocence and accused those responsible in the UDF and ECC of being Stalinists (a fair charge in general, but off the mark in this case).

**O**ne consequence of the crackdown was to drive sections of the movement underground — a factor prompting a more concerted wave of individual and group objection. In 1987, 23 Cape conscripts publicly resisted their call-ups. A year later this was organised on a national scale, drawing 143 volunteers. In 1989, 771 took the stand and the figure quickly passed the 1 000 mark. The effect was to demonstrate that you could get away with refusing an apartheid call-up by being completely brazen about it. The SADF simply could not afford the political fall-out from more trials of objectors like Philip Wilkinson, Dr Ivan Tomms, David Bruce, Charles Bestler and Saul Batzofin.

Soon the troops left Angola and Namibia, the ANC was unbanned, the call-up was reduced to a year and seldom enforced in the face of resistance. By then most of us who'd been centrally involved had dropped out of active politics or moved on to other things, but a dedicated group, led by a Johannesburg patent lawyer and former army lieutenant, Chris de Villiers, continued to fight the good fight and keep the issue alive.

National service conscription was formally ended last year (though it remained for camps). When the troops were needed to ensure the safety of the April election, the ECC called on them to help out to secure the peace. Things had come full circle, and it was time to say goodbye after a job well done.

Evans, now a journalist living in London, was ECC publicity officer for the 1980s and 1990s.

By ARI JACOBSON

SOUTH Africa should focus on designing an Indian Ocean trade block and develop its expertise as an exporter of high-tech weaponry, said University of Westville's political science professor John Daniel.

Speaking in a keynote address to Stellenbosch University's Institute for Future Research yesterday, Daniel said that the country should avoid taking funds from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as "we (SA) need to try go it alone"

SA should "carve a niche" in the defensive arms trade which would generate income and thousands of jobs

He warned that "SA is not a significant part of the economic plans of North America, Europe or the Far East"

"World trade is dominated by the three continental economic blocks, North America (including Mexico and Canada), the EU and South Pacific — which leaves Africa marginalised"

Daniel said that the trading environ-

## SA urged to develop arms export niche

ment in these blocks was "harsh" and prone to double standards, which ultimately meant little support for those countries not belonging to these units

"The answer is to develop a foreign policy with countries not tied to these trade blocks"

Here he suggested an "Indian Ocean trading block involving SA, East African coastal states (such as Kenya and Mauritius) and the Indian sub-continent"

"SA could also seek new markets in the Middle East and South East Asia"

Daniel pointed out that the southern African region was "unstable and distressed economically"

SA must not dominate the region but seek "to reshape trade" by growing the surrounding regions while developing its own economy

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CT 26/8/94

ST Times

# Troops may get union

By DIRK VAN EEDEN

EMPLOYEES of the South African National Defence Force may soon be able to join a union for the first time. 28/8/94

The South African National Defence Union (Sandu) will not promote any political views and will represent military and civilian employees. Higher wages will be a priority for the union.

Representatives of the union will deliver a proposed recognition agreement at Defence Head-

quarters tomorrow.

The union requests the right to openly organise and recruit members during working hours.

It wants members to have "the right to all union activities and fair labour practices" — which, said a spokesman, could include the right to strike. But he stressed this would be a last resort.

The possibility that Sandu could form an alliance with the South African Police Union, had also been discussed, he said.

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# UK 'in illegal South Africa arms deals'

(254) W M 29/7-4/8/94  
David Pallister

**S**OUTH AFRICA is negotiating with Britain to limit any embargo on the disclosure of illegal defence equipment sales to the former apartheid government, according to the planning director of Armscor, the country's weapons procurement agency.

Dr Andre Buys' revelation was made at a conference for British defence contractors and Whitehall officials at King's College in London on Monday.

He said defence contracts still existed, with both governments and private companies, which were made contrary to the United Nations arms embargo and, in some cases, to domestic legislation.

Although he declined to give details, he added, "This could be an embarrassment to (the countries), and we are discussing at a diplomatic level if they have any objections to these being disclosed."

Asked if the countries included Britain, he replied "Yes."

Later, Buys said South Africa was discussing the "question of transfers with Britain." He hoped all the main contracts could be made public.

A Foreign Office spokesman confirmed that talks had taken place, but he gave a different explanation "We have offered to advise the South African government on export control procedures for defence equipment," he said.

In particular Britain wanted new arms deals to be covered by a commercial confidentiality clause "We did not grant export licences to South Africa for defence equipment during the period of the embargo."

While Britain has allowed the export to South Africa of dual-use equipment, which had unambiguous military applications, all known cases of arms embargo violations have concerned private firms.

However, Royal Ordnance, when it was still nationalised in the early 1980s, was part of a European cartel which shipped military explosives to South Africa.

Two weeks ago Defence Minister Joe Modise revealed that Israel had been the biggest arms sanctions buster.

Buys' presentation of South Africa's defence industry was part of a worldwide campaign by Armscor to increase arms sales.

He disclosed that in 1992/93, a year before the embargo was lifted, South Africa exported arms worth R800-million, of which 42 percent went to the Middle East, 22 percent to Asia, 14 percent to the Far East, seven percent to Latin America, 10 percent to Africa and one percent to North America.

□ Military ready for battle as police chief warns would-be strikers

# Warrior borewings over union for soldiers

Political Staff

AN attempt is to be made today to secure official recognition of a South African National Defence Force trade union, amid growing unease about threatened strike action by police unions.

The emergence of unions in the security forces has few precedents elsewhere in the world, and the insistence of these unions that they have the right to call strikes — even at times when the country is faced by grave security problems — is being strongly resisted by senior SANDF and police officers.

Police Commissioner Johann van der Merwe warned in a statement yesterday that police management might consider cancelling an agreement recognising the South African Police Union (Sapu) if the union went ahead with industrial action to back demands.

On Thursday Sapu threatened industrial action after it walked out of negotiations with a SAP forum, claiming police management had failed to address the union's demands.

Meanwhile, the South African National Defence Union (Sandu), which was established six weeks ago, said last night it planned to hand a recognition agreement to defence force chief Georg Meiring or to Defence Minister Joe Modise today.

Sandu consultant Marius Botha told Sapu that since the establishment of the union SANDF management had victimised union members through two letters circulated among staff, reminding them that they would be prosecuted in terms of the Defence Act if they took part in union action.

"National Defence Force management must, however, take note that the Defence Act is subordinate to the

constitution and the bill of human rights," Mr Botha said.

"The recent amendments in the labour law made it possible for the establishment of a union for all members of the National Defence Force."

He said Sandu would not hesitate to take action when the rights of its members, including the right to become a member of a trade union, were threatened.

Mr Botha said the union included serving members of the defence force, members of the former TBVC state defence forces, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Azanian People's Liberation Army cadres now being integrated into the National Defence Force.

He said Sandu would be operating in similar vein to the Police and Prisoners Civil Rights Union and the South African Police Union.

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ARC 29/8/94

## STRIKE FRONT

Some hospitals back to normal

DURBAN — Strikers at Durban's King George V Hospital returned to work today and the hospital was "up and running," the superintendent said.

This leaves only workers at King Edward VIII and Addington hospitals still on strike in Durban, after Clairwood hospital workers also resumed duties today.

Latest pay offer may be rejected

PORT ELIZABETH — Motor industry strikers gathered in the Eastern Cape today amid speculation that they would refuse the latest offer of a 10.5 percent pay increase from management. See page 4.

# Defence force union wants recognition

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CT 29/8/94

JOHANNESBURG — The South African National Defence Union (Sandu) — established six weeks ago — hoped to hand a recognition agreement to the Chief of the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) General Georg Meiring or to Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise this morning, Sandu consultant Mr Marius Botha said on Saturday night.

Mr Botha alleged that SANDF management had victimised union members through two letters circulated among staff.

The letters reminded them they would be prosecuted under the Defence Act if they took part in union actions.

“National Defence Force management must, however, take note that the Defence Act is subordinate to the Con-

stitution and the Bill of Human Rights,” Mr Botha said.

“The recent amendments in the Labour Law made it possible for the establishment of a union for all members of the National Defence Force.”

He said Sandu would not hesitate to take action when the rights of its members, including the right to become a member of a trade union, were threatened.

Mr Botha said the union included serving members of the SANDF, members of the former TBVC states defence forces, uMkhonto weSizwe and Azanian People's Liberation Army members now being integrated into the SANDF.

Sandu would operate similarly to the SA Police Union (Sapu) — Sapa



Star 2018/194

# FF MP to chair defence committee

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Freedom Front MP Pieter Groenewald has unanimously been elected as chairman of the powerful parliamentary standing committee on defence. (254)

ANC MPs Max Sisulu and Dr Mantombazana Tshabalala have been elected to chair the recon-

struction and development and health standing committees

These elections were delayed until an agreement was reached whereby the ANC offered the chairmanships of various standing committees to minority parties. The NP, however, declined to accept the offer. It earlier insisted that the chairmanships should be allocated proportionally to the number of votes each

party had received.

ANC MP Tony Yengeni proposed Groenewald in the defence standing committee. No further nominations for chairmanship were received. Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen had earlier been tipped to be the committee's chairman.

After his election, Groenewald thanked the ANC "for giving us this important committee".

95<sup>8</sup> 73  
95 24  
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# Probe into call-up threats

CT 31/8/94  
Political Staff

REPORTS that national servicemen were still being threatened with prosecution for not reporting for camps would be investigated, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said yesterday (254)

He was not aware of any threats to these people, Mr Modise said in the Senate in reply to a question asked by the Senator E K Moorcroft (DP)

Senator Moorcroft had asked him

whether he was aware that despite his moratorium on prosecutions, people who had been called up had been threatened with prosecution within the past two weeks

Mr Modise said he had not instructed the SANDF to inform every person who had been called up that they had a right not to comply

The amendments to the Defence Act last year ending compulsory national service and the moratorium had been sufficiently publicised

CONT 4

# 'Absurd' for forces <sup>APG 11/9/94 254</sup> to be able to strike

□ European countries allow staff associations

LONDON — Giving members of the defence forces the right to strike is an absurdity, say military commentators here

But there has been an increase in the number of countries willing to grant members of their armed forces the right to form their own "staff associations"

The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg have been in the forefront of the movement to introduce more democracy and personal liberty in the ranks, but all three have stopped short of allowing full trade union status

A senior military attaché in the Royal Netherland Embassy in London said "You cannot equate these provisions with trade union rights as such. They are more like staff associations"

"They are there to look after their members' interests

in matters like working conditions, promotion, catering and so forth. The Benelux countries have similar arrangements, though with minor differences in detail

"Speaking for the Netherlands, I can say that these associations have been very useful and have done good work in improving communication between the officers and the ranks. There are no major problems"

But the spokesman added "I know of no country in the world where the defence forces have the right to strike. That would be an absurdity. You cannot have such a situation. We believe that strike action has no place in vital services like the

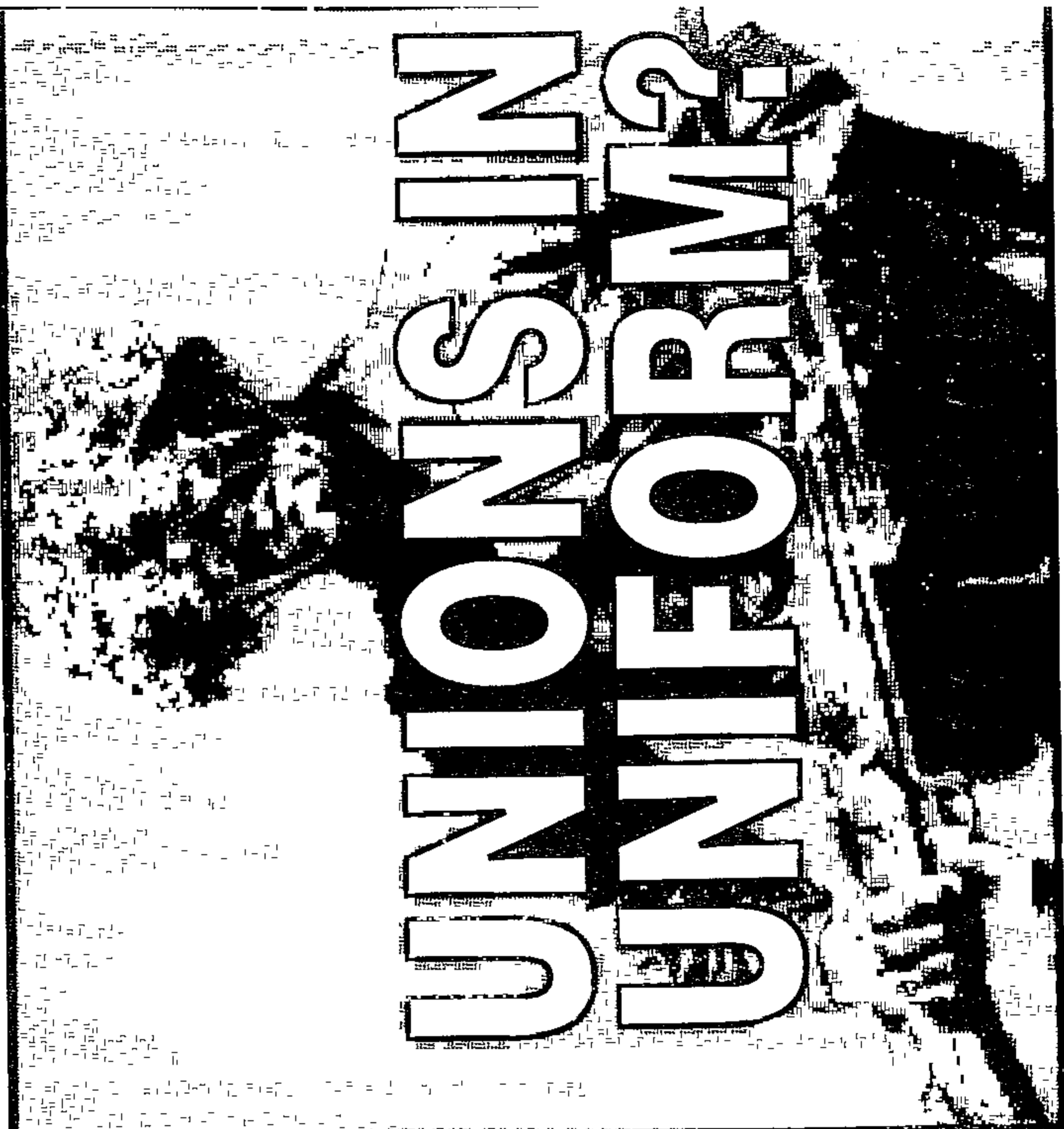
forces, the police and the fire service"

In Britain, there are neither trades unions nor staff associations within the armed forces "because there has never been any call or need for them," said a Ministry of Defence spokeswoman. "And you can't have an army or an air force liable to go on strike at any moment, for obvious reasons," she added

The situation is similar in France and other European countries, though some, like the Scandinavians, have introduced more channels of communication between the establishment and the ranks and there is frequent discussion and representation on matters like hours of duty, dress and living conditions

## BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

Argus Foreign Correspondents



# UNIONISM? UNIFORM?

Argus September 1 1994

## Civilian rule of army mooted for SA

(254) ARG 1/9/94

LONDON — A civilian-controlled defence force along the lines of Britain's is "unquestionably" the direction South Africa should follow, says a leading South African military expert in London.

Dr Martin Navias, lecturer in war studies at King's College, London, says the "minor frictions" that arise out of a civil service working alongside the defence establishment are far outweighed by the advantages and the desirability of the system.

"It's said that war is too important to be left to the generals, so in a democracy it's undoubtedly better that civilians control the military, rather than vice-versa. In fact, it's not only better and desirable, but it's not a system that is even questioned here.

"Naturally, the military should have operational control in any given situation, but the decision-making about where and how they are deployed should be left to the civilians."

In Britain, the Secretary for Defence is a political appointment, the equivalent of the

South African Minister of Defence. The equivalent of two deputy ministers, the Armed Forces Minister and the Minister for Defence Procurement are next on the rung and under them are the Permanent Under Secretary for Defence, a civilian appointment, and the Chief of Defence Staff, a uniformed officer.

These two posts are of equal status and if there is a match in the British system for the newly created South African post of Secretary of Defence, it is the Permanent Under Secretary for Defence.

Dr Navias points to the Botha era in South Africa and World War I in Britain as examples of the dangers of allowing power to be seized by the military. In both, he says, foreign policy was dictated by the generals, who pushed elected civilian officials to the periphery.

He acknowledges that conflicts between the military and their civil service counterparts arise within the present system, especially where defence cuts are concerned.

## SA pledge on arms control

Political Correspondent

(254)

Aug. 11/9/94

SOUTH AFRICA will follow a strict policy of arms control, the cabinet has decided.

The country is to sign the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions of Certain Conventional Weapons.

It would be an active participant in non-proliferation agreements to promote international peace and security, a statement said.

The government is to support a South Atlantic "zone of peace and co-operation". South Africa will attend a meeting of zone members in Brazil.

## Strike means army collapse'

A DEFENCE force strike would lead to the collapse of good order, law and justice, NP spokesman on defence Wynand Breytenbach said. (254)

"The consequences of strikes in other departments, such as police, nursing and correctional services, are repugnant."

A trade union for the defence force would prejudice the apolitical nature, professionalism and morale of members.

— Political Correspondent.

● See page 12

ARG 1/9/94

# Kasrils caught up in army land battle

Stefaans Brümmer

WM 2-8/9/94  
(254)

**D**EPUTY defence minister Ronnie Kasrils this week found himself caught in the middle of tensions between the Northern Cape ANC and the army. ANC VIPs were barred from entering the army's Lohatla battle-training school, at the centre of a land dispute, when Kasrils and Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom went on a fact-finding mission last Thursday.

Hanekom and Kasrils visited the giant army base north-west of Kimberley to investigate a dispute between the Khosis Griqua community, who claim title to part of Lohatla, and the army, which wants 30 to 40 remaining Khosis families to vacate the base. The ANC and Hanekom have opposed the removals.

While a party including Hanekom and Kasrils were flown into the base for an army presentation and to talk to the Khosis, troops refused road entry to legislator Abdul Panker, ANC provincial secretary general William Steenkamp and other ANC representatives, the Khosis' lawyer, media and a representative from the National Land Committee. Heated arguments followed.

Also barred was a delegation from a Tswana community allegedly forcibly removed in 1977 from the area and shunted to former Bophuthatswana, who now demand to be allowed to return to their land. The Tswana delegation staged a placard demonstration at an entry gate.

No one was willing this week to own up to issuing the no-entry orders. Steenkamp said a lieutenant colonel at the gate had told him the orders had come from National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring and the commander of Lohatla.

Steenkamp charged it was a clear example of "absolute non-recognition of the new government" by the military. Steenkamp said he was under the impression Kasrils had been expecting to meet him in Lohatla. National Defence Force communication chief Major General Gert Opperman said the ministerial visit had been a "private fact-finding mission".

While Opperman would not say who had issued the orders, military sources pointed fingers at the Ministry of Defence, both for creating the perception among Steenkamp and others that they were welcome, and for ordering that they not be allowed in.

A ministry spokesman dismissed the charges as "disinformation", and Northern Cape premier Manne Dipico, who accompanied Kasrils and Hanekom, said it was "nonsense" that the Defence Ministry had given the orders. He said he had informed Kasrils before the visit that Steenkamp would be there.

Meanwhile, high-level meetings have been scheduled in a bid to solve the land dispute. A Kimberley Supreme Court application has been postponed to early December to allow the parties time to settle.

# 'Too many chiefs' in homeland armies

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE four armies from the formerly "independent" homelands had virtually no privates when they were amalgamated with the South African National Defence Force, Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise disclosed yesterday

Only three of the 9 832 soldiers in the four homeland armies were not officers or non-commissioned officers, he said in reply to a question tabled in Parliament by Senator James Selfe (DP)

In sharp contrast, only 6,89% of the 22 000 uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) soldiers and 4,9% of the 6 000 Apla soldiers

were not privates

Mr Modise said 1 265 of the MK soldiers were NCOs and 251 were officers, including eight generals, and 160 of the Apla soldiers were NCOs and 124 were officers, with no generals

All 3 333 members of the Transkei Defence Force, 1 187 members of the Venda

Defence Force and 1 654 members of the Ciskei Defence Force were either NCOs or officers, and only two members of the 3 658 Bophuthatswana National Guard soldiers were privates

Senator Selfe said the figures were "at first sight, alarming"

modern army, this is a classic case of too many chiefs and not enough Indians"

He asked if the soldiers were promoted before the elections to enable them to join the SANDF at higher ranks

CT 3/9/94

The situation also had major budgetary implications for the taxpayer (2514)





# Former Vlakplaas chief denied bail (254)

ARG 3/9/94

PRETORIA — Eugene de Kock, former commander of the elite police training unit at Vlakplaas near Pretoria, has been refused bail on the grounds he is likely to flee and also might interfere with the State's case.

Pretoria Regional Court president J A Venter said yesterday no bail conditions would stop Colonel De Kock from fleeing or interfering with State witnesses or the police investigation. It was clear on the full evidence before the court he should not be granted bail.

According to evidence, Colonel De Kock will face several charges, including eight of murder, one of accessory to murder, one of attempted murder, a charge of contravening the Internal Security Act by providing Inkatha with weapons used in various incidents of violence as well as charges relating to fraud and the unlawful possession of arms, ammunition and explosives.

It is alleged Colonel De Kock and colleagues eliminated possible witnesses against them — the bodies of some were allegedly blown up with explosives.

The State said former colleagues, who became State witnesses, had to be guarded when they appeared in public and received protection.

Mr Venter said it was common cause that Colonel De Kock had sold his assets, that his wife and children had moved to Ireland, he had no permanent employment or address, he regularly travelled overseas and had overseas contacts and had arranged to travel to Portugal shortly before his arrest.

He also had two passports and, in the past, had had several others.

On Colonel De Kock's claims that he was in line to receive indemnity in any case, Mr Venter said. "The court can not truly think that the accused, who was described in these proceedings as an intelligent person, is so naive that he would believe that" — Sapa.

# Soldiers turn

# to new union

**ROGER FRIEDMAN**  
Weekend Argus Reporter

**DISGRUNTLED** military personnel have been discussing setting up a union since February to address their grievances, but felt compelled to take urgent action when they heard that other unions "with a political bent" were making moves to enter the military domain.

So they brought their plans forward, opening a South African National Defence Union "head office" in Pretoria last Sunday and embarking on an immediate recruitment drive.

More than 1 500 soldiers, including senior officers, joined the union in its first week in spite of "gross victimisation" by military authorities, a spokesman told Weekend Argus in an exclusive interview yesterday.

The union was apolitical, non-sexist, nonracial and did not discriminate on rank. The spokesman said the union was pursuing an inter-

dict in Pretoria Supreme Court to stop members from being victimised

The spokesman did not wish to be named, saying all statements should be attributed to the union's "labour consultant", Marius Botha

According to the spokesman, four (nameless) union officials were elected at a meeting attended by 30 permanent force soldiers outside Pretoria six weeks ago

The officials have since taken leave to set up the union.

Space has been rented in a Pretoria office block with funds from an unknown source. "It's not from union members, not from political parties and not from overseas friends helping us to get on our feet," the spokesman said.

He stressed that the union would not embark on strikes "under any circumstances" but would act as a lobbying group in the interest of all soldiers

On Monday the union fired

off a letter containing a list of demands — essentially around recognition and the right to organise — to Defence Minister Joe Modise

When contacted for comment a spokesman for the ministry said the minister had instructed Chief of the Defence Force Georg Mearing to investigate who and what was behind the union.

National Defence Force spokesman John Rolt said the union's letter contained "inherent uncertainties". The union does not enjoy recognition in terms of existing legislation and its status can be questioned

The union's mission statement reads "To establish the most representative apolitical trade union for workers of the National Defence Force which by means of an active and collective power base represents and promotes the rights and interests of the members in a professional manner, for the benefit of members and the community"

Issues the union plans to take up include

■ Equal opportunities for women with housing subsidies, pensions, medical aid and tax.

■ The retrenchment of about 30 000 members in the process of integrating the old defence force with MK, Apla and former homeland forces.

■ "One-sided decisions" that have led to the "erosion" of numerous service benefits, including the withdrawal of duty buses and increased mess fees, and

■ "The one-sided decision to couple market-related prices to state-owned housing, especially those occupied by civil servants"

The spokesman said "What bothers us is the defence force have sent signals to all units saying we should not be recognised, we had no status and their members were not allowed to fill in membership forms

"They are therefore removing the right to freedom of association which is guaranteed by the constitution."

ARLT 3/9/94 (254)

# 'Officers-only' armies queried

CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — Figures provided by Defence Minister Joe Modise suggest that by the time the Transkei, Venda and Ciskei defence forces were integrated in the SA National Defence Force, they contained no private soldiers

They had, however, 3 333, 1 187 and 1 654 officers respectively.

The same figures, provided in response to a question tabled in Parliament, also indicate that the Bophuthatswana National Guard had a whopping 3 656 officers — and just two privates

By sharp contrast the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had

a total of 1 516 officers and 20 848 privates. The corresponding figures for APLA are 294 officers and 5 706 privates.

Democratic Party Senator James Selfe, who tabled the questions, yesterday said the figures for the homeland government defence forces raised "serious questions about whether promotions were made prior to the April 27 election to enable privates to join the SANDF at higher ranks".

"If true, this has major and unwarranted budgetary implications for the taxpayer," said Selfe

"This is a classic case of too many chiefs and not enough In-

dians," added the senator.

Modise had been asked how many members of the various statutory and non-statutory forces had been registered to become members of the new National Defence Force, and how many of these held officers' rank

While a small proportion of the 22 000 MK and 6 000 APLA forces were registered as being officers — from generals through to non-commissioned officers — the figures he provided indicate that every one of the Transkei, Venda and Ciskei defence forces' members were registered as holding a rank

Star 3/9/94

254

# Denel in drive to double exports

CT 3/9/94

JOHANNESBURG. — Denel arms conglomerate, which sells everything from tanks to helicopter gunships, said it intended to double exports.

Denel, which employs 14 000 people and has a turnover of more than \$700m, said the expansion would take place over the next three years in countries ranging from Chile to the United Arab Emirates.

The conglomerate, spun off from state arms procurement agency Armscor two years ago, said it paid \$34m in dividends in the past two years to its only shareholder, the South African government.

The group's chief executive officer Johan Alberts said Denel's aim was to greatly expand exports, which rose by 34% to \$179m in the year to March 31, compared to the previous financial year.

# Denel seeks Rolls and <sup>(254)</sup> GEC links

CT5/9/94

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Denel is seeking links with UK defence giant GEC and aero-engine makers Rolls-Royce in its bid to win the £2-billion (about R11bn) British army attack helicopter order with its Rooivalk, a report in a Sunday newspaper here said

Denel already has close ties with Rolls-Royce, it said

"In a deal signed last year but never announced, Denel became a risk- and revenue-sharing partner in Rolls' Trent high-power civil aero engine programme, with a 1% stake," said the report

And although GEC is tied in with Bell of the US, which is going for the British order for 91 gunships with the Cobra Venom, it had "already agreed to help the Rooivalk bid by offering to equip the helicopter with the Brimstone anti-tank missile"

Denel wanted GEC and Rolls-Royce to join the Rooivalk consortium, which at present consists of itself and Marshall's of Cambridge who would assemble the helicopter if it were awarded the contract

The report said that a link with Denel could bring South African orders for GEC — which is bidding for the £250 million (about R1,37bn) contract for four corvettes — and Rolls-Royce

# SA, UK in arms link

(254)

CT 6/9/94  
From JOHN CAVILL

LONDON. — A partnership between Denel and the British defence giant GEC-Marconi to build an integrated anti-aircraft weaponry system is to be announced today. It is the first deal of its kind since the end of the arms embargo against South Africa.

Final agreement between the two groups was reached yesterday, the first day of the Farnborough International air show where Denel is exhibiting a range of products, headed by the Rookalk helicopter gunship which is competing for the £2 billion (about R11bn) British army contract.

Denel spokesman Mr Paul Holtzhausen said last night: "It will be an alliance with two of the world's leaders in anti-aircraft systems. The integration of our technologies will give us a product for which there is strong international demand."

## Platform

Under the agreement, Denel's LEW (Lytleton Engineering Works) division will supply Rookalk armoured vehicle and G6 platforms. GEC-Marconi's Marksman anti-aircraft weapons and controls will be fitted to the G6 platform, and the Rookalk vehicle will be the basis for its Nemesis system. Mr Holtzhausen said the integrated systems would be marketed world-wide by both Denel and GEC-Marconi. He also confirmed it was seeking British alliances in its bid to supply the British army. It was reported here at the weekend that Denel was courting GEC and Rolls Royce, the aero-engine makers, to become part of a consortium. Yesterday, the 8-ton Rookalk helicopter rolls and backward loops showed off with observers to the delight of observ-

## Col De Kock got false passports

FOUR false passports had been issued to former Vlakplaas commander Colonel Eugene de Kock between June 1986 and February 1990, Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday (254) CT 8/9/94

Replying to a question from Mr Desmond Lockey (ANC), he said the department had been approached from time to time by members of the security community to issue passports containing fictitious information

Such passports were issued to Colonel De Kock in the names of Lourens Vosloo de Wet (on June 16, 1986), Eugene de la Rey (June 28, 1988), Eugene Dietz (October 12, 1989) and Garrit Richard Magnuson (February 20, 1990)

Chief Buthelezi said as the passports had been issued on a bona fide basis, no steps were being envisaged against any official who had approved the issuing of the passports

● Colonel De Kock, who faces charges related to hit squad activities, was recently refused bail after the state argued he would flee South Africa  
— Sapa

# 'Reveal Steyn report'

254

Political Staff

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela should now publicly reveal the contents of the reports by General Pierre Steyn on unauthorised military intelligence activities, the Democratic Party's Mr Douglas Gibson said yesterday

He said the various replies he had received from Deputy President F W de Klerk, Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise and his deputy Mr Ronnie Kas-

rels, still had not clarified all the issues related to the Steyn report

"One of the questions arising from the replies is why the inexplicable delays in briefing the new President, defence and deputy defence ministers?"

CT 9/9/94  
"It is still not clear whether or not President Mandela received a written report. We urge him to clear up the confusion," Mr Gibson said in a statement





# SANDEF Unity cost shock

Star 10/9/94

### Budget sent soaring by thousands of former homeland officers earning higher salaries

THE integration of nearly 40 000 new soldiers into the South African National Defence Force will cost a massive R6,8 billion over four years — inflated by last-minute promotions in homeland armies. DAVID BREIER reports.

CAPE TOWN — Mass promotions of soldiers in the last days of former homeland armies' existence have pushed the cost of integrating the South African National Defence Force to a colossal R6,8 billion over the next four years.

This figure contrasts with the R1,5 billion budgeted this year — a major factor behind the 5 percent transitional levy imposed on taxpayers.

The SANDEF budget has been sent soaring by thousands of former homeland officers and non-commissioned officers earning higher salaries — apparently through artificial promotion designed to boost their rank and pay in the new SANDEF.

The figure was disclosed after the Defence Ministry informed Parliament that relatively few soldiers integrated into the SANDEF from former TBVC countries were privates — most were officers.

By far the biggest chunk of this cost — R3,4 billion — is required to pay the salaries of new personnel from the ANC's former armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) and the former Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei armies.

In an initial reply to questions by DP defence spokesman James Selfe, Defence Minister Joe Modise said there were only two privates between the four homeland armies, both from Bophuthatswana.

The Transkei, Venda and Ciskei forces had no privates at all.

It has since emerged that this reply was incorrect.

Selfe has received new written replies which show the picture as a little less absurd — but which reflect a grossly top-heavy structure, with relatively few privates inherited from the TBVC armies.

Selfe is tabling new questions to find out how many promotions were made in the TBVC armies during their final year and what they will cost the SANDEF and the taxpayer.

### Flagrant

"There were precious few privates in the homelands armies, which would tend to indicate that rapid and large-scale promotions took place in the period before the consolidation of forces.

"This would appear to have been a calculated move," he said.

The most flagrant example of this was in the Transkei Defence Force (TDF), from which 3 333 soldiers were integrated into the SANDEF.

Of these, only 826 — less than a quarter — were privates. There was one general, 106 field officers (ranking from major to brigadier), 161 officers (ranking from second lieutenant to captain), 512 senior NCOs (warrant officers, staff sergeants and sergeants) and a staggering 1 727 junior NCOs (corporals and lance-corporals). Corporals and lance-corporals alone outnumbered privates by more than two to one.

With a strength of about three battalions, the TDF should have had no generals, 12 field officers, 27 officers, 27 senior NCOs, and about 100 corporals and lance-corporals, Selfe said.

The Bophuthatswana National Guard provided 3 658 soldiers, 2 115 were privates.

Of the 1 187 soldiers from the Venda Defence Force less than half — 570 — were privates.

The Ciskei Defence Force provided 1 654 soldiers, of whom 757 — also less than half — were privates.

The figures for MK and APLA were not complete.

Only a minority of MK's 22 000 soldiers on the certified personnel register were placed by August 30 — including eight generals, 12 field officers, 228 officers, three warrant officers, 47 staff sergeants, 91 sergeants, 193 corporals, 124 lance-corporals and 810 privates.

### No generals

Similarly, relatively few of APLA's 6 000 members had been placed by August 30. There were no generals among them, but 29 field officers, 105 officers, six staff sergeants, 10 sergeants, 42 corporals, 10 lance-corporals and 92 privates were placed.

They boosted the SANDEF's manpower from 85 000 before the election to about 120 000, a figure which would be cut to about 90 000 in four years.

Officers and NCOs might have a better chance of escaping retrenchment or a downward move to the service brigade.

Former military ruler of Transkei, Environment Affairs Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa, denied that promotions in the TDF had taken place at the last minute.

"Our brigadiers were promoted last year," he said.

The TDF's brigadiers were "staff qualified." They had done courses at the army college in Pretoria and combat courses at Lohatla, and had been "exposed to other countries" from which South Africa had been barred.

Accusing the SANDEF and its chief, General Georg Mering, of "neo-colonialism", Holomisa said no integration was taking place in the SANDEF.

"Mering is perpetuating ethnic battalions," he said.

No senior TDF officers had been given posts at SANDEF or army headquarters, he said, adding that there was great resentment that the SANDEF had posted a former SADF colonel in the Eastern Cape over the heads of former TDF brigadiers.

Former TDF head Major-General T T Matanzima was supposed to have become Eastern Cape commander, but had not been posted.

"We cannot put our trust in the same old guard which only yesterday was attacking us.

"They are playing hide-and-seek with us," Holomisa said.

What is happening here is that Mering has been given a free hand by the Government seemingly to toss around these black officers and NCOs, including MK. This behaviour must be reversed as soon as possible. He said Parliament should form a committee to take charge of the SANDEF integration process.

# Anglican bishops hit at arms exports

ARG 10/9/94 (254)

JOHANNESBURG. — Anglican bishops have urged the government to halt soaring arms exports, describing as "obscene" plans by South African weapons' manufacturers to double foreign arms sales over the next three years.

The Southern African churchmen, meeting in the Free State yesterday, said they were alarmed at the increasing sales of South African weapons to other African countries and further afield.

Among those taking part in the four-day conference was Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

After a meeting with officials from South Africa's state arms procurement agency Armscor, the bishops said in a statement: "We condemn the declared intention of the industry to double exports. This policy is obscene."

The bishops urged the government to turn swords into ploughshares and said the granting of contracts for arms manufacture should be gradually phased out.

South Africa's Denel arms conglomerate, which sells everything from tanks to helicopter gunships, said on September 1 it intended to double exports.

Denel, which employs 14 000 people, said the expansion would take place over the next three years in countries ranging from Chile to the United Arab Emirates.

The ANC opposed the arms industry before it came to power, but now accepts it as an important employer and revenue earner. — Reuter.

# Integration bill climbs to a staggering R6,8bn

(254)

■ The integration of nearly 40 000 soldiers into the SA National Defence force will cost R6,8 billion over four years. The cost has been inflated by artificial, last-minute promotions in homeland armies.

ARLT 10/9/94

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

MASS promotions of soldiers in the last days of former homeland armies have helped push the cost of integrating the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) to a colossal R6,8 billion during the next four years.

It is a major factor behind the five percent transitional levy imposed on taxpayers and reflects the true cost of integrating the SANDF compared to the official R1,5 billion budgeted this year.

The SANDF budget was sent soaring by thousands of former homeland officers and non-commissioned officers earning higher salaries. They were apparently artificially promoted to boost their rank and pay in the SANDF.

The confidential R6,8 billion integration cost was disclosed to Weekend Argus after the ministry of defence revealed in parliament that relatively few soldiers integrated into the SANDF from the TBVC countries were privates. Most were officers and NCOs.

By far the biggest chunk of this cost is the R3,4 billion to pay the salaries of the new personnel from the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the PAC's armed wing, Apla, and the four homeland armies from the former Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

In an initial reply to questions by James Selfe, Democratic Party spokesman on defence, Minister of Defence Joe Modise said there were only two privates in the four homeland armies. All the rest were officers and NCOs. According to his reply, Transkei, Venda and Ciskei forces had no privates at all.

But it has since emerged that this reply was incorrect.

Mr Selfe was given new written replies which reveal the picture is not quite as absurd. But the figures reflect a grossly top-heavy structure with relatively few privates.

Senator Selfe is tabling new questions to probe how many promotions took place in the TBVC armies in their last year and what the cost implications of these sudden promotions were to the SANDF and the South African taxpayer.

"There were precious few privates in the homeland armies which would tend to indicate that rapid and large-scale promotions took place in the period before the consolidation of forces.

"This would appear to have been a calculated move to get them into more senior positions," Senator Selfe said.

The most flagrant example is the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) which had 3 333 soldiers integrated into the SANDF.

Of these, only 826 — fewer than a quarter — were privates. There was a general, 106 field officers (between the rank of major and brigadier), 161 officers (between the rank of 2nd lieutenant and captain), 512 senior NCOs (warrant officers, staff sergeants and sergeants) and a staggering 1 727 junior NCOs (corporals and lance corporals).

Corporals and lance corporals alone outnumbered privates by more than 2:1.

Senator Selfe said that with a strength

of about three battalions, the TDF should have had no generals, 12 field officers, 27 officers, 27 senior NCOs, and about 100 corporals and lance corporals.

The picture in the three other homeland armies was not quite so top-heavy.

The Bophuthatswana National Guard provided 3 658 soldiers of which 2 115 were privates. The Venda Defence Force supplied 1 187 soldiers of which less than half — 570 — were privates and the Ciskei Defence Force provided 1 654 soldiers of which 757 were privates — also less than half.

The figures for MK and Apla are not yet complete.

Only a minority of MK's 22 000 soldiers on the Certified Personnel Register were placed by August 30 — including eight generals, 12 field officers, 228 officers, three warrant officers, 47 staff sergeants, 91 sergeants, 193 corporals, 124 lance corporals and 810 privates.

Similarly, relatively few of the 6 000 Apla members had been placed by August 30. This included no generals, 29 field officers, 105 officers, no warrant officers, six staff sergeants, 10 sergeants, 42 corporals, 10 lance corporals and 92 privates.

The SANDF is being boosted from a pre-election level of 85 000 soldiers to about 120 000 before being rationalised to about 90 000 in four years. The high number of MK, Apla and former homeland officers and NCOs might have a better chance of escaping retrenchment or a downward move to the service brigade.

Former military ruler of Transkei and now deputy minister of environment affairs Bantu Holomisa denied promotions in the TDF took place at the last minute.

"Our brigadiers were promoted last year, not this year," he said.

Mr Holomisa said all brigadiers from the TDF were "staff qualified" and had done their courses at the army college in Pretoria and combat courses at Lohatla.

"Over and above these, they have been exposed to other countries where South Africa was not allowed to go," he said.

Mr Holomisa went on the counter-attack, accusing the SANDF and its chief General Georg Meiring of "neo colonialism".

He said no integration was taking place in the SANDF. "Meiring is perpetuating ethnic battalions," he said. Mr Holomisa said no senior TDF officers had been given posts at SANDF or army headquarters.

He said there was great resentment that the SANDF had sent a former SADF colonel over the heads of brigadiers of the former TDF in the Eastern Cape. Former TDF head, Major-General T T Matanzima, was supposed to have become Eastern Cape commander but had not been posted.

"We cannot put our trust in the same old guard which only yesterday were attacking us. They are playing hide-and-seek with us," Mr Holomisa said. "What is happening here is that Meiring has been given a free hand by government seemingly to toss around these black officers and NCOs including MK. This behaviour must be reversed as soon as possible," Mr Holomisa said.

He said parliament should form a committee to take charge of the SANDF integration process.

Jumped-up jip squeaks!

# SA repeats assurances on its nuclear aims

(254)

## The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — South Africa has reaffirmed its commitment to a policy of non-proliferation, disarmament and arms control which covers all weapons of mass destruction

Addressing the first regional seminar on national implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) here today, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aziz Pahad said it was South Africa's intention to be a responsible possessor of advanced technologies

Mr Pahad said the South African government was striving to become a member of all non-proliferation regimes and supplier groups.

In this regard, South Africa has joined the Zangger Committee, which defines and monitors goods specially designed

for nuclear use, and has applied for membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group, which monitors dual-use materials, equipment and technologies that may or can be used in weapons of mass destruction.

South Africa has also indicated its interest in the Missile Technology Control Regime, which regulates movement of equipment and technology.

Mr Pahad said the government intended to use its position as a member of the suppliers and of the Africa Group as well as the Non-Aligned Movement to promote the importance of disarmament and non-proliferation.

"We see the signing and the ratification of the CWC by African states as important steps in strengthening co-operation throughout the continent, in freeing Africa from the threat

ARG 12/9/94  
of weapons of mass destruction, and in promoting peace," Mr Pahad said.

Ian Kenyon, executive secretary of the Preparatory Commission for the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, said the CWC would get into force next year.

Mr Kenyon said the convention was primarily a security agreement.

It will eliminate an entire category of weapons of mass destruction, thus having not only global and strategic ramifications, but, more importantly, a profound regional effect.

Mr Kenyon said the convention would facilitate the fullest possible exchange of chemicals, equipment and scientific and technical information relating to the application and development of chemistry for legitimate peaceful purposes.

## W. Cape's troops 'popular'

Staff Reporter

TROOPS from Western Province Command are tops in the popularity stakes with communities in the Cape Town area, says commanding officer Dan Lamprecht (254)

"Our relationship with the public is on an extremely good level. We are totally accepted and actually wanted."

It was clear from people that he spoke to, especially from Peninsula townships, that people believed the army was playing a crucial role in maintaining safety and social order, Brigadier Lamprecht said.

Although the province was relatively free of civil unrest, there were no grounds for scaling down the command's strength.

The uneasy truce between bus and taxi operators was one of the potential flashpoints which warranted the command's unstinting vigilance, he added.

## Defence chair for Yengeni

Political Staff

FORMER regional commander of uMkhonto we-Sizwe in the Western Cape, Mr Tony Yengeni, has been appointed chairperson of Parliament's joint standing committee on defence

The committee has representatives from both the National Assembly and the Senate (254)

Chairpersonship enables Mr Yengeni to play a key role in shaping and influencing defence policies and legislation.

# SA to ratify agreement on chemical weapons

CP 13/9/94 (254)

PRETORIA — South Africa hopes to be among the first 65 countries to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) aimed at ending the use of such weapons, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Aziz Pahad said

The CWC will take effect six months after it has been ratified by 65 countries. So far, 157 countries have signed the treaty, and 14 have ratified it. Mr Pahad told an African seminar

on the CWC here yesterday. South Africa had signed the CWC last year and was preparing for its ratification by Parliament.

Thirty-nine African states are attending the three-day seminar.

CWC preparatory commission secretary Mr Ian Kenyon said 42 of Africa's 52 states had signed the treaty and two, the Seychelles and Mauritius, ratified it. — Sapa

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9509

# Soldiers 'may not join unions'

By DAN SIMON

THE SA National Defence Force (SANDF) has forbidden permanent force members to join trade unions and has threatened legal action against any soldier who is, or becomes, a member of a union

SANDF chief General Georg Meiring said the defence force was entitled to "prohibit mem-

bers" from joining a union

He issued a bulletin to this effect on Friday after "rumours" about a trade union for soldiers

The SA National Defence Union is trying to gain recognition from the SANDF

General Meiring said "fundamental risks" existed should the SANDF allow organised trade unions or other parties in

its ranks These were

● The defence force could be handicapped in executing its task as defender of the constitution

● Unfounded rumours could originate, causing confusion and suspicion

● Unfounded promises could be made, undermining morale and military discipline

A former uMkhonto weSizwe

(254) CT 14/9/94  
commander said it would be "irresponsible" to allow membership of unions

Col Lindile Yam, who recently accepted a post at the Eastern Cape Army Command, said "soldiers carrying placards are not soldiers" The new national force would be a professional body from which people seeking "sheltered employment" would be expelled



# Retrenchments forecast at Denel's space arm

(254) ARG 14/9/94

**ROGER FRIEDMAN**  
Labour Reporter

RETRENCHMENTS at Denel's space division are unavoidable in terms of proposed joint ventures with two international space giants, the company announced today.

In the absence of state funding, Deutsche Aerospace of Germany and Orbital Sciences Corporation of the United States have completed surveys of the Houwteq (space) division with the object of either investing in or otherwise taking part in the space venture, said Denel's Paul Holtzhausen.

The "technically outstanding" South African space indus-

try would have to restructure as a viable partner.

"This will unfortunately see a reduction in its workforce (of 200)," said Mr Holtzhausen.

Once final details of the venture were released, Denel would know how many of its employees would be affected.

But Denel would try to offer retrenched employees positions elsewhere within the company.

Denel chief executive officer Johan Alberts said every effort would be made to maintain space technology for the benefit of South Africa and Denel's space business, but the future was dependent on agreements with international alliances

# FW heads govt security committee

CT 15/9/94

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela will take direct political charge of all the country's intelligence services — but Deputy President F W de Klerk will chair the cabinet committee for security and intelligence affairs.

Draft legislation to restructure the intelligence services, approved by the cabinet yesterday,

ensures parliamentary oversight of intelligence matters.

The compromise deal announced by Mr Mandela in the Senate yesterday, follows months of haggling between the ANC and the National Party.

The new dispensation will allow the NP leader to be drawn into and have oversight of the management of both police and

defence matters.

Mr Mandela told the Senate yesterday that normalising South African society also meant attending to structures which protected the integrity and security of the country and its people.

Mr Mandela said the bills would be accompanied by a White Paper "setting out the philosophy and approach to intelli-

gence in our democratic society".

Then, to cheers from the NP benches, Mr Mandela said that Mr De Klerk would chair the cabinet committee for security and intelligence affairs.

Mr De Klerk expressed satisfaction with the arrangement, saying it would allow the NP meaningful involvement in security matters.

(254)

# Still no defence briefing on Steyn report

WM 9-15/7/94 (254)

Louise Flanagan

**T**HE Ministry of Defence has still not been briefed on the controversial Steyn report, deputy minister of defence Ronnie Kasrils admitted to parliament this week.

"I have been contextually briefed by General (Pierre) Steyn ... I have, however, not been briefed on the contents of any report. This will be done shortly," Kasrils said in response to a Democratic Party question.

Kasrils' reply indicates that there was both a written and a verbal Steyn report. Only the verbal report appears to have dealt with Military Intelligence "dirty tricks".

"General Steyn completed his investigation in 1993 and various written recommendations were made regarding changes in the organisation and control of resources. All the recommendations were implemented by the Defence Force," Kasrils said.

Last week, deputy president FW de Klerk told parliament 23 senior SADF members had lost their jobs as a result of Steyn's verbal report. De Klerk did not mention the existence of a written report, though Steyn himself said there was one.

Kasrils also admitted that one of the 23 officers had asked for his job back. "(He) was duly reinstated after the attorney general of the Transvaal

found insufficient evidence to prosecute," he said.

He also confirmed that Commander Jack Widdowson sued the military over his early retirement and that the case was settled out of court.

However, it is believed that more than one officer was reinstated until shortly before the April elections. The *Mail & Guardian* was told of at least five officers who were rehired after the Steyn investigation.

At least one other officer who lost his job as a result of the Steyn inquiry — Colonel Anton Nieuwoudt — also reached an out-of-court settlement with the SADF. Kasrils did not mention this.

DEFENCE

Fun 16/9/94

# Crumbling before our eyes

The ability of the National Defence Force to respond rapidly to a major security threat may have been seriously undermined by what amounts to the mothballing of the 500 000-strong Citizen Force (CF) and Commando reserve forces

The scrapping of compulsory national service and suspension of prosecutions of CF members who fail to report for duty has left the mainstay of the NDF in limbo. The most serious immediate problem is that the army may have been deprived of most of its mobilisable operational strength at a time of potential instability

Use of the CF and Commandos was necessary to ensure stability during the election, and even then the response to the call-up was unsatisfactory. With a moratorium on prosecutions now in place, the part-time forces are even less likely to report for duty. And it could take years before the proposed new Volunteer Military System (VMS) produces a sufficient number of trained and committed men and women to replace the current reserves

An analysis of the situation by Midrand-based Institute for Defence Policy executive director Jakkie Cilliers and IDP researchers Willem Steenkamp and Bill Sass says government appears to have underestimated the "dramatic implications" of the moratorium on prosecutions announced last month by Defence Minister Joe Modise

According to the analysis, SA's part-time forces comprise the 120 000-strong CF for conventional operations, the 130 000-strong Commandos — recently renamed the Rear Area Protection Units — and a number of reserve categories. The total part-time force is about 500 000. Proposals for a full spectrum of replacement structures are still being considered

The new system will be based on the VMS, which requires volunteers to sign up for 12 months' full-time service followed by eight annual 30-day training camps

The VMS's first 4 000 recruits for the army and 200 for the navy started training this year. But researchers point out that they

will provide only a fraction of the 20 000 national servicemen who joined the part-time forces each year in the past

Although the new structure is expected to also provide for the incorporation of the existing reserve forces into the new VMS/reserve forces, the break in continuity and employer pressure could mean that the majority will not re-enlist. Employers may strongly resist giving time off for camps to employees who volunteer. In the past service was compulsory (254)

The potential shortage of part-time volunteers means the VMS may have to produce up to 100 000 trained personnel in the short term, simply to re-stock the reserves and then up to 20 000 a year to keep them stocked. These figures could apply even in terms of government's stated aim of halving the part-time force

IDP researchers believe the VMS alone is inadequate and not suited to feed a part-time force, even though it appears easy to administer. They say the length of full-time training under the VMS could make it an attractive short-term job in a time of high unemployment, rather than a foundation for a reserve force. The stream of volunteers could dry up if the economy improves

While there is little doubt that the NDF is aware of the implications of the restructuring, political considerations left

Modise with no option because the continued reliance on all-white reserves may be unconstitutional

The researchers suggest a variety of salvage options

- A 12-month VMS training period, but with annual camps cut from eight to three or four with an option to continue;
- A three-month VMS training period followed by three or four camps and weekend training;
- Noncontinuous training at weekends or short camps for non-VMS veterans; and

- Voluntary school cadet training and reserve officer training at universities

The future of the part-time force is important. Though the current integration of the military groups will create a bloated NDF, the strength of the permanent com-

ponent will eventually be trimmed to less than it was previously.

The Permanent Force — apart from specialists in the Air Force and Navy and some army units — will provide the training component for the VMS

The CF regiments are effectively run by part-time soldiers with a commitment to professionalism and loyalty, regardless of which party is in power

It will be important to continue this tradition. A strong reservist force with divergent political views is often seen as an essential deterrent to a military coup or government misuse of the army ■

## HISTORY

### Monumental fuss

A row over the removal of political memorabilia from the colonial and apartheid eras was inevitable. It is surprising that it has taken so long to occur

Two events in the past week have sparked heated reaction from the Nationalists and parties to their Right: the rather undignified removal of former PM Hendrik Verwoerd's statue from outside a government building named after him in Bloemfontein, and reports of rumblings in the ANC caucus because the parliamentary complex remains dominated by portraits, statues and artefacts that reflect virtually nothing but the perceived glories of a white Afrikaner male-dominated past (357A)

The matter is now with the Cabinet and a decision is expected soon. It is likely to be a compromise that will satisfy most

Ironically, it appears that most members of the ANC caucus are not insisting on the wholesale removal of all tributes to colonial or apartheid leaders. Instead, they want a balance which accurately reflects the past and the transition to democracy. In parliament this will probably mean repositioning statues and portraits.

For example, the massive painting of P W Botha's last white Cabinet which dominates the main entrance to parliament could be removed to the parliamentary museum and replaced by a painting of the national unity Cabinet or even something less extravagant such as many of the beautiful nonpolitical artworks that are now hidden in distant corridors of the labyrinthine complex.

Some statues outside parliament, such as Louis Botha astride his charger at the gates to President Nelson Mandela's Cape Town office, Tuynhuys, are also now inappropriate to the new order



# 'Integration

is the key  
to defence

APG 16/9/99  
(254)

**CLIVE SAWYER**  
Political Correspondent

**SUCCESSFUL** integration of armed forces into the new national defence force is the key to the military being able to defend democracy, deputy defence minister Ronnie Kasrils said today.

He conceded there were "teething problems" in integration.

President Mandela had had to be called to the Union Buildings in the middle of the night to deal with grievances at a camp where soldiers were being prepared for integration into the new defence force.

Mr Kasrils said he was optimistic a partnership could be forged between civil society and the military.

Speaking at a seminar in Sea Point on parliament, the military and democracy, he said the constitution required the military to protect the sovereignty of the country, law and order, and the constitution.

The parliamentary joint standing committee of defence had significant responsibilities for matters like finance, morale and strength of the defence force.

Deputy speaker Bhadra Ranchod, said for democracy to work the defence force should not be hindered in its role of ensuring security for all South Africans.

He said the defence force's conduct during transition had ensured its success and quashed fears the military would try to scuttle the process of change.

"I do not think we have seen the end of conflict in South Africa, but the fear of a military takeover is something we have now hopefully put behind us," he said.

# 'Secret' gun deal

## Search for city divers given up

By CLAIRE BISSEKER  
THE search for two missing city scuba divers was yesterday called off after an eight man dive on a False Bay wreck on Saturday went disastrously awry

A diving torch belong to one of the two divers, who went missing at a depth of 54m off Miller's Point, was all that was found on the wreck of the General Botha before the search was called off yesterday afternoon

Shocked diving companions spoke yesterday of their ordeal at sea, when they were torn between getting emergency help for a diver with a ruptured lung and abandoning the two missing divers

It was the third time the missing men, Mr Richard Keyter, 39, of Hout Bay, and Mr Barry van Rensburg, 40, of Rondebosch, two "highly experienced" divers, had taken part in the challenging wreck dive 11 nautical miles off Miller's Point.

The catastrophic dive resulted in two other divers having to undergo emergency decompression at the Simon's Town naval base. Lucky to be alive is Mr Phillip Wright, 31, of Claremont, who tore a lung in an emergency ascent from the seabed when his regulator tank valve jammed open, causing the rapid release of air into the water

Mr Mervyn Winter, of Table View, also omitted compulsory decompression stops in his haste to reach the surface to aid Mr Wright

The rest of the eight man dive



SHOCKED DIVERS (From left) Mr Simon Miller, 27, of Camps Bay, Ms Sarah Carter, 27, of Devil's Peak and Mr Jaco Smit, 25, look at the underwater torch belonging to a pair of scuba divers who have been missing in False Bay since Saturday

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

decompression Mr Wright was later admitted to Groote Schuur Hospital and was discharged yesterday afternoon

Six of the eight divers had done the dive before and the minimum qualification held by the group was a Dive Masters certificate. The shocked and disbelieving divers were unable to explain their disappearance

**'Lived for diving'**

They agreed that Mr Van Rensburg had "lived for diving", and it would have been his chosen way to die

The same was said of Mr Keyter, an oil rig drilling supervisor, who has a wife and two small children.

team were forced to abandon Mr Van Rensburg and Mr Keyter to seek emergency help when the two men had failed to surface after about 90 minutes

The missing divers were using ordinary air unlike the rest who had oxygen-enriched air in their tanks, said Mr Jaco Smit, 25, of Bonteheuwel

"If they hadn't surfaced by then they had run out of air", he said. Yesterday navy divers found a torch, which Mr Smit confirmed belonged to Mr Van Rensburg, lying on the deck of the General Botha, but no other signs of the missing men were uncovered

Mr Wright and Mr Winter spent more than two hours undergoing

and has been diving since he was 14 years old

The trip to the scuttled naval wreck began in perfect conditions on Saturday morning with a visibility of more than 20m on the seabed, the divers said.

Shortly before 1pm the first foursome comprising Mr Smit, Mr Barry Bey-Leveld, 31, of Goodwood, Mr Simon Miller, 27, of Camps Bay, and Ms Sarah Carter, 27, of Devil's Peak, completed a flawless 40-minute dive to the wreck.

"We all know and are aware of the dangers of wreck diving and did not penetrate the wreck," said Ms Carter

By LOURENS SCHOEMAN and WILLEM STEENKAMP  
CT 19/9/94  
**DEFENCE MINISTER Mr Joe Modise is to investigate the sale of thousands of arms — allegedly AK-47 rifles — to Lebanon in a secretive deal confirmed yesterday by Armscor.**

According to a statement by the arms manufacturer, the weapons were sold to the Lebanese government without rules laid down by the South African government

But there is a cloak of secrecy about the deal, in which millions of rounds of ammunition were also exported to Lebanon through the Port Elizabeth harbour last month

Fears were expressed in certain political circles that the weapons could land in the hands of terrorists and be used against Israel

Mr Modise and cabinet secretary Professor Jakes Gerwel said yesterday they knew nothing about the deal

Prof Gerwel said it "definitely" was not a cabinet decision to sell the weapons

"If it was discussed in the cabinet I would have known about it," Mr Modise said he would "call for information" on the deal and then respond to the reports

A weekend report claimed the deal involving 10 000 AK-47s was worth more than R2.4 million.

**Danish Flag**  
It was also claimed that the weapons were exported from Port Elizabeth because of the strong ANC support in the city

The weapons were allegedly shipped out in 33 containers on the ship Arkus Pioneer, which sails under the Danish flag

It was established yesterday that the Arkus Pioneer docked in the Port Elizabeth harbour on August 24, from Richards Bay

Armscor would not disclose the contents of the containers which were shipped out

The statement said it was the prerogative of the purchasing country to make known the information regarding its contents

But Armscor added that the weapons were surplus, used stock of the South African National Defence Force

NP chief spokesman on security Mr Gert Myburgh said last night he did not see any problem with the export of the weapons to Lebanon as such.

"It will, however, be tragic should the weapons land in the hands of terrorists," he said

DP spokesman in the Eastern Cape legislature Mr Eddie Trent asked why it had to be a covert operation

"I thought Armscor was now coming

clean about its dealings. The whole thing looks suspicious.

SANDF spokeswoman Lieutenant-Colonel Margaret Neethling said yesterday Armscor had "handled" the transaction, and she referred queries to the arms manufacturer

A defence analyst noted last night that should the rifles be AK-47s, they were most likely weapons seized by South African forces in Angola during the Namibian border war

The defence force had "a very large number" of captured AK-47s in its stores, he said, but he questioned the origins of the allegedly exported ammunition

He argued that it was unlikely the Lebanese authorities would provide anti-Israeli groups with the weapons.



# Probe ordered into guns deal

CT 24/9/94 (254)

DEFENCE MINISTER Mr Joe Modise last night ordered a full investigation into the sale and export by Armscor of AK-47 assault rifles.

And Lebanon's envoy to South Africa said the documents used in the weapons shipment to Beirut were fakes

A ship carrying \$700 000 (about R2,5 million) worth of AK-47s and ammunition was turned back this week — an Armscor spokesman

said from Beirut and the ship's owners said from Yemen.

The Lebanese army said it never ordered them. Armscor said the deal was aborted because news of it had been leaked.

Mr Charbel Stephan, head of the Lebanese mission in Pretoria, said: "The documents which I examined at Armscor's offices are false."

"The government of Lebanon

affirms it has never been aware of this arms transaction."

The Ministry of Defence said "confusion and conflicting reports" about the deal "now necessitate a full investigation".

Mr Modise said: "I would have expected Armscor to have briefed me in advance."

An Armscor spokesman said he could not comment on Mr Stephan's statement. — Staff Reporter, Sapa, Political Staff

# Women 14% of Defence Force

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

ONLY 14% of the members of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) are women — and none are generals or admirals

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said yesterday in reply to a question by Senator James Selfe (DP) the highest ranking women were two brigadiers in the army and two in the SA Medical Corps

There were 12 colonels in the army, two in the air force, five in the medical corps and two captains in the navy. CT 24/9/94

Mr Modise said there were 2 648 women in the army, 985 in the air force, 302 in the navy and 2 387 in the SA Medical Corps, 6 322 in total

The chairperson of the Joint Committee on Defence, Mr Tony Yengeni, said the gender issue in the force would have to be addressed.

Mr Modise said a post of Director: Personnel Utilisation and Women Rights has been created



# Affirmative action for Eskom, Denel

CLIVE SAWYER  
Political Correspondent

TRANSNET, Eskom and Denel are among parastatals targeted for affirmative action restructuring.

Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau told the national assembly that restructuring would provide "maximum stimulus" to the economy while redressing past inequities. AR 22/9/94

She said Eskom's goals for the next five years were:

- Ensuring half of all its management, professional and advisory staff were black South Africans by the year 2000.

- Cutting the electricity price by 15 percent, to become the world's cheapest supplier of electricity.

- Electrifying a further 1,75 million homes.

- Enabling all Eskom employees to own a home.

Arms manufacturer Denel had said its three-year goals were:

- Doubling exports and foreign exchange earnings to R1 300 million.

- Ensuring 30 percent of management came from "under-represented" groups, including women.

Training programmes for technicians and computer programmers were among its other goals.

The parastatals are Alexkor, Aventura, Denel, Eskom, Safcol and Transnet. Their combined assets are valued at more than R1 billion.

# Apla allowance settled

Sowetan 20/9/94

By Mpikeleni Duma

A DISPUTE over an allowance which has delayed the integration of Azanian People's Liberation Army members into the South African National Defence Force at De Brug, Bloemfontein, was resolved this week.

Apla members will be paid their full allowance of R28 tomorrow.

This followed an all-day meeting between Free State premier Mr Patrick Lekota, local MEC for safety and security Mr Papie Kganare, SANDF and

Apla officers

The Apla members were receiving an interim allowance of R10 a day, while Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers were receiving R28 a day (254)

This week about 900 Apla members marched for about 30km from De Brug to the administrative offices of the provincial legislature in Bloemfontein.

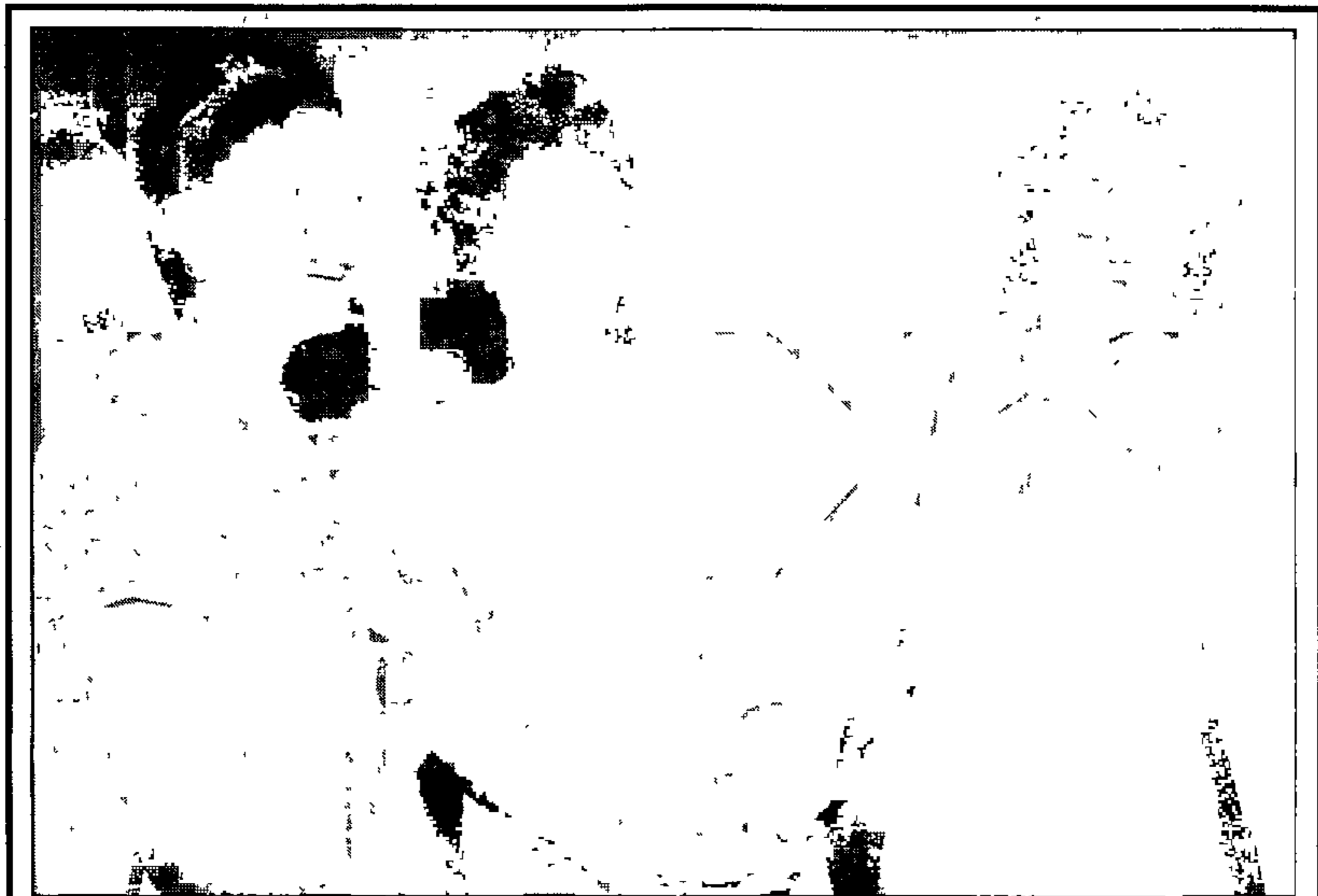
They demanded to meet Lekota and also wanted him to address their demands.

Lekota told them that they should submit their grievances to the proper

channels. As emotions started running high, Apla members demanded that President Nelson Mandela should see them at the camp.

The issue of allowances began a month ago when Apla soldiers first reported to the camp to be integrated into the SANDF.

The SANDF's regional office in Bloemfontein said yesterday that 900 Apla soldiers at De Brug had already gone through the screening and integration processes. They were now waiting for letters of appointment.



Laude Mokone, Wanda Majozi and Busi Mahlaba take a break during the Sowetan-Caltex Massed Choir Festival at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg on Sunday.

PIC LEN KUMALO

# Armscor secret

# Weapons shock

□ Mandela embarrassed on eve of US mission by arms sent to Unita

HUGH ROBERTSON  
and CLIVE SAWYER  
Political Staff

AS President Mandela sets off for the United Nations and the United States today, he has been gravely embarrassed by reports that Armscor has been secretly sending weapons to Unita.

The UN, which Mr Mandela is to address on Tuesday, is deeply involved in efforts to bring peace to Angola and has imposed an arms embargo on Unita which South Africa has promised to honour.

And President Bill Clinton's administration has been at the centre of the Angolan peace initiative and has also taken a strong stand against Unita's continuation of the civil war.

The war in Angola is on the agenda of talks which Mr Mandela is to hold with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and with Mr Clinton, and earlier this year Mr Mandela agreed to attempt to mediate in the conflict.

Supplying weapons to Unita would not only be illegal in South African law, but would be a contravention of a legally binding resolution of the UN Security Council and a serious breach of the peace agreement between South Africa, the US, Cuba and Russia.

Reports today said that the consignment of Armscor-supplied AK 47s and AK 47 ammunition — turned away from both Yemen and Lebanon earlier this month — was originally intended for Unita.

A spokesman for Defence Minister Joe Modise said today a statement would be made on the Unita reports only after an investigation ordered earlier by Mr Modise into the reports of shipments to Lebanon and Yemen was completed.

"Until then it will not be helpful to respond to inquiries," the spokesman said.

But the Unita reports were met by an outcry from politicians who said that even the previous South African government gave public undertakings that it had stopped supplying Unita with weapons.

The National Party called for an independent inquiry into the allegations, and for Armscor to react to the claims as soon as possible.

"The full truth must be told," the party said. The NP government had put a ban "some time ago" on supplying arms to Unita.

Doug Gibson, Democratic Party spokesman on defence, called for an urgent investigation into the alleged deal.

"If the government and Armscor will not adopt transparency and openness, the probe should be done by the parliamentary joint standing committee on defence."

In response to reports that the shipment from Armscor had been turned away from Yemen and Lebanon, Armscor insisted that the weapons had been purchased by the Lebanese government and said that "inaccurate" reporting by the South African media had embarrassed the Beirut authorities into rejecting the shipment.

But Lebanese diplomats in South Africa publicly denied the Armscor claim and, after inspecting documents allegedly authorising the deal by the Lebanese government, proclaimed them to be spurious.

ARL 30/9/94

(254)

Monday, October 3, 1994 ★

# Armcor tries to regain guns

JOHANNESBURG — Armcor made frantic attempts to re-assert legal ownership over one of its arms shipments this weekend

Red-faced officials are hoping to recover the consignment of thousands of automatic rifles and millions of rounds of ammunition tomorrow when it is due in Port Elizabeth, after reports that it had been bound for Unita in defiance of a UN embargo

Armcor chief executive Mr Tielman de Waal said at the weekend that if the 34 containers of AK-47 and G3 automatic rifles could be impounded he expected they would be destroyed

Armcor said it was looking at legal ways of regaining ownership of the weapons once they arrived back in South Africa

Legally, the weapons were the

## Modise angry over debacle

property of arms agent Mr Eli Wazan, who had paid fully with a Swiss bank draft before Armcor delivered the consignment FoB (free on board) in Port Elizabeth

Intelligence sources in Pretoria say that Yemen became the destination after a deal with Unita broke down at the last minute this summer when the movement was unable to pay because it lost control of Angola's diamond fields

The speculation is that elements within Armcor tried to do

CT 3/10/94  
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a deal with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in May without the authorisation or knowledge of the government

Armcor has said it had the ship returned after learning that a deal with Lebanon had been fraudulent

It was reported yesterday that a Defence Force source had said Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise was angry not only because he learnt of the deal from the press, but because he found Armcor's explanation difficult to believe

The report said the minister was also upset because South Africa was trying to establish a reputation as an efficient arms supplier "Heads are going to roll," the source said

Mr Modise has organised an independent investigation — Own Correspondent, Sapa

● Arms fiasco — Page 6

# Landing of arms cargo likely to be delayed

THE Arkis Pioneer, the cargo ship carrying Armcor's controversial R2.4-million arms consignment, is set to dock in Port Elizabeth today amid tight security.

The Danish-owned ship, which returned to South Africa after being refused entry to Yemen, spent last night anchored in Algoa Bay.

A Portnet spokesman said the ship could not dock yesterday because Armcor officials had not yet completed certain legal documentation.

Armcor spokesman Mr Bertus Celliers doubted the ship would dock today because not all legal procedures regarding the ownership of the cargo had been settled. Completing this paperwork could take "a few days".

Mr Celliers said the arms consignment of 10 000 AK-47 and G3 rifles was likely to remain on board while legal investigations continued. Armcor intended re-claiming and storing the arms, but he stressed that ulti-



**ARMS SHIP** The Arkis Pioneer at anchor in Algoa Bay. The ship, which is carrying Armcor's controversial arms cache, slipped in last night. She could not dock in Port Elizabeth because legal documentation pertaining to her cargo had not yet been completed. *Picture: EP HERALD*

mately the government would have to decide what to do with them.

Last night Mr Tony Yengeni, an ANC MP and chairperson of Parliament's Joint Committee on Defence, said the directors and management of Armcor should be suspended until the inquiry into the arms sale was completed.

All arms sales from South Africa should also be suspended until the investigation was com-

pleted, he said in an interview. He said his committee would hold an open inquiry into the whole affair. "The whole policy and structure of Armcor needs to be reviewed."

If the investigation proved Armcor and the defence force had breached the law, heads should roll, Mr Yengeni said.

The arms shipment, originally destined for Lebanon, secretly left Port Elizabeth in late August. After the deal was ex-

posed, the shipment was dis-

owned by the Lebanese govern-

ment. Last week, according to Armcor, Middle East arms dealer Mr Eli Wazan confessed to misleading the corporation by producing a falsified "end-user certificate" for Lebanon. — Own Correspondent, Political Staff, Sapa

● Armcor may have been set up — Page 2

We will review



# 'Armcor may (254) CT 4/10/94 have been set up'

JOHANNESBURG — Armcor may have been set up by foreign rivals trying to edge the company out of the world arms trade, a leading defence analyst said yesterday.

Ms Jakkie Cilliers, head of the independent Johannesburg-based Institute for Defence Policy, said embarrassing disclosures about a cargo of arms ostensibly sold to the Lebanese government, but destined for an unknown, possibly bogus buyer, could not have come at a worse time.

"It is no coincidence that disclosures about the 'Lebanese arms' come at the same time that President Nelson Mandela is in the United States and is due to ask President Bill Clinton to lift the American arms embargo against South Africa," said Ms Cilliers. "There appears to be some skulduggery afoot."

"A lot of our big friends would like to close down the South African defence industry. I wouldn't be surprised if Armcor wasn't set up by foreign companies or governments."

"The Americans didn't want our guys selling G-6s to Saudi Arabia," she said, referring to an abortive deal in 1992 to sell South African-made mobile artillery to the kingdom — Sapa-Reuter.

# MK troops at war with Modise

From PAGE 5  
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tomun, on the arrests and those arrested should be released.

The ex-guerrillas want those of their colleagues who are serving sentences in foreign prisons to be transferred to South Africa and then released.

Another problem is the role of the British Military Advice and Training Team in the integration process. MK soldiers say it is not as impartial as it is supposed to be, always ending up on the side of the SANDF when it comes to ranking decisions regarding former MK personnel.

Also at issue is the two-year reduction plan according to which some of the MK members have to undergo bridging courses before being integrated. Those wanting officers' commissions have two years to pass Standard 10.

MK spokesmen say a lot of their men had to leave the country early in their educational careers to join the guerrilla army and should not be held responsible for their lack of formal education. They also argue that the men have had sophisticated military training which would put them above those who have passed only Std 10.

However, the SANDF spokesman disagreed that Standard 10 was the issue. He said the problem lay with the bridging course in the use of SANDF equipment, and MK men were used to a different discipline to that of the SANDF. For example, MK used the 82mm mortars as artillery pieces whereas the SANDF uses the 81mm ones and only as a supporting weapon for an infantry battalion. The retraining should take between eight and 42 weeks.

The ex-MK men allege discrimination against women colleagues who trained in infantry. The SANDF as a rule does not allow women to train in infantry. Thus MK women soldiers have no natural home in the SANDF.

The former combatants also complain about the denial of maternity benefits to women soldiers, whereas those in the SANDF are entitled to fully paid leave.

# Rebelling MK guerrillas at war with Modise

**Embattled Defence Minister Joe Modise is facing attack on a new front from his former MK troops, reports Wiseman Khuzwayo**

**A**S Defence Minister Joe Modise grapples with old-guard, white generals, he faces a new challenge thousands of his own former Umkhonto weSizwe troops are rebelling against his leadership across the country.

The revolt by former guerrillas — which has now spread to seven provinces — has become a political crisis threatening the military integration into the South African National Defence Force (SANDF).

The guerrillas, who are refusing to

return from leave at the end of this week, face an ultimatum from the SANDF, report back for duty or you will be opting out of the new military.

Behind the revolt is the fear by former MK members that they are being absorbed into the SANDF instead of being integrated, and are not being granted equal ranking with their former enemies.

Spokesmen for the rebelling men said they were being treated as "foot soldiers", and as recruits instead of equal partners. In fact, former MK members and those of the PAC's Apla, are called non-statutory forces (NSF), as they await integration.

Hundreds of former MK members on five-day leave from the Walmaarsdal assembly point, outside Pretoria, have vowed not to return to their base

at the end of their leave this week until their demands have been met. They have been joined by former guerrillas from other regions, including Hoedspruit and De Brug, outside Bloemfontein.

Petitions have been delivered to ANC leaders in seven cities: Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Pietersburg and Nelspruit. The petitions listed grievances on the integration process, welfare, the two-year reduction process and discrimination against women in infantry units.

But Colonel Comme Van Rensburg, spokesman for the Walmaarsdal military base, dismissed the MK demands as purely of a political nature and therefore falling outside the military structures. "They don't realise the con-

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sequences of their actions if they don't return at the end of their leave. This might be construed as them exercising their democratic right to opt out of being members of the defence force," he warned.

Ministry of Defence spokesmen refused to make any comment on behalf of the minister and deputy-minister, who were unavailable.

But running even deeper than the revolt is the chasm between the former MK soldiers and the guerrilla army's leadership, especially Modise, who is former MK commander, and Siphuwe Nyanda, its former chief of staff and now SANDF chief of staff. The complaints are in reality a snipe at the MK hierarchy who are perceived as having failed their troops in the integration process.

The former guerrillas are also bypassing Modise and addressing their grievances and demands directly to President Nelson Mandela, their commander-in-chief.

The MK men say they were promised a financial package for social integration by ANC leaders when they were preparing for their return from exile. Western Cape spokesman for the disaffected MK members, Lieutenant Ndodmzi Mkabale, was unable to come up with a figure of what they were promised, but R10 000 is the amount being bandied about.

The ANC soldiers also claim that their members are still being arrested for previous political crimes and demand that there should be a mora-



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# MPs to conduct own Armscor inquiry

**ESTHER WAUGH, Political Staff**

PARLIAMENTARIANS have decided to conduct their own public inquiry into Armscor's secret deals, including the latest AK-47 fiasco

Tony Yengeni, chairman of the joint portfolio committee on defence, said National Defence Force chief Georg Meiring and Armscor head Tielman Moolman would be summoned to give evidence

They would also be quizzed on problems with the process of integrating former Umkhonto we Sizwe members and other liberation cadres into the SANDF

The inquiry is to take place as a matter of urgency on October 17, the

day parliament resumes.

Mr Yengeni said the committee — established in terms of the interim constitution and comprising the ANC, IFP and National Party — would make recommendations to parliament at the end of the month, or at the beginning of November.

Meanwhile, the government expects Justice Minister Dullah Omar to announce soon the terms of reference and the participants of a commission of inquiry into the aborted shipment of arms, worth R2,4 million, to Lebanon.

This was said last night by deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils, taking part in a television programme on the Armscor deal to supply Lebanon

with, among other things, 10 000 AK-47 assault rifles, 15 000 G3 rifles and a million rounds of ammunition.

Armscor has said it struck a deal with an arms agent who fraudently claimed to represent the Lebanese government. Lebanon said it had nothing to do with the deal.

The ship carrying the arms, the Danish freighter Arktis Pioneer, was diverted to Yemen, where authorities refused to unload the consignment.

The ship arrived in Port Elizabeth on Monday with its cargo after being ordered back to South Africa.

The Port Elizabeth sheriff yesterday seized the cargo in terms of a Supreme Court order.

# Ex-MK soldiers stage walkout

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

FORMER uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) soldiers discontented with their integration into the SA National Defence Force walked out of the army at Walmannstal in the Northern Cape yesterday.

They said they had "suspended" their participation in the SANDF because they had received inferior ranks and lower salaries.

However, the ANC called on them to return to their assembly bases and let their leaders deal with the teething problems of integration.

And ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu said President Nelson Mandela would visit the Walmannstal as-

## 'Threatened by former SADF men'

sembly area as soon as his schedule allowed.

The ANC's Mr Tony Yengeni, chairperson of Parliament's joint portfolio committee on defence, said the committee would visit Walmannstal on October 21 and draft a report to Parliament.

Between 6 000 and 7 000 former MK

members have now reportedly suspended their participation in the SANDF countrywide.

The Northern Cape dissidents said yesterday there was a lack of security in the camps and that they were frequently threatened by former members of the SADF.

Sapa reports that Mr Sisulu said the absence of the former MK cadres from bases was undermining integration.

Their grievances could not be dealt with at a party political level — only by the SANDF and the Defence Ministry.

Former ANC head of intelligence, MP Mr Joe Nhlanhla, said their grievances were legitimate and that former SADF members were slowing down integration.

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# MK men finding transition painful

(254)

ARL 8/10/94

JOHANNESBURG. — Former members of the African National Congress's Umkonthe weSiswe (MK) guerrillas, who spent nearly two decades in exile fighting apartheid, are finding the transition from rebel to the ranks in the new SA National Defence Force painful and thousands are in revolt over "broken promises".

"The former guerrillas are saying the ANC has just won a war, has just won an election, where are the spoils of victory?", said former SADF brigadier Bill Sass.

Brigadier Sass, an adviser on the integration of former guerrillas into a new defence force which includes white-led troops who served apartheid governments and members of former homeland armies, said the expectations of many were unrealistic.

"There were high expectations of high ranks and good pay. But, a man who quit school and left Soweto in 1976 to fight apartheid and now finds himself a private or a corporal in the unified defence force is obviously going to be unhappy."

ANC deputy-president Walter Sisulu said he had tried, but failed, to persuade 7 000 former MK guerrillas to return to training after a week's leave.

But, he said the ex-guerrillas, most due to go back to barracks next week, had said they intended to stay away until grievances over promotion, living conditions, food and allowances were met.

The Weekly Mail & Guardian quoted unidentified former guerrillas as saying grievances included

- Being promised money by the ANC on their return from exile,
- Still being arrested for past political crimes; and
- Being demoted to foot soldiers in the integrated army.

Few former guerrillas have so far

been commissioned, with the defence force saying the ages and educational standards of many would-be soldiers were a major problem.

The men and women were refusing to deal with Defence Minister Joe Modise, a former MK commander, and their former chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda, now a general in the unified force, and would negotiate only with President Nelson Mandela, who is in the United States on an official visit.

A defence ministry official said yesterday Mr Modise had received petitions from the disgruntled soldiers, which he was studying.

He said both Mr Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils visited the main integration centre at Walmansdal near Pretoria "to acquaint themselves with the situation on the ground".

Joe Nhlanhla, an ANC security chief, said the ANC's national executive committee would discuss the problems of the former MK members at a meeting on October 12-15.

"They are being marginalised or the process is being slowed. This is the basic problem and it is a problem of transition. Those who have been at the receiving end of apartheid feel the process is moving too slowly," said Mr Nhlanhla.

The ANC says about 13 000 out of a total ANC guerrilla force of 25 000 had signed up for integration — since the elections — into the SANDF which was expected to reduce manpower levels gradually.

Serving and former army officers said that while former guerrilla recruits to the unified force were getting a raw deal, there was little that could be done to those who had little or no secondary education and were in their late thirties or older.

Placement boards assessing guerrillas included South African officers who served in the old defence force, former senior guerrillas from the unified force and members of the British military team helping the integration process. — Reuter

# Army chiefs head for a showdown with rebels

S/ Times 9/10/94

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By PETER De IONNO

**SA ARMY chiefs have given thousands of former MK and Apla members two weeks to accept military discipline or face the full weight of military law and punishment.**

Humiliated by unruly protests and defiance of orders, the generals are on the brink of telling the rebels to "shape up or ship out".

"This must stop. A line will be drawn under this behaviour within two weeks," said deputy chief of the army Major-General "Bertie" Botha.

"We have no option but to start acting against people who blatantly ignore and disobey rules and regulations."

The showdown, delayed so that ANC leaders and MK officers can persuade or order the dissidents to conform to military rules, will determine the fate of the troubled attempt to integrate 21 000 ex-MK and 6 000 ex-Apla members into the SANDF.

On Thursday, when ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu appealed to them to return to their bases and let their leaders deal with their grievances, he promised that President Nelson Mandela would visit Walmannstal soon.

The candidate soldiers complain that the ANC misled them about the terms of integration, promised pensions that have not been delivered, the pay is too low, the food is of poor quality and makes them ill, and SANDF officers "treat them like the enemy" and are racist.

The first awkward steps towards integration, costing R1.7-billion this year and similar amounts for the next two years, have exposed inadequacies in SANDF management, incompetence among some of the MK officer group and a mutinous refusal to accept orders and discipline by the ex-guerrillas.

As their defiance has grown they have marched to lobby political leaders in Pretoria, Johannesburg,

## Army showdown

S/ Times 9/10/94

□ From Page 1

processing the guerrillas had been quadrupled at Walmannstal, which will now handle all MK cadres.

This weekend more than 5 000 of the 7 000 ex-MK cadres undergoing assessment and integration at Walmannstal, north of Pretoria, were absent without leave, with most refusing to return until their grievances are resolved.

On Thursday disgruntled ex-MK soldiers trudged homewards along the dusty road from Walmannstal. "Only our President has the strength to make it right for us," said "Zambezi", leaving hours after returning from five days leave.

The SANDF has now taken effective control of all the assembly areas, reversing a policy that the former guerrillas were under control of their own officers while they were being processed.

SANDF sources claim

that a 41-day training programme requested and administered by MK to familiarise ex-guerrillas with the demands of a conventional army "amounted to nothing". The programme has been dropped.

The SANDF confirmed that permanent force soldiers had used teargas and smoke grenades to disperse ex-guerrillas on September 18, after several hundred had stormed the kitchens in a protest about the quality of the food.

The MK cadres claim that repeated complaints that the food was giving them diarrhoea had been ignored. "We sleep on the toilet," said one.

Many of the former guerrillas do not want places in the integrated army but are waiting for pensions for their service in MK that they say they were promised by the ANC to lure them to the assembly areas.

Bloemfontein, Pietersburg and Nelspruit.

About 900 Apla members who protested to Free State Premier Patrick Lekota about their R10-a-day allowances have had their pay increased to match the R28,50 paid to ex-MKs.

General Botha admitted that the impression of weakness by the SANDF in allowing the public displays by soldiers to snowball had been "a cause for concern".

While the vast majority idly wait for an offer of a defence force place, a little more than 400 people have accepted offers, mostly for officer training.

A dozen senior members of MK and Apla have been appointed by the cabinet to the rank of brigadier and above, and an estimated 100 have taken appointments in the Ministry of Defence and jobs as political advisers and spokesmen.

About 270 who have indicated that they want to join the Service Brigade announced by Defence Minister Joe Modise to provide skills training and enable otherwise uneducated trainees to find civilian jobs and careers face an even longer wait.

Unless funding is found from outside the government, the brigade is unlikely to materialise for at least six months, as no funding has been budgeted for this year.

One source said manpower and equipment for

□ To Page 2

# ANC denies MK mutiny is a power struggle

By **DESMOND BLOW**  
and **LEN KALANE**

DEPUTY Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils and Natal ANC leader Harry Gwala, have both denied there is a black-white power struggle to control the South African National Defence Force

They said the mutiny by between 6.000 and 7.000 MK and Apla recruits who have abandoned their assembly points was over grievances, many of them valid

Petitions were presented by the mutineers at several points on Friday demanding more transparency, and that former MK chief Joe Modise resign as Defence Minister.

## (254) Resignation

They also demanded the resignation of SANDF Chief-of-Staff Lt-Gen Sphiwe Nyanda

And those in Natal also demanded that former Transkei strongman Bantu Holomisa head the integration process.

In another development, MK officers are re-assembling informally this weekend behind closed doors to reassess future plans in the wake of the crisis. It is the first high-powered assembly of MK since it was dissolved after the inauguration of President Mandela in May

There is a growing belief among MK members that former SADF white bosses are in control of

the SANDF, that they and are forestalling integration and are trying to frustrate ambitious former guerillas, and that Modise and former MK commanders are paying lip service to them. Kasrils denied this.

On Friday MK cadres in the Eastern Cape demanded the immediate resignations of Modise and Nyanda

The group presented a list of 16 demands to Eastern Cape Premier Raymond Mhlaba, saying these must be forwarded to Mandela as soon as possible

Gwala said that while he was away on Friday MK/Apla dissidents had presented a petition to his office making a number of demands, including that Modise and Nyanda resign. "They felt that their leaders had let them down because the process of integration has been so slow and the conditions are not what they were promised," he said.

A spokesman for Modise later issued a statement saying he did not intend resigning

## Appeal

Kasrils made an appeal through City Press to the mutineers to be disciplined and to return to their assembly areas immediately. "The Minister and I have paid a lot of attention to problems and the matter is being tackled at the top by people who include the recently appointed MK generals and brigadiers"

Kasrils said he expected Mandela to address the dissident recruits, "but he cannot do so if they are not there. They must all go back to their assembly points and we will work out the problems and speed up the process"

Kasrils said there were legitimate complaints and agreed there had been a lack of transparency.

"There have been hiccups and the proceedings have gone slowly and because of this recruits have earned only R.730 a month, but integrating guerillas into a formal army is a complex and elaborate process."

# Meeting on 'mutiny', 'Speed up MK integration'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A crisis meeting will be held at Walmansdal, north of Pretoria, today to discuss the alleged mutiny by former UMKhonto weSizwe members, which is frustrating attempts to hammer them into shape for integration into the SANDF.

Weekend reports said the army had given thousands of ex-MK and Apla members two weeks to accept military discipline or face military law. Some 5 000 soldiers are thought to be absent without leave while others are refus-

(254)

CT 11/10/94

Own Correspondent

ing to obey orders. SA Army spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Brian du Toit said yesterday he was not sure who would attend the meeting.

He confirmed reports of "a lack of discipline" among ex-MK members.

According to reports, former MK guerrillas complained the ANC had misled them about the terms of integration. They also complain about promised pensions that have not been paid out, low pay, poor diet and ill-treatment by SANDF officers.

CT 11/10/94

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The SANDF needed to step up the reintegration and support of demobilised former guerrilla combatants to prevent them from resorting to banditry and illegal arms trade, Centre for Conflict Resolution representative Mr Laurie Nathan said yesterday.

Addressing an SA Council of Churches conference on Regional Security, Reconstruction and Development in Southern Africa

at Kempton Park, Mr Nathan said the "buy back" arms limitation programme would not solve the problem of illegal arms trade in South Africa.

Former UMKhonto weSizwe (MK) and Apla soldiers felt betrayed because the government had promised to take care of them and had done little, and a return to crime because of the inept integration of armed forces, was possible in South Africa as well.

The reconstruction programme

should be extended to embrace the whole Southern African region. It could involve telling these states that South Africa would remove landmines, in these countries "free of charge", Mr Nathan said.

Saying there was a "schizophrenic" attitude towards South Africa, born of a fear that it would overwhelm neighbouring countries, Mr Nathan said the country needed to define its leadership role as based on partnership rather than domination.

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SU EXCEL AND A IN E Short Mail

## Plan for crackdown on deserters

THE South African National Defence Force (SANDF) is preparing a disciplinary crackdown on uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) deserters at military bases around the country.

And President Nelson Mandela is prepared to meet dissatisfied MK and Apla cadres in an attempt to solve problems of integration in the SANDF, chairman of a joint parliamentary portfolio committee on defence, Mr Tony Yengeni, said last night.

Mr Yengeni said Mr Mandela was attempting

to visit various camps but that his efforts were being stymied by the shortage of soldiers at the bases.

"We have to get the soldiers back to the camps so the President can meet them and address their problems," Mr Yengeni added.

The crackdown announcement was made yesterday by deputy chief of the army Lieutenant-General Berie Botha at a press conference at Wallmannstal.

The new measures are in response to mass desertions by MK and Apla forces from assembly

points at Wallmannstal near Pretoria, De Brug near Bloemfontein and Hoedspruit in the Northern Transvaal.

Gen Botha said more than 80% of the soldiers were absent without leave.

Gen Botha said the soldiers usually extended their leave without permission and some arrived at the base only once a month to collect their pay.

"In the spirit of reconciliation and in light of the uncertain circumstances surrounding the integration, no drastic action was previously

taken against those who disobeyed the military disciplinary code," he said, but added that this would no longer be tolerated.

Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrills said yesterday the current protest action and lack of discipline could not be tolerated in the defence force.

Addressing the future of the defence industry, Mr Kasrills said it should be a national asset for the country and should be kept "active and alive".

(254) 1210194



RONNIE KASRILLS

## Kasrils warns against further defence cuts

STEPHANE BOTHMA

MIDRAND — Any further reduction in the defence budget would aggravate existing strategic gaps and would increase the SANDF's inability to carry out even secondary tasks, Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils warned yesterday.

"The strategic gaps emanating from the defence force's inability to maintain a core force are estimated as a shortfall for the army of R2,5bn, the air force R235m, the navy R156m and the medical service R36m," Kasrils told a defence industry conference.

The primary function of the SANDF was the protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of SA. Secondary functions included support to state departments for socioeconomic upliftment.

Since 1990, 8 685 uniformed and civilian personnel members had been retrenched by the defence force. Cuts in the capital budget resulted in the loss of an estimated 90 000 jobs in the local defence industry, while equipment spending by the SANDF had declined more than 60% since 1989. *21/04/239*

Local defence industry production had declined to an annual figure of R3,5bn last year — 4,4% of all manufacturing output and 1,1% of GDP. *21/04/239*

But, he added, SA's defence industry was one of the country's largest exporters of manufactured goods and SA currently exported defence equipment to more than 50 countries. *(254)*

SA's share of the world market was about 0,4%.

Kasrils said "SA owes it to the world to become a pacemaker with regard to responsible arms control policies," and that SA policy was being streamlined.



# Overload 'could lead to disintegration of military'

THE SA National Defence Force faced a great danger of being "overloaded" which could lead to the disintegration of the military within a matter of years, Institute for Defence Policy executive director Jakkie Cilliers warned yesterday.

Cilliers told a defence industry conference at Midrand that the heavy load being placed on the SANDF combined with continued budget cuts could set the scene for "presently unimaginable developments".

This could lead to the rapid unionisation of the defence force, a massive decline in operational standards, breakdown in discipline and the disintegration of the military, he said.

The demands on the military including the challenge of the amalgamation of the statutory and non-statutory forces, the downsizing that would follow and regional co-operation would soak up attention and energy that would have a dramatic effect on the combat efficiency, discipline and morale of the military.

## STEPHANE BOTHMA

"There can be little doubt that standards have already dropped, and will continue to do so — possibly quite dramatically.

"Senior non-commissioned officers and middle-ranking former SA Defence Force officers — the backbone of the conventional forces, are and will leave the force once the economy improves," Cilliers said.

About the problems SA was facing with illegal aliens crossing the country's borders, Cilliers said the SANDF should be the prime agency tasked with border security and should be provided with due legislative powers, funds and equipment to execute the task.

He said the SA Police Service estimated that illegal aliens in SA currently numbered anything between 500 000 to 2-million.

In the PWV alone, there were an estimated 1-million illegals. Illegals now made up 5% to 8% of the country's population — a number growing

at a rate of one every 10 minutes.

"This year it will cost more than R210m just to house, educate, police and provide medical care to the illegal Mozambicans in SA — a figure set to rise to R500m by the year 2000," he said.

Closely related to the issue of illegal immigrants and refugees, Cilliers added, was that of cross-border drug trafficking. More than 200 internationally linked drug syndicates obtained huge amounts of cocaine and heroin across SA borders. Studies had also shown that 40% of murders in SA were drug-related.

Cilliers said one solution to the dilemma faced by SA would be to combine the responsibility for border security and public order policing in a single organisation, nominally part of the military.

"Practically, this means that the internal stability division of the SAPS ceases to exist. Instead, a separate service arm of the SANDF is created which contains the territorial forces of the SA army," he said.

# 6 000 MK soldiers AWOL

PRETORIA — As thousands of Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla soldiers remained AWOL from SA National Defence Force training camps yesterday, the SANDF said delays in integrating the non-statutory forces had played havoc with the budget.

Personnel chief of staff Vice-Adm Pieter Loedolff said a longer reintegration period would have to be negotiated.

An extra R3,2bn has been budgeted in addition to the Defence budget for the rationalisation and integration of the defence force up to 1998, when the process was due to be completed.

Loedolff told a defence industry conference in Midrand that only limited success had been achieved in the past five months and the real problems had probably not yet become visible.

He said the speed of integration was retarded by limited infrastructure and the arrival of members in assembly areas whose names did not appear on certified personnel registers.

The SANDF has warned that it plans to get tough with the thousands of MK and

STEPHANE BOTHMA

Apla troops who had failed to return to the Wahlmanstal, Hoedspruit and De Brug camps after being granted seven days' leave last week.

SA Army deputy chief Maj-Gen Bertie Botha, who is in charge of the integration process, said lack of discipline in camps had come to a point where it could "no longer be accepted".

Yesterday morning, more than 6 000 MK members and 600 Apla members were still absent without leave. At Hoedspruit, only 16 members were at the camp.

Botha said a list of rules had been posted at the camps.

"In the spirit of reconciliation and in light of the uncertain circumstances surrounding the integration, no drastic action was previously taken against those who disobeyed the military disciplinary code."

But this would no longer be tolerated. Steps against members could include fines or even discharge for repeat offenders. No

To Page 2

## AWOL

disciplinary action would be taken against members currently AWOL, as long as they reported for duty soon.

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said the successful integration of the non-statutory forces into the SANDF was a prerequisite for the future of the country's defence industry.

Although there were problems with the process, government was determined to make integration succeed. SA's multi-million-rand defence industry depended on a modern, balanced and technologically advanced defence force fully representa-

tive of the people.

Referring to the current protest action, he said lack of discipline could not be tolerated, and appealed to the soldiers to return to their bases where President Nelson Mandela would soon address their grievances. The problems — which were mainly pay and rank-related — would also be discussed at an ANC executive committee meeting this week.

The former MK fighters are getting paid R730 a month, of which R120 is being deducted for food during their training.

See Page 4

From Page 1

# MK crisis: Mandela intervenes

◀ From Page 1

A portfolio committee on defence Tony Yengeni called on the Ministry of Defence to "put a stop to the wild statements (made by SANDF spokesmen) and the assault on the integrity of former MK cadres"

Yengeni said statements that described the former guerillas as ill-disciplined did not recognise the fact that real problems existed.

In Midrand yesterday, Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said the integration process was going far too slowly

However, he also stressed that

the former guerillas needed to be more disciplined.

"We need discipline in the defence force and in the integration process, and that needs to be stressed. We are calling on those who left to come back to Wallmannstal where we can address them," Kasrils told a defence industry conference

MK sources in the Western Cape said yesterday that some of its members had been returning to the Wallmannstal assembly point

Reuter reports that the SANDF has started planning for the possible integration of 6 000 members of the Inkatha Free-

Star 12/10/94  
dom Party into the regular armed forces," Vice-Admiral Pieter Van Zyl Loedolff said.

■ Police investigations into allegations that dissatisfied ex-combatants are conducting military training in the Eastern Transvaal are at an advanced stage, regional commander of the Central Intelligence Service, Brigadier Dan Siebert, disclosed yesterday

## Failure

Siebert said there had been no arrests so far

It was reported last week that a police report handed to the

Government alleged that dissatisfied former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army had formed an opposition political party called MKAPLA.

The report said this followed the failure by the people involved to get into the SA National Defence Force

The report claimed the group was conducting military training in Badplaas in the former KaNgwane homeland

It is said that 10 people had already received military training and others were being trained outside the country. — Own Correspondent

President meets Meiring, Modise in bid to resolve integration problems

# MK crisis: Mandela

Star 12/10/94

## Steps in

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

President Mandela personally intervened in the crisis surrounding the South African National Defence Force's integration process by meeting Defence Minister Joe Modise and SANDF chief General Georg Meiring yesterday.

And in the afternoon the president held talks with former Umkhonto we Sizwe members at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters.

An estimated 7 000 former MK and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) guerillas are refusing to return to assembly points until their grievances have been addressed.

Chief among their concerns is the perception that they are being absorbed into the SANDF instead of all armed forces — including the former South African Defence Force — being integrated on an equal basis.

Other concerns include poor conditions at the assembly points and slowness in being placed in the SANDF.

Former MK members insist Mandela should personally deal with their grievances, but senior SANDF sources yesterday said it was highly unlikely the president would visit the assembly areas until the soldiers had returned to base.

Thousands of former guerillas have ignored calls by Modise and other ANC leaders to return to the assembly points.

However, deputy army chief Major-General Bertie Botha yesterday denied the integration process was in chaos.

Addressing a press briefing at Wallmannstal outside Pretoria, Botha said integration would resume as soon as the absent 6 200 of the 7 500 for-

**MORE THAN 6 000 former guerillas continue to refuse to return to assembly points**

mer guerillas had returned "If they return, I believe it is all systems go." (254)

He told the briefing that only 16 out of 743 former MK combatants had reported for duty at Hoedspruit in the Eastern Transvaal by yesterday morning. At De Brug, outside Bloemfontein, 600 of 1 202 former Apla cadres were absent.

The commanding officer at Wallmannstal, Colonel Johan Kritzinger, revealed that the former cadres were due to be placed in their military units by the middle of next month.

Botha said disciplinary action would be taken against those who refused to adhere to the military code of conduct, but disclosed that no decision had yet been taken to discipline those who were absent.

"In the spirit of reconciliation and in the fairly uncertain circumstances of the Wallmannstal intake, it was felt unfair to take drastic action in terms of military conduct.

"Unfortunately there are members who are not willing to adhere to the basic principles of military discipline. It has come to the point where we cannot accept this any longer," Botha said.

He said a complaints centre and a directorate of integration had been formed, and disclosed that only 16 workdays had been logged at Wallmannstal for August and September.

Meanwhile, ANC MP and chairman of Parliament's joint

► To Page 3

# 'Integrate forces or risk civil war'

From LINDA ENSOR

254

LONDON — South Africa faced a serious threat of civil war if it did not manage to integrate its armed forces, International Institute for Strategic Studies director Dr John Chipman warned yesterday

"The effective unification of the armed forces of a state with those against whom they were fighting as part of a conclusion of a civil war is one of the most important things to ensure that that conclusion is permanent," Dr Chipman said

Dr Chipman lamented the breakdown of the integration process in SA at a press conference to launch the institute's survey of the military strength and defence expenditure of over 165 countries

"There is a very, very great challenge before the South African defence forces as to how to integrate the various armed forces," he said

(254)

# Arm Scor deals: Probe set up

CT 14/10/94

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

A THREE-PERSON commission was appointed yesterday to investigate the controversial Arm Scor sale of AK-47 rifles.

The scheduled parliamentary committee questioning of defence force and Arm Scor heads on the deal was cancelled. Mr Dullah Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar said the commission would be headed by Mr Acting Justice

Edwin Cameron. Other members would be a Johannesburg advocate, Mr I V Mankala, and UCT Centre for Conflict Resolution director Mr Laurie Nathan.

The commission will investigate all aspects of transactions between Arm Scor and Lebanese arms dealer Mr Eli Wazan.

The commission follows the sale of 8 596 AK-7 rifles, 16 665 G3 (R2) assault rifles and ammunition

through Mr Wazan, ostensibly to the Lebanese government.

Mr Omar said he was asked by Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise to appoint a commission of inquiry into these transactions and other related matters.

Earlier yesterday, the chairperson of the Joint Portfolio Committee on Defence, Mr Tony Yengeni, said President Nelson Mandela had asked him to consider cancelling the appearance of SA

National Defence Force head General Georg Meiring and Arm Scor chairman Mr I J Moolman before the committee on Tuesday.

Mr Omar said the commission would probe other Arm Scor transactions from January 1, 1991, to date, and try to pinpoint the buyers.

It would try to determine whether the transactions had violated any law or any international embargo.

DEFENCE FORCE

Fm 14/10/94

# Troubles in battalions

The mutiny of former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) guerrillas over their conditions of integration into the National Defence Force has set alarm bells ringing in the Government of National Unity. And well it should. For the trouble at Wallmannstal integration base near Pretoria is early warning of far greater problems in the military — problems that, if left to fester, could undermine SA's transition to democracy.

It also exposed subtle cracks in the cordial relations between the old SADF structure and the new Defence Ministry, headed by former MK chiefs Joe Modise and deputy Ronnie Kasrils. While Modise and Kasrils supported the generals' command to the absent troops to return to base, they stopped short of the Defence Force's "get back or get out" ultimatum. Their caution goes beyond party politics, though they must have blanched at the thought of cracking down on old comrades-in-arms.

"You can't fire 80% of recruits," says Ministry spokeswoman Major Muff Anderson. "That would just turn them into bitter, disillusioned bandits — and trained bandits, at that. It would be a nightmare."

Modise has ordered acceleration of the integration process and immediate attention to the soldiers' grievances over pay, food, equipment shortages and alleged racial discrimination. He has also decided, the *FM* learns, to appoint military consultant and former End Conscription Campaign head Laurie Nathan to advise on SANDF policy issues and the Defence White Paper which is expected by the end of the year.

Modise and Defence Chief Gen Georg Meiring met President Mandela on Tuesday to discuss the matter. The President was expected to announce that he will visit Wallmannstal soon to address the troops once they have returned to base.

One question still to be answered is how the former MK commanders who have already been absorbed into high positions in the SANDF view the situation. Disgruntled MK cadres in the Eastern Cape recently demanded the resignation of Modise and Defence Force Chief of Staff, Lt-Gen Siphwe Nyanda, whom they regard as having failed them.

Nyanda is officially head of the Defence Force's integration committee, but has hard-

ly been seen or heard from as he seems to be tied up in intensive training for his new job.

The Defence Ministry is "extremely worried" about the situation, says Anderson.

The slowness of the transition process, she says, has delayed the settling in process for new commanders as they try to adapt to new posts in an unfamiliar environment.

She outlines four main reasons for the breakdown in the integration process:

- Poor communication between the former guerrillas and their SANDF commanders,
- Political difficulties in evolving a military doctrine acceptable to all sides;
- Structural problems in assimilating a largely informal guerrilla force with a conventional army, and
- Inadequate equipment, wages, food and other material needs of the soldiers.

"We need urgent surgery at Wallmannstal — an instant fix-up," says Anderson. "We didn't have bad discipline like this in MK when we were fighting from exile."

Defence Force spokesmen, however, see the problem essentially as one of communication between troops and officers. The solution, they say, lies in better discipline.

Defence analyst Jakkie Cilliers agrees that the situation will improve once integration is speeded up and the recruits can be deployed in training camps across the country.

But that will not solve the more explosive problem of rationalisation, he says, when the SANDF begins retrenching some



40 000 troops to reduce its bloated manpower budget over the next few years.

Cilliers accepts that the decision to integrate armies and then demobilise — raising force numbers to 130 000 and then dropping them to around 90 000 — was an

unavoidable political compromise made in the heat of the negotiations process. But it will turn out to be far more costly than the State can afford, he says.

The idea is to send redundant troops to a Service Brigade, to teach them basic skills such as bricklaying and carpentry, before discharging them. But so far there has been no budgetary provision for the brigade and apparently there are no plans for its establishment next year.

Meanwhile, retrenchment numbers threaten to far exceed any allocation that might be made to the brigade. The result, says Cilliers, could be a core of embittered former combatants "with great potential for destabilisation."

Equally serious, he says, could be the threat of unionisation in the military — not so much from former guerrillas, but from old guard SADF elements who see their positions being eroded by affirmative action and budgetary cutbacks. Already some perks, such as duty buses and medical benefits, have been cut.

Meanwhile, many of the Defence Force's best NCOs and middle ranks are leaving the force out of disillusionment, raising the prospect of a massive decline in operational standards. ■

## NEWSPAPERS

### Leaner and hungrier

*Argus Newspapers* is planning to restructure Cape Town's two English language daily newspapers, *The Argus* and the *Cape Times*, in a move that could result in job losses.

The company bought the *Cape Times* from Times Media Ltd earlier this year as part of a deal which saw Irish media baron Tony O'Reilly take control of *Argus Newspapers* from JCI.

It is understood that the company wants to eventually reposition the *Cape Times* as an upmarket morning newspaper. The process is believed to include cutting editorial costs by up to 40%.

However, *Argus Newspapers* CE John Featherstone denies speculation that proposed changes could mean scrapping 15-20 of about 60 editorial posts on the newspaper. He also rejects the view that the repositioning is a cynical move to kill the newspaper. "We are growing the market for the *Cape Times* in which we have considerable confidence, having paid good money for it. To suggest that it is a cynical move to kill it is ridiculous."

But some *Cape Times* staffers believe it

# Partial victory for MK troops

(254) Wm 14-20/10/94

Wiseman Khuzwayo

**F**ORMER Umkhonto weSizwe fighters gained a partial victory this week in their showdown with the SANDF when the government made the political intervention the former guerrillas had been demanding.

During the past two days, the ANC soldiers have been streaming back steadily to their military base in Walmaanstal, north of Pretoria. This followed calls by the ANC leadership that its troops should first return to their assembly areas before their problems can be sorted out.

The return also coincided with an announcement that President Nelson Mandela will visit those former MK members in Walmaanstal on October 20.

The main problem facing the army now with the return of the rebels is whether it can enforce discipline on the former MK cadres. Major General Bertie Botha, deputy chief of army, told a media briefing that disciplinary action would in future be taken against those who refuse to adhere to the military code of conduct.

"In the spirit of reconciliation and the fairly uncertain circumstances of the Walmaanstal untake, it was felt unfair to take drastic action in terms of military conduct. Unfortunately, there are members who are not willing to adhere to the basic principles of discipline. It has come to the point where we cannot accept this anymore."

But many former MK members strongly believe that they are not bound by the SANDF military code of conduct as they are not yet part of its establishment.

Spokesman for the Western Cape rebels, Lieutenant Ndodomzi Mkabile, said it was only the ANC leadership that had authority over the former cadres, under MK's own code of conduct. "They (SANDF) don't have the right to discipline us because we don't fall under their command. We have never seen their military code of conduct and we therefore cannot be punished under something we don't know."

Many highly-placed sources within MK have said getting the former guerrillas to obey instructions from the SANDF is going to be made even more difficult by the nature of MK — by virtue of its being a former guerrilla army, it is highly political and revolutionary, along the traditions of the Eastern Europe armies under whom it was tutored.

Taken out of MK structures by the Joint Military Co-ordinating Committee (JMCC) is the political commissar, who was the "mother and father" of each MK unit. His role was to give political direction, seeing to the welfare of his troops and being an ear to their grievances.

These sources doubted if the complaints in the assembly points could have ended up with a rebellion if political commissars had been in place. They would have dealt with the situation at its budding stage, they said.

In another development, MK commissioned officers who were part of the disbanded National Peace Keeping Force (NPKF) have said they were stripped of their ranks at disbandment in June and have not been paid since. Only nine of their comrades have been appointed to the SANDF and the rest are still in De Brug, outside Bloemfontein.

These said they have been asked to write a psychometric test before their placement is considered, which they

are refusing to sit. They argue that their letters of appointment require only Standard 8 as the minimum and not the test. They are also rejecting Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at the base.

At least 23 MK troopers and riflemen who were at the SANDF 2 Special Services Battalion base in Zeerust, Eastern Transvaal, have walked out of their camp, also on the same Afrikaans issue.

Their spokesman questioned the fact that the former SADF instructors issued instructions in Afrikaans only, although before joining the new army, a member is required to be able to speak and write English.

"Most of our cadres do not understand Afrikaans. Our instructors don't know English," he said.

**A** group of about 100 disgruntled former MK soldiers on Wednesday said they were afraid to return to military bases they deserted.

The 100, who said they represented some 500 former MK cadres in the Eastern Cape, handed in a petition to MK regional commander Dan Hatte in Port Elizabeth in which they sought Mandela to guarantee their "security" at these bases.

They said they felt threatened by the former members of the SADF who still controlled the security in these areas. They also reported that they had been teargassed by SANDF troops in September in a packed mess hall in Walmaanstal. This was confirmed by the SANDF who said the incident took place after some former MK members "caused some problems."

The protesting former guerrillas also called for the resignation of Defence Minister Joe Modise, saying their action amounted to a "vote of no confidence" in him.



## Arm Scor probe gazetted

PRETORIA. — Arms deals dating to February 1990 are to be investigated in the judicial inquiry into the botched arms transaction between Arm Scor and an agent pretending to represent the Lebanese government. (254) ARG 15/10/94

This emerges from the terms of reference of the commission of inquiry into alleged arms transactions between Arm Scor and Eli Wazan, the agent, and other related matters, published in the Government Gazette yesterday.

Deals since February 2 1990 must be investigated "with a view to the identification of any possible similarities between such other deals" and the transaction between Arm Scor and Mr Wazan, the notice says — Sapa.

Parliamentary committee forces the military leaders to act in the open

# Fall in, get in step, top brass commanded

254 Analysis/94

**CLIVE SAWYER**

*Political Correspondent*

TOP brass in the South African military establishment have been given a clear message by the parliamentary defence committee. Get in step with the new South Africa.

At a briefing on the defence budget yesterday

■ A brigadier tried to bar the Press from publishing details of an intelligence briefing — even though it was given to an open hearing of the committee

■ Another brigadier had to apologise for saying a question by an MP about previous spending on covert intelligence operations should be "ignored"

■ Committee chairman Tony Yengen told the team of senior officers to ensure they were able to produce answers when MPs asked questions — an order which followed officers declining to answer questions at the budget briefing, because they did not have figures at their disposal

The briefing on 11 October

■ Parliament is forcing Defence Force top brass to act in the open after years of operating out of the public gaze.

Rules of parliament allow full public and Press access to standing committee meetings.

In his briefing Brigadier Van Niekerk said there would be increasing pressure on South Africa to take part in peacekeeping in Africa and elsewhere.

There was an increasing tendency for the United States, United Nations and Organisation of African Unity to get involved in conflict resolution

Illegal aliens and potential instability in other countries in the region were threats

Later, after his briefing had ended, he said it had been secret

Although nothing of the briefing could not have been gleaned from a cursory glance at any weekly news magazine, Brigadier Van Niekerk refused to give copies of his address to journalists



today

A squad of brigadiers and generals faced the multiparty committee of members of the assembly and senate, some of them former Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas

It is this committee which will this month tour Army, Navy, Air Force and Medical Services bases where attempts are being made to integrate former liberation army members into the new defence force

In carefully prepared briefings, the officers made all the right noises, eager to assure their political masters they were loyal servants of the new order

Defence force strategic management director Jack Grundling said he hoped committee members would take a far more active role "than we have experienced in the past"

Democratic Party defence spokesman Doug Gibson asked about accountability — and whether there would be limits to what MPs would be allowed to know about military matters

Brigadier Grundling said he was "not sure" and any limits would be decided by the cabinet

To this, Mr Yengeni said the committee wanted to ensure the government was kept informed and not misled about defence activities — as had happened with the alleged Armscor weapons deal with Lebanon

Not long afterwards followed an attempt to keep part of the briefing within the walls of parliament

Melt van Niekerk, defence force director of interpretation of intelligence, opened his briefing by saying it was "classified"

Mr Yengeni, to whom journalists appealed for help, confirmed the meeting was open but said the role of the committee and parliament would have to be debated in future

Later, replying to a question by Mr Yengeni about whether anything was to be done to improve the controversial image of military intelligence, Brigadier Van Niekerk said programmes were to be launched to make MI "more transparent"

When defence force Brigadier Marius Oelshing was asked by an MP what savings had been made by closing down covert operations, he said the question should be "ignored" because he did not have the information at his disposal

Apologising later after Mr Yengeni asked for MPs to be treated correctly, Brigadier Oelshing said he had meant no disrespect and had offered to find out the answer

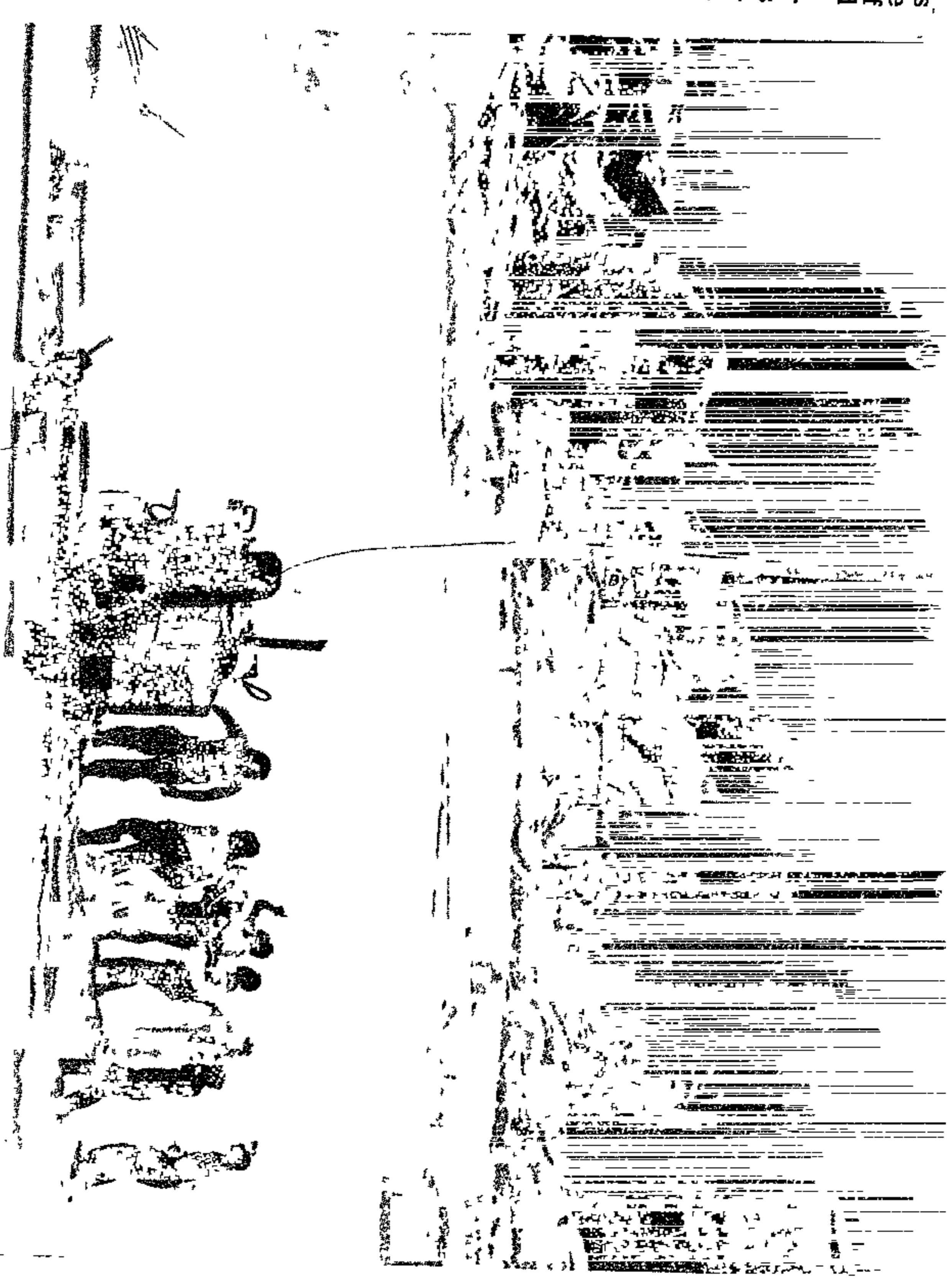
During another briefing, Willem Kempen was questioned about the chief of staff posting given to former top MK officer Siphiwe Nyanda

MPs asked whether this was "tokenism" because it seemed effective control of key defence operations stayed in the hands of old-guard defence chief Georg Merring

Brigadiers Kempen and Grundling replied the post had pre-existed April 27, having been occupied by Pierre Steyn, now defence secretary

The reporting lines to General Merring were provided for by exchange laws separate from the Defence Act

Observers noted that a huge revamp of ancillary laws would have to be considered as part of the mammoth task of creating a new defence force



Picture DOUG PITHEY, Weekend Argus  
□ **AIRLIFTED:** A helicopter lowers a tracked front-end loader on to Clifton beach yesterday for the ongoing clean-up of the oil-polluted sand. The machine will be used, over the next six weeks, to remove clean sand and then extract and dispose of the oil — all part of the Atlantic seaboard clean-up operation which is expected to cost nearly R20 million

# 'No army home' for mutineers

254

ARG 15/10/94

## MK 'deserters' holding SA to ransom

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE harsh truth behind the "mutiny" of former guerrillas in SA National Defence Force camps is that many have become superfluous and have few long-term prospects in the SANDF.

This is the view of military experts in the light of on-going indiscipline among thousands of former members of the African National Congress' armed wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe (MK) who regularly go AWOL — except on payday — in a replay of the debacle that hit the National Peacekeeping Force earlier this year

This week, President Nelson Mandela warned mutinous troops the government would enforce discipline if they continued to defy authorities

Analysts attribute this to anger and frustration among lower-echelon MK members who had been led by the ANC to believe they would receive high SANDF ranks

They believed they would be merged as equal partners with the former SA Defence Force. But, lack of education and qualifications has left them languishing at the bottom of the pile

Instead, they now see their former MK superiors sitting pretty in top government and SANDF positions — such as SANDF chief-of-staff Siphwe Nyanda, Minister of Defence Joe Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils. Some of the MK cream also have been snapped up by the private sector in affirmative action appointments

■ MK "deserters" face an uncertain future in the SANDF as many are over-age and under-educated. But, they hold the country to ransom as they could turn to armed crime if they are not accommodated

But, warnings have now been issued that frustrated former MK members who have access to arms, could turn to banditry, crime — and even rebellion

Laurie Nathan, head of the Centre for Conflict Resolution, this week cautioned that former guerrillas who felt "betrayed", could resort to banditry and the illegal arms trade unless they were reintegrated

John Chipman, director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, warned of civil war unless South Africa effectively integrated the guerrilla armies

Senior researcher of the Institute for Defence Policy Bill Sass said many former MK guerrillas were not really needed in the new SANDF as they had received little education and were no longer young

He said that, ideally, the SANDF wanted to recruit from young matriculants who would leave school at the end of the year and who would be prepared to make a long-term career choice and fit into the SANDF. They could be selected on the basis of criteria such as age and health

"The SANDF would have preferred to wait until January and recruit from matrics who were young and able-bodied and not middle-aged men of 35 without school qualifications with no rank or experience. This is not the sort of men they want

"The fact of the matter is that you can take all sorts of people and make good soldiers of them provided they have good morale and agree with the training. But, if they are dissatisfied to start off with, they can't make good soldiers," said Brigadier Sass

He added there was a possibility that disgruntled former MK men could turn to crime. Although they had handed in their weapons, "in this country it is easy to get weapons" He predicted, however, that any attempt at insurrection would be put down quickly.

He said the issue was a political rather than a military problem as the former MK members were not the result of a recruiting campaign, but of a political decision to disarm them by bringing them under single military control. "We don't need 40 000 additional soldiers," he said

The solution had to be a political one as part of a new well-planned national security policy, instead of the present confusion, he said

The government had to implement the proposed Service Brigade to demobilise the lower MK echelons by training them for civilian life and giving them a start. But, the Service Brigade had not been set up yet, due to lack of funds. "Without money, you can't do these things," he said.

In Mozambique, former soldiers had been helped to start farming and, in Namibia, de-

mobilised soldiers had been taught civilian job skills in a development brigade

Demobilised South African soldiers had been helped to reintegrate similarly into civilian life after World War 2. A similar effort was essential now for former guerrillas.

Brigadier Sass doubted the new ANC-led government foresaw a long-term role for the unruly SANDF deserters. The ANC had learnt the importance of a dependable defence force which provided security and logistics for the elections and had stabilised the situation in Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu/Natal

"Many of MK's best-qualified people have gone either into politics or into the SANDF at a senior level or left and gone to industry, appointed at a high level due to affirmative action. What is left is the junior ranks, in many cases without leaders

"MK was a guerrilla army controlled by political commissars. Now, they are to a certain extent leaderless," said Brigadier Sass

He said many of the ANC rank-and-file came from the generation that were told there would be no education before liberation. They had been led to believe they would be automatically promoted in the new SANDF by virtue of spending years in the bush.

"Now, they are finding that education matters after all. They say the ANC promised them pensions and reimbursements for their years in exile

But, the ANC doesn't have that sort of money to dish out to these people

"When they do reach placement boards they find senior members of MK sitting on them as generals, saying 'We take you as a private or corporal' and their 20 years in MK don't count as a qualification"

Brigadier Sass said that with on-going defence cuts, the SANDF could not afford to retain these ex-guerrillas. There were plans to cut the force from the current 120 000 to 90 000. The five percent transitional levy slapped onto taxpayers was meant as a temporary tax until the SANDF was rationalised.

Brigadier Sass said former members of the homeland armies fitted in better as they had been trained by the former SADF

He said it was normal for armies to grow or shrink as wars began or ended

# No military threat to SA

254  
CT 15/10/94

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA did not face any conventional military threat, but it had to be prepared for a regional defence role and for spillover effects from regional conflicts, SA National Defence Force (SANDF) strategists warned yesterday

The SANDF would also have to support the police and provide protection against threats from the "radical left" and "reactionary right", they told Parliament's Joint Portfolio Committee on Defence.

The senior officers also outlined plans to restructure the SANDF with less staff

Although they welcomed civilian control of the SANDF, Brigadier Marius Oelschig, SANDF director of strategy, apologised for refusing to answer a question from ANC MP Ms Lindi Sisulu

## But be prepared — SANDF

and for saying her question should be ignored

Ms Sisulu had asked what the cost of Military Intelligence front companies had been and what financial benefits their closure held for the defence budget

Committee chairperson Mr Tony Yengeni said committee members had expressed concern about Brigadier Oelschig's response

Brigadier Oelschig said the information would be supplied to Ms Sisulu

The Director of Interpretation and Production at the Intelligence Division, Brigadier Melt van Niekerk, said South Africa

had no aggressive intentions nor did it face a conventional threat, but there were conflicts in the region, such as in Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho, and major powers were becoming increasingly involved in these

There was also increasing pressure on South Africa to join international peacekeeping forces

South Africa would seek alliances in the regions and "our intelligence is that all countries in the region were looking to us for military protection in the future"

"It is imperative for South Africa to maintain a credible deterrent capability"

Brigadier Van Niekerk said South Africa had to be prepared for military opportunism inside and outside Africa, arms smuggling and the actions of the radical left and reactionary right, which he explained as being those people who were still prepared to use violence against the government

STAR 15-10-94

CONT →

**Superfluous**

**SO**

# diers 'betrayed'

Star 15/10/94

## Mutiny could spark civil war — analysts

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**UMKHONTO we Sizwe 'deserters' face an uncertain future in the SANDF: many are over-age and under-educated. They hold the country to ransom as they could turn to armed crime if they are not accommodated. DAVID BREIER reports.**

THE harsh truth behind the mutiny of former guerillas in South African National Defence Force camps is that many have become superfluous and have few long-term prospects in the force

This is the view of military experts in the light of continuing indiscipline among thousands of former members of the ANC armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), who are regularly absent without leave — except on pay-days — in a replay of the debacle that hit the National Peacekeeping Force earlier this year

### Languishing

Analysts attribute this to anger and frustration among lower-echelon MK members who had been led by the ANC to believe they would receive high ranks in the SANDF on the strength of their years in the "bush"

They believed they would be merged as equal partners with the former SA Defence Force. But the lack of education and qualifications among cadres has left them languishing at the bottom of the pile.

They now see their former MK superiors — such as SANDF chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda, and Minister of Defence Joe Modise and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils — sitting pretty in top government and SANDF positions. Other top MK members have been snapped up by the private sector in affirmative action appointments

### Warned

Frustrated former MK members who have access to arms could turn to banditry, crime — and even rebellion

Laurie Nathan, head of the Centre for Conflict Resolution, cautioned this week that former



**REPORTING BACK:** Former MK soldiers file back into camp and sign the register after going AWOL for more than a week

guerillas who felt betrayed could resort to banditry and arms-trading if they were not integrated

If integration did not happen, there would be civil war, warned John Chipman, director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

Institute for Defence Policy senior researcher Bill Sass said many former MK guerillas were not really needed in the new SANDF as they had received little education and were no longer young

The SANDF wanted to recruit young matric pupils who would leave school at the end of the year, would be prepared to make a long-term career choice and would fit into the SANDF. They could be selected on the basis of criteria such as age and health

"The SANDF would have preferred to wait until January and recruit from matrics who are young and able-bodied, not middle-aged men of 35 without school qualifications, and with no rank or experience. These are not the sort of men they want

### Disarm

"The fact of the matter is that you can take all sorts of people and make good soldiers of them provided they have good morale and agree with the training. But if they are dissatisfied to start off with, they can't make good soldiers," Sass said

There was a possibility that disgruntled former MK men could turn to crime. Although they had handed in their weap-

ons, "in this country it is easy to get weapons" But he predicted that any attempt at insurrection would quickly be put down

Sass said the issue was a political rather than a military problem. The former MK members were there, not because of a recruiting campaign, but a political decision to disarm them by bringing them under single military control "We don't need 40 000 additional soldiers," he added

The solution had to be a political one, part of a well-planned national security policy.

The Government had to set up a proposed service brigade and demobilise the lower MK echelons, training them for civilian life. However, the service brigade had not yet been set up because of a lack of funds

# IFP 'ready to join army'

STimes 16/10/94

By PETER De IONNO

THOUSANDS of Inkatha Freedom Party warriors illegally given training in Kwazulu in the run-up to the elections want to be integrated into the SANDF alongside their former MK enemies and Apla cadres.

IFP senator Philip Powell said negotiations to pave the way into the defence force for 6 000 members of self-protection units were well advanced.

An SANDF spokesman confirmed discussions with Defence Minister Joe Modise were continuing.

Senator Powell said meetings between Mr Modise and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been "promising". The latest had been held three weeks ago and Senator Powell said he expected an answer from Mr Modise this week.

"We firmly believe that, if our participation in the government of national unity is to be serious, we need to bring our paramilitary forces into the legitimate structures of the state," said Senator Powell. "We are impressed with Mr Modise and his commitment to building a defence force which cuts across party lines."

SANDF sources said the integration of non-statutory armed forces, in addition to the 22 000 ex-MK cadres and 6 000 Apla members, had been the subject of broad planning since before the elections.

The estimated R200-million cost of integrating another 6 000 troops would have to be balanced against potential political benefits, the sources said.

IFP forces were not included in the integration plans after the party rejected participation in the National Peace-Keeping Force and would not recognise Transitional Executive Council authority.

● The return of MK and Apla cadres who have been absent without leave for more than a week has slowed to a trickle.

Despite an appeal from President Nelson Mandela for the former guerrillas to return and accept military discipline, army figures show 5 183 of the total 9 503 are still absent.

At Walmannstal only 3 200 out of 7 500 had returned, at Hoedspruit only 20 out of 795 were on the base. However, at De Brug, where there were 1 208 cadres, mostly from Apla, only 108 were absent.

It is thought the bulk of the Walmannstal rebels will return by Thursday, when Mr Mandela is to address them.

(254) (18)

ADVERTISEMENT



# Defence force secrets told

(254)

CT17/10/94

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

SECRETS of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) were revealed for the first time at the weekend when senior army officers testified before a parliamentary committee

These included details about buying weapons, training colleges and bases

They also disclosed the SANDF had estimated the cost of integrating the former SADF, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), Apla and the former homeland armies into the SANDF would be R6,8 billion over the next five years

This figure was based on estimates of 20 000 to 24 000 MK members, 10 000 TBVC force members and 6 000 Apla members

The officers gave evidence to

## Top brass testify to committee

Parliament's Joint Portfolio Committee on Defence on Saturday

Logistics chief Major-General Philip du Preez said the force had spent R4,8 billion of a planned R6,5bn on acquiring 38 Cheetah C fighter aircraft Twenty-one had been delivered so far

A further R1,3bn had been spent on the 146 Rooikat armoured cars delivered so far The total order is R2,9bn for 242

Other equipment bought so far included

● R1,9bn of R2,3bn spent on

Oryx medium transport helicopters,

● R265 million of R1,7bn spent on short-range air-to-air missiles,

● R1,1bn of R1,7bn spent on medium-range air-to-air missiles,

● R1,1bn of R1,2bn spent on Rooivalk helicopters

He said the SANDF had 8 349 Samil trucks, 2 112 Buffels, 470 Caspirs and 318 Mambas

There were 22 "larger" training terrains, 162 shooting ranges and 104 training schools

General Du Preez said to feed the SANDF — now 89 000-strong but expected to rise to 125 000 with integration — it needed 6 000 cattle, 60 000 sheep, 1 300 tons of fish and chicken, 10m loaves of bread, 58 000 10kg bags of potatoes, 58 000 10kg bags of mealie meal and 19,2m eggs a year

# Military objectors let off <sup>(254)</sup>

Staff Reporter

AN era came to an end at the weekend, when the last military conscientious objectors to perform alternative service had their terms dramatically slashed and they cleared out.

The move resolved one of the last outstanding conscription issues inherited from the old SADF, as the SA National Defence Force moves toward an anticipated all-volunteer system of recruitment.

CT 17/10/94  
Volunteers

Following talks recently between the Department of Manpower and the Ministry of Defence, the service periods of about 120 Citizen Force members still performing alternative service were last Friday reduced to one day — and they cleared out on Saturday.

Mr Laurie Nathan, former national organiser of the now-disbanded End Conscription Campaign, said the new SANDF would most likely recruit only volunteers in future, but warned that the right to conscientious objection had to be safeguarded.

# Soldiers' return slows to a trickle

ARL 17/10/94

(254)  
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — More than 4 000 former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers have still not returned to the Wallmannsthal assembly point north of Pretoria — with only three days to go before President Mandela's visit to the base on Thursday.

In spite of the president's appeal for the troops to get back to duty and his stern warnings against ill-discipline, the number of returning soldiers has slowed down to a trickle.

Another 50 of the troops, absent without leave since October 6, arrived at the base over the weekend, but more than half of the 7 800 are still unaccounted for.

It appears that many of the missing troops are refusing to return until Mr Mandela has addressed their grievances.

Minister of Defence Joe Modise — facing calls by the former MK guerrillas for his resignation — has moved to restore their confidence in the integration process.

He disclosed yesterday that a special mechanism to deal with the complaints would be set up.

Sources in the ministry said it was still unclear who would deal with the complaints and how long it would take to set up such a mechanism.

The SANDF has experienced difficulty in handling salary grievances and has handed them over to the ministry — which has, in turn, passed them on to the Public Service Commission.

One of the major complaints has been that all former MK members are automatically put on the lowest salary notch within each rank, earning up to R2 500 less than their SANDF counterparts of the same rank.

Mr Modise also wants the integration process — already running more than a year behind schedule — to be streamlined.

There have been suggestions that the British Military Advisory and Training Team's mandate be extended to allow them to play a more direct role — but Mr Modise has not commented on this.

# 25% of navy employees lost their jobs since 1990

By BARRY STREEK

THE number of people employed by the South African Navy had been slashed by 25% since 1990, it was revealed over the weekend.

The naval retrenchments cost R48,2 million between 1990 and 1992, the director of Programming and Budgeting at SA National Defence Force headquarters, Brigadier Pieter van der Merwe, said.

He was giving evidence to Parliament's Portfolio Committee on Defence.

The cut in navy staff was higher than

in any other arm of the defence force. The army had been reduced by 10,5%, the air force by 12,6%, the medical service by 9,3% and staff divisions by 0,6% ~~3~~ (254)

Brig Van der Merwe said 8 685 members of the defence force had lost their jobs. CT 17/10/94

This included 1 070 uniform members and 2 893 civilian members of the navy.

During the same period, 80 000 people in the defence industry — 50% of those employed — had lost their jobs.

# Bill will aim to clip wings of revamped Military Intelligence

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The South African National Defence Force's Joint Military Command Council has issued instructions for the restructuring of Military Intelligence.

And the Cabinet is discussing MI's new mandate, which will be contained in draft legislation expected to be tabled in Parliament soon, Brigadier Melt van Niekerk told the parliamentary joint portfolio committee on defence at the weekend.

He told a briefing session on Saturday that details of MI's future role would be contained in the draft legislation.

Star 17/10/94  
Asked whether MI would operate inside the country, Van Niekerk said three specific situations for such a role would be spelt out in the draft Bill.

Firstly, should there be no possibility of the military being deployed in the country, MI would not need to gather information domestically (254)

However, should the possibility arise where the national defence force could be deployed internally in the future, Parliament would have to give MI permission to operate inside the country. Only under such conditions would MI have permission to collect information internally.

Speaking at the same briefing, Major-General Phillip du Preez

said Armscor no longer had any front companies to procure weapons, but it still had marketing offices abroad.

Replying to a question on the need for Armscor, Du Preez said the arms procurement agency managed the SANDF's contracts, did technical quality assurances and acted as a marketing mechanism

Explaining the point, Du Preez said weapons were purchased for "resistance movements", such as Unita, but after the former SADF cut ties with the Angolan rebel army, the weapons were "dead capital". Armscor was then asked to sell the weapons

# Former MK cadres in Durban protest

CT 18/10/94

(254)

DURBAN — About 200 former members of uMkhonto weSizwe who yesterday occupied the ANC's offices here have agreed to return to the Wallmannstal military base near Pretoria today

The agreement was reached after hours of talks with ANC provincial leaders

A committee has been set up to consider their complaints about integration in the South African National Defence Force

President Nelson Mandela is due to address disgruntled recruits at Wallmannstal on Thursday

Hundreds of angry former MK soldiers earlier occupied the ANC's headquarters in protest against the slow integration process

Police task teams and reaction units rushed to the offices and the area was quickly cordoned off

According to ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye the protesters were "frustrated by the slow pace of the process of integration"

● In Johannesburg former MK cadres yesterday gathered in front of the SABC offices to demand that their grievances be broadcast. A spokesman said they came from various bases — Own Correspondent, Sapa

# Deadline for MK

## 'Govt will not be blackmailed'

**THE government yesterday issued an ultimatum to rebellious uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres — report to bases by tomorrow or face legal action.**

This was the tough line taken yesterday by Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise — the former MK commander — and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

President Nelson Mandela is to meet with MK members tomorrow in a bid to defuse the crisis surrounding the integration of MK into the SA National Defence Force (SANDF). "The government will not allow the constitution to be subverted — or be held to blackmail," Mr Mbeki said in the Senate yesterday. He said MK cadres involved in disputes with the SANDF would have to follow established procedures.

Mr Modise urged MK members on AWOL to return to their bases immediately. He said their loyalty to the SANDF would be tested by their presence at Mr Mandela's address at Wallmannstal.

Isolated threats to resort to arms by some of the 7 000 MK soldiers who deserted Wallmannstal, near Pretoria, last month, have been seen as a threat to the stability of the government.

The deserters vowed not to return until their grievances were addressed.

They said they had been living in squalor for five months, pay was too low and the SANDF was "racist".

Mr Modise and Mr Mbeki's statements indicate growing impatience in the government with the methods being employed by the dissident MK members — even though there is considerable sympathy within the ANC for their complaints.

But ANC MP Mr Tony Yengen, chairman of the parliamentary standing committee on defence, said yesterday the problems with integration had resulted from the hostile reception ex-guerrillas received at military bases. DAN SIMON reports that about 120 MK cadres marched to Parliament yesterday, demanding transport to Wallmannstal for Mr Mandela's meeting tomorrow.

They claimed the SANDF had reneged on a deal to ferry them back to Wallmannstal. Following a day of negotiation, the Defence Ministry undertook to transport them to Wallmannstal in time for the meeting, but said the transportation costs would be deducted from their salaries.

● National Party Defence spokesman Mr Wynand Breytenbach said the government should give serious attention to the admission by "mutinous" MK soldiers that they had been equipped with weapons and ammunition when they entered the country.

This was a flagrant violation of the ANC's pre-election agreements, he said — Political Staff, Sapa



**ASSEMBLY POINT . . .** About 120 dissatisfied MK soldiers assembled outside Parliament yesterday afternoon to demand a meeting with President Nelson Mandela after they were allegedly denied transport back to the Wallmannstal base by the SANDF yesterday morning.

Picture BENNY GOO

254 19/10/94

# Better monitoring of weapons exports sought

Star 19/10/94

Cape Town — South Africa's arms export earnings exceeded R800 million in the 1993/94 financial year, Defence Minister Joe Modise said yesterday.

Denel's earnings made up R570 million of this, he said in an interpellation debate.

In addition, Denel had paid R64 million in corporate tax and declared dividends of R60 million to the State as sole shareholder.

The Government did not intend taking any action to end the export of defence equipment, but it did want to ensure that more adequate controls were set up.

The question had been raised whether South Africa should continue selling arms, and whether this did not violate national policy to promote peace at home and abroad. (254)

Senator James Selfe (DP) said

the recent attempted export of about 8 500 AK-47s and 15 600 G-3s and ammunition had been a chaotic situation.

It pointed to a failure by the Minister to control Armscor's activities and, more seriously, to a lack of a coherent government policy on arms exports.

In the past, South African arms had been used by both sides in the Iran-Iraq conflict of the late 1980s, and reportedly landed up in Rwanda, Selfe said.

Foreign policy would be gravely compromised unless policy and adequate controls were set up for exports.

Senator Gerhard Koornhof (NP) said the Government should facilitate arms sales because they earned foreign exchange and created job opportunities. — Sapa.



## Regional security plan

SOUTHERN AFRICAN nations should negotiate a common regional security system to ensure they do not pose a threat to one another, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said *ET 19/10/94 (254)*

The question of any uneasiness there might be among South Africa's neighbours about a threat from the Republic could partly be addressed by such an arrangement, he said in an interview in the latest issue of the government publication RSA Review.

Such a system would not be solely military, but would also relate to economic co-operation. — Sapa

CT 20/10/94 (254)

# Denel test scares fishermen

By EUNICE RIDER

A TRAWLER crew got the fright of their lives when a missile fired from Denel's Overberg test range suddenly exploded about 2km away from their boat off Arniston, causing a massive splash.

Mr James Murtz, skipper of the eight-metre Ou Grote, and crewman Mr Timmy Mathinus said they were fishing off Skipskop with about eight crew on Tuesday when the explosion occurred.

"We were about three miles outside the

area prohibited to vessels during testing, when the explosion suddenly rocked the sea," said Mr Mathinus.

"The explosion was about 2km away and sent huge plumes of water into the sky. We got the fright of our lives."

Mr Mathinus said they contacted the Arniston harbour master to complain.

Harbour master Mr Robbie Hogg said he had immediately called the testing range to warn them.

Denel spokesman Mr Paul Holtzhausen

confirmed long-distance projectiles were tested in land-to-sea exercises on Tuesday.

However, he insisted the fishermen were in no danger as the projectiles fired were "inert and not explosive".

The fishermen must have seen a piece of metal which fell off a projectile.

Mr Holtzhausen said Denel would investigate why test warnings failed to reach the fishermen.

He said would try to rectify the situation in future if Denel was responsible for the breakdown in communications.

254  
CT 20/10/94

# Former MK pilots receive their rank

Staff Reporter

FOUR former uMkhonto weSizwe airmen became the first to receive their commissions in the SA Air Force, in a ceremony at Air Force Base Ysterplaat yesterday afternoon.

Major Zakes Msimang, 34, Captain Oscar Mkhize, 29, Lieutenant Blessing Musarurgwa, 27 and Lieutenant Joel Nkabinde were presented with their rank by Colonel Faan de Villiers, head of training at Ysterplaat.

Col De Villiers said this was the first "visible sign of the intergration process coming to reality".

"We can look on this occasion as the birth of the new South African Air Force within the SANDF".

"For the Ugandan and Soviet Union-trained pilots it was an emotional event. "We never thought this day would come," said Major Msimang.

Jetfighter Lt Musarurgwa, originally from the Free State, left South Africa in 1985 after operating underground. After training in the Soviet Union he studied further in Dar-es-Salaam and Zimbabwe before returning in 1992.

The officers said the intergration process was making progress and that they did feel part of the country's new defence force.

"If you are a soldier your main function is the defence of your country. The government of the day is the one we serve," Major Msimang said.

The four men are the first of six former MK pilots who will receive training at Ysterplaat.

# Integration crisis: Mandela visits troops

The Argus Correspondent and  
Political Staff (254)

PRETORIA — President Mandela visited the Wallmannsthal assembly area outside Pretoria today in what is seen as a crucial turning point in the integration crisis

Mr. Mandela spent most of the morning being briefed by the joint commanders of the integration on the changes made to streamline the process and on other efforts to address the grievances of the thousands of MK

members based at Wallmannsthal

He was scheduled to meet MK veterans and then to meet the MK troops ARG 20/10/94

Media coverage of Mr Mandela's visit was not allowed at the request of his office

In parliament yesterday, Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said the integration crisis would have to be handled with tact

He was speaking in an interpellation debate requested by National

Party defence spokesman Wynand Breytenbach

Mr Kasrils warned that discipline would prevail in the future defence force. Once members were integrated, those who violated the disciplinary code would pay the penalty

Mr Breytenbach said the whole country had been shocked by the "antics" of thousands of MK members during the protests about the integration process

5 000 out of 7 000 already back

# Soldiers return to hear Mandela

Star 20/10/94

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres continued pouring back to the Wallmannstal base outside Pretoria this morning ahead of President Nelson Mandela's visit to the camp later today to address the soldiers.

Mandela's visit to Wallmannstal, widely expected to appease the mutineers and give them a firm indication that their grievances are receiving attention at the highest level, comes a day after Defence Minister Joe Modise made yet another call on all those soldiers still absent without leave to return to their bases.

The disgruntled former MK cadres earlier demanded Modise's resignation.

Modise said attendance at Mandela's address today will be "a test of the loyalty and commitment of SANDF soldiers in the process of integration in which our country is engaged".

An SANDF officer at Wallmannstal this morning refused to reveal how many ex-MK members were back. However, SANDF ministry spokesman Major Mufi Anderson told The Star most of the soldiers were returning.

"I think we can get a full house. If we don't, get a full house, it will be because of transport problems," she said.

**EX-MK soldiers are streaming back to their Wallmannstal base to hear President Mandela**

25/10

SANDF authorities have used the carrot-and-stick approach to entice the former guerrillas back to camp.

While there have been threats of disciplinary action, the authorities have also announced moves aimed at making the ex-MK fighters feel part of the new army.

## New flag

At Wallmannstal yesterday, MK soldiers were issued with standard SANDF uniforms for the first time, while SANDF headquarters announced that the new defence force will soon get a new flag reflecting the common military culture of its constituent parts.

By late yesterday indications were that most former MK cadres would be back at Wallmannstal today for the president's long-awaited intervention in the crisis.

By early afternoon, an estimated 5 000 of the 7 000 ex-MK guerrillas had reportedly returned to the base.

About 200 former MK members were due to be transported overnight by bus from the Eastern Cape, and were expected to be back at Wallmannstal by 8 am today.

Eastern Cape MK commander Dan Hatto yesterday said the former guerrillas had agreed to go back after assurances were given that their safety at the base would be guaranteed.

Since the beginning of this week, about 200 ex-MK combatants, who had earlier occupied the ANC's offices in Durban, agreed on Monday to return to the military base, and a group of about 200 others from the Western Cape announced on Tuesday that they, too, would be going back if the army could arrange transport for them.

Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday the revolt in MK ranks was a very delicate matter which had to be handled with great tact.

During a debate in the National Assembly, Kasrils said a major problem was that the soldiers could not be disciplined because they had not yet received their ranks, and did not therefore fall under military discipline.

"Discipline will prevail in the new army. Right from the onset we have accepted that it will not be a smooth process, and that we are bound to have difficulties," Kasrils said.



All smiles . . . a soldier shows off his new boots, part of the SANDF uniforms issued to 1 500 MK members yesterday.

PICTURE PATRICIA HAGEN

# Armcor in bid to settle US charges

CT 20/10/94  
From SIMON BARBER (254)

WASHINGTON — An Armcor team has arrived here in a determined bid to settle three-year-old arms smuggling charges that continue to bedevil relations between the US and South Africa.

The team intends to stay here until the case — which is preventing South Africa from purchasing US military equipment and hampering Denel's bid to supply the Rooivalk helicopter to the British army — is resolved, officials said.

The charges stem from a probe into Pennsylvania businessman Mr James Guerin and his company, International Signal and Control, whose value he was convicted of fraudulently inflating when he sold it to British defence contractor Ferranti.

The inquiry turned up evidence of a massive conspiracy between Armcor and ISC to obtain missile guidance systems and other technology for the SA arms industry and to market SA weapons to countries like Iraq. Indictments were handed down by a Philadelphia grand jury in 1991.

President Mandela placed such importance on resolving the issue it was one of the first items he raised in his meetings with President Bill Clinton earlier this month. He said 8 500 jobs were at stake in the Rooivalk deal alone.

# Umkhonto: Toyi-toying their way to trouble

WM 21-27/11/94

Wiseman Khuzwayo

**A**S mutinying former members of Umkhonto weSizwe were returning to their military base in Walmaanstal, north of Pretoria, to listen to President Nelson Mandela addressing their grievances, some of the former guerrillas' behaviour was getting on the nerves of the officials of the Ministry of Defence and those of the MK command.

By Wednesday, some of the demands made by a number of the former MK members were verging on the ridiculous.

In the Western Cape, a co-ordinating committee claiming to be representing about 200 former MK soldiers, said they would only return to Walmaanstal if transport was provided for them. The Ministry of Defence agreed to do this provided the troops paid for the transport out of their pockets.

Major Muff Anderson, representative for the ministry, said the former guerrillas wanted to be bused to their base on Tuesday night, the same day as they had made their demand. The reason, they said, was they wanted to have a long enough rest before they assembled to hear Mandela.

It was pointed out to them that that did not give enough time to the ministry officials to organise the buses. The troops were, however, told that four buses would leave at nine on Wednesday morning to take them to Walmaanstal.

But on Wednesday morning, only 22 people turned up to board the four buses that had been hired. A spokesman for the rest turned up later to say that most of her comrades had missed the buses because of a taxi strike in Cape Town.

She wanted transport to be hired again for the late arrivals, and was given a thumbs down by the ministry officials who had worked into the night organising the original transport.

About 45 of the late arrivals were eventually able to get lifts from army trucks.

It turned out later that the woman was not even based in Walmaanstal or any other military base. Subsequent checks by the regional command of MK in the Western Cape also established that a number of those on the committee also had nothing to do with the defence force.

A member of the regional command said some people had hijacked the grievances of former MK soldiers for their own agenda. Most of the people on the co-ordinating committee were students at the universities of Cape Town and Western Cape.

They had long ceased to be members of MK but were now using the grievances against the military establishment to get it to support them financially at the institutions.

He said the group had tried to canvass for support at the recent regional conference of the ANC and had failed to get any support.

"What they are really after is to replace and restructure the regional command and the national command at Shell House," he said.

In Durban, on Monday, about 150 former members of MK toyi-toyed outside the ANC office. They wanted to be addressed by Mandela despite the fact that he had already announced that he would address the former guerrillas at Walmaanstal.

They also demanded that they be deployed in bases around Durban, instead of Walmaanstal, presumably to be near their homes.

*Offenders who failed to take advantage of illegal firearms amnesty 'will be dealt with severely'*

# Poor response cause for concern

Star 22/10/94

**POLICE Commissioner** General Johan van der Merwe says he is concerned by the poor response to the week-long arms amnesty which ended at midnight last night.

"It is obvious we did not persuade all the people that it's for the best," Van der Merwe said.

By early yesterday, 394 illegal arms had been handed in, including just 10 AK-47 assault rifles.

A total of 3 321 rounds of ammunition had also been collected.

"It appears that people still regard the AK-47 as something that is important for their protection," Van der Merwe said.

## **POLICE are perturbed**

**about the poor response to the week-long amnesty on illegal firearms, while township residents are losing faith in the Government's commitment to stopping crime and violence. Report from REUTER and TEFO MOTHIBELL.**

The steel from the weapons would be used to produce reinforcing rods and corrugated iron sheeting, officials said.

Residents in Vaal Triangle townships felt the Government neglected to get the message of the moratorium across to gangsters and self-defence units operating in the area.

They said the moratorium on prosecution for possession of illegal weapons was not handled with as much vigour and seriousness in the Vaal area as it was in the East Rand townships.

One resident said the Vaal townships were "overflowing" with arms belonging to gangsters.

Said Henry Mosoca of Sharpeville: "Given the recent rise in gang warfare in Sharpeville and the chilling actions of large numbers of

gangsters, I would imagine that either PWV Safety and Security MEC Jessie Duarte or the Premier, Tokyo Sexwale, should have put the area on a par with trouble spots like East Rand townships (254)

Teacher Ben Thokoane, also of Sharpeville, said "I am disappointed and have lost confidence in the commitment of the Government to solving violence and the soaring crime rate."

Sebokeng's Nelly Mphahlele added: "I don't think the Government is sympathetic to us or takes our problems seriously."

## **Untrue**

"If these thugs were harassing whites in the neighbouring areas we would have seen a quick and concerted effort in a very short space of time to stop the nonsense."

However, PWV safety and security spokesman Kerry Millard said claims that the ministry was unsympathetic and not doing anything about the problems in the Vaal region were untrue.

"Jessie Duarte is on record as saying that she was prepared to enter discussions with all groupings and self-defence units everywhere to solve all the problems."

"A process for laying a foundation for such discussion is in full swing in the Vaal," Millard said.

## **Measures**

"If one looks at all the efforts by the police and at the fact that we now have the assistance of the township self-defence units, there is no reason for such a perception."

Asked what measures police would adopt after the amnesty, Van der Merwe said people who had failed to hand in illegal weapons would be dealt with severely.

"The infamous AK-47 is one of the greatest evils and we must rid the community of it," he added.

Van der Merwe was speaking at 'Poor's Pretoria plant', where six trunks of illegal weapons were melted down after being broken in a metal press earlier in the week.



**FALSE PROMISES:** SDU members on Thursday display weapons which they said would be handed over to the police. But in the end only a handful of firearms were surrendered. PHOTOGRAPH JOHNNY ONVERWACHT



# SANDF banned from spying in SA

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

(254)

THE government has spiked the guns of South Africa's secretive military intelligence and banned it from spying inside the country CT 22/10/94

"The South African National Defence Force will not have a covert collection capacity internally," President Nelson Mandela's legal adviser, Professor Fink Haysom, said yesterday

The SANDF would, however, retain its line function need for military intelligence.

The bar on it being involved in internal covert collection will severely restrict its operations

However, last weekend, Brigadier Melt van Niekerk, Director of Interpretation and Production at Military Intelligence, told Parliament's Joint Committee on Defence that Military Intelligence could be involved in internal covert activities, particularly when it was directly involved in activities such as supporting the police.

# Poor communication 'root of SANDF crisis'

CI 22/10/94

From LINDA ENSOR (254)

LONDON — Poor communication between the upper echelons of the SA National Defence Force and incoming recruits is mainly to blame for the widespread dissatisfaction within the army over the integration process, a British military expert believes

Lieutenant-Colonel Sandy McCormack, the desk officer responsible for the British Military Advisory and Training Team's (BMATT) activities in SA, said in an interview that the people on the ground needed to know what was happening and why

They also needed to be made aware

that they were joining a conventional military force and would have to accommodate themselves to all the constraints that that implied

While there was a high level of trust and understanding at the upper ranks of the different armies, this was not the case at the lower levels

Delays in the integration process had meant that larger numbers of BMATT staff would have to stay longer in SA than initially anticipated. The team was deployed at the end of June with the task of validating standards in accordance with international norms, monitoring bridging programmes and adjudicating disputes

# Women now equal to men in SANDF

PRETORIA — Women in the SA National Defence Force would be trained and employed on the same basis as their male counterparts with immediate effect, SANDF chief Gen George Meiring has announced.

The move followed an instruction by the Defence Command Council after an investigation into the guidelines for employment of women in the SANDF.

But to ensure optimal employment of men and women in the SANDF the principle of "beneficial discrimination" between male and female was permitted and fully supported by the law.

This included examples such as "women may only be searched by women" and "separate ablution facilities for women", Meiring said.

To give effect to the decision, the Arms of Service and the Intelligence Division would ensure that the following guidelines be implemented.

- Standards in respect of training and employment of all SANDF members would be maintained,
- The requirements for each job would

STEPHANE BOTHMA

apply equally to any member of the SANDF; and

- Training and employment would be cost effective, safe and executed in a fair and disciplined manner without lowering the required standard.

The SANDF's combat ability and the operational preparedness would be maintained at all times, Meiring said.

In future, "taking improper advantage of an individual's sex is not permitted".

Although the principle of equal opportunities was accepted, Meiring said, the application of training methods would at all times be gender sensitive.

"Change and steps to rectify any imbalance must be taken progressively — a step at a time and should not be a forced issue," he added.

The inspector-general would monitor the implementation of the guidelines to ensure proper and fair employment of women in the SANDF. (25A)

Progress reports would be presented to the Defence Command Council.

## Wits negotiations fall apart as administration withdraws

NEGOTIATIONS on the "transformation" of Wits University collapsed on Friday when the administration announced it was withdrawing from the forum because of the conduct of SA Student's Congress (Sasco) and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu).

Vice-chancellor Robert Charlton said the recent conduct of the two organisations, with which the administration had been negotiating, had forced the university to suspend its participation.

He said he was outraged by the behaviour of Nehawu and Sasco members who had held hostage two members of staff.

"The university has always placed the highest value possible on personal freedom, which it regards as indispensable to academic freedom."

Two of the university's representatives in the negotiations — professors

KATHRYN STRACHAN

June Sinclair and Carole Lewis — were, as candidates for appointment to the Constitutional Court, subjected by Sasco and Nehawu to a campaign of personal vilification *5/Day*

The attacks on them were dishonest, defamatory and venomous, Charlton said *24/10/94*

Good faith negotiations were not compatible with witch hunts and hostage taking.

Police were at the university on Friday, but all was quiet except for about 30 students who *toyed* around the campus. *(S)*

Student representative council member Ebrahim Hassen said the SRC was willing to continue negotiations, but was concerned that the administration called in police while the SRC was trying to broker a solution between parties

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## Denel to end space race work

WILLEM STEENKAMP  
Staff Reporter (254)

IN a major blow for the local space industry Denel has announced it is to close its space industry activities at Houwteq in the Western Cape.

Scientists at Houwteq had successfully developed a low-orbiting satellite seen by experts as a world leader in its field, but because Denel has been unable to find international partners to help fund the project, the company has been forced to drop its space programme. ARG 25/10/94

Following earlier retrenchments another 178 people will now lose their jobs.

But, Denel chairman John Maree said some of these will be employed in other positions.

Denel has established an after-care centre in Somerset West to help people who have lost their jobs.

About two years ago South Africa stunned the world when it first disclosed its advanced space capabilities.

The company had successfully launched several rockets into space and was well advanced in developing its own state-of-the-art low-orbiting satellite.

The expensive rocket programme was shelved because of pressure from the US and also because cheaper launch vehicles were available.

But Denel continued its satellite programme which was in some instances more advanced than overseas products.

The company had hoped to make available its Overberg launch facilities to international consortiums and to market its satellites worldwide.

If successful, hundreds of jobs would have been created in the region with obvious financial spin-offs.

# 3 000 ex-MK cadres still absent from camp near Pretoria

(254) ARG 25/10/94

Political Staff

PRETORIA — About 3 000 former Umkhonto we Sizwe members are still absent without leave from the Wallmannsthal assembly point

But a large group of former MK cadres will gather tomorrow at Natal Command in Durban to be transported back to the base

President Mandela warned last week that those who did not return by Friday morning would be removed from the integration process. He also gave the assurance that the soldiers' grievances would be investigated.

The dissenting soldiers had complained of racism, poor pay and a slow integration process in the new army.

An ex-MK commander said some soldiers from southern KwaZulu-Natal had already returned to Wallmannsthal while others who showed up at Natal Command would be transported tomorrow.

He said he had been trying desperately to inform all absent soldiers that transport had been arranged.

It still appears that many of the new national defence force troops do not believe their grievances have been adequately addressed — and there are indications that the integration process is not back on track yet.

Yesterday, a large group of the missing ex-MK soldiers marched on Natal Command army headquarters and handed a memorandum listing their complaints to senior officers.

The protest was incident-free, according to a Natal SANDF spokesman.

The contents of the memorandum were not disclosed, but it is believed that it dealt with complaints about racism on the part of white officers, poor living conditions at the assembly points and the allowances paid to the new SANDF members.

The letter was forwarded to army headquarters in Pretoria.

After his visit last week, President Mandela said many of the grievances he had heard were reasonable, but he also slated ill-discipline and issued dissenting troops with a seven-day deadline.

## Denel plans to double profits

### NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

— South Africa's R3 billion state-owned arms industry planned to double its profits to R500 million in three years as part of its contribution to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the Select Committee on Public Enterprises heard yesterday. CT 25/10/94

Denel managing director Mr Johan Alberts said the corporation's 10-point RDP plan included doubling earnings to R1,3bn and the sale of commercial products to R750m.

Denel had not been involved with the recent attempted sale of AK-47 rifles to Yemen by Armscor. Nor did Denel trade with countries subject to United Nations embargoes. — Sapa 254

## 'Military hospitals will cost R181,1m'

 (254) By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA's three military hospitals, which had occupancy rates of between 44 and 53%, would cost R181,1 million during the current financial year, the Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise said yesterday. *CT 26/10/94*

But he added that the number of potential patients presently in the defence force was about 184 000 men, women and children.

"The expected potential patients after the integration of MK, the TBVC Defence Forces and Apla will be about 320 000. The bed-occupancy rate is expected to rise to 90%."

Mr Modise said the costs of 1, 2 and 3 Military Hospitals were expected to be R108,3m, R50,1m and R22,7m respectively.

# Gun amnesty statistics

Sowetan

27/10/94

By Themba Sepotokele

THE South African Police Services yesterday released the final national statistics of weapons and ammunition handed in before the indemnity expired at midnight last Friday.

According to police liaison officer Colonel Ruben Blooming, the total number of weapons and ammunition surrendered to the police was 10 100.

The arms and ammunition handed in came from nine provinces, with the PWV topping the list with a total of 3 486.

Police received 84 AK-47 rifles, 31 revolvers, 57 rifles, 76 pistols, 638 guns of various calibres, 140 explosives including 40mm mortars, stun grenades, mortar launchers, propellant launchers and tear smoke, among others.

Blooming said other weapons and ammunition were handed in after the indemnity had expired. They were brought in on Saturday by members of self-defence and self-protection units on the East Rand (254).

He said people still in possession of illegal arms and ammunition will have to face the legal consequences if caught. He appealed to them to contact Crime Stop on 0800 11 12 13.



Fri 28 110 194

DEFENCE

# Honesty at last

254

The embarrassing disparity in strengths among SA's former enemies could find no more vivid illustration than the military integration base at Wallmannstal north of Pretoria. Vast parks of Defence Force hardware — trucks, armoured cars, troop carriers, battle tanks and artillery of all shapes and calibres, with their attendant workshops — bestride the veld like Jurassic inquisitors overlooking the khaki-tented camp where several thousand ex-Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers have been billeted for the past seven months.

The evidence of scale, as much as anything the rebellious soldiers have said and done during their mutiny this month, explodes the big political lie fostered by Defence Minister Joe Modise and other ANC or ex-MK leaders that their force was being integrated as an equal partner into the new National Defence Force. "It is not integration so much as the absorption of MK and other groups into the SANDF," admitted President Nelson Mandela with refreshing honesty on the eve of his visit to the base two weeks ago.

He was the first ANC figure with the guts to speak the truth, though belatedly. But the MK troops themselves had been painfully aware of it for months. It has been one of their most persistent gripes since the merger began in March that they are not treated on a par with Defence Force soldiers or the former TBVC homeland forces. All of which is true. Their widely di-

vergent and irregular guerrilla backgrounds necessitate careful evaluation before they can be placed in a conventional army.

But truth, coupled with betrayal, quickly breeds bitterness. There can be no doubt that in this sense the MK cadres were betrayed, and they know it. That is why they have been demanding the sacking of Modise and former MK commander Siphwe Nyanda, now Chief of Staff-designate of the SANDF. Some Defence Force officers believe many of the troops' complaints over pay, rations, living conditions and retraining could have been settled, or lessened, had MK maintained an effective command and control system. The fact is, though, that MK itself has collapsed as a

force, and its rank and file are now mostly no more than refugees.

The command and control problem at Wallmannstal has been exacerbated by the fact that MK insisted from the start on staying, eating and dressing apart from the main base, and operating under its own command. The MK officers' corps, meanwhile, fraught with hierarchical and tribal divisions, remains aloof from the troops.

But the MK betrayal goes somewhat deeper than simply keeping troops in the dark. On a recent visit to the base, the FM heard several soldiers complain that they were being denied demobilisation packages promised by their commanders when they were still in exile. One young MK lieutenant, resplendent in leafy camouflage fatigues, said that before leaving Tanzania he and other members of his unit were told that they would receive settlements of "R40 000 to R52 000 and a house" when they returned to SA.

"I don't believe they lied to us," said the officer, who would give his name only as Steven. "They thought the country would be led by only one party — ours." He refused to name the commanders concerned but said that he still hoped for a financial settlement as he intended leaving the army once the integration was over.

Defence Force officers involved with the integration believe that at least a third of the 23 000 listed MK soldiers will drop out over the next few years —

either because they are sick of military life or never were fully fledged soldiers but simply drafted on to the list from township self-defence units to boost the MK complement.

Mandela's address to the troops last week, in which he promised to attend to their legitimate grievances but warned all absent troops to return to camp in seven days (the deadline was yesterday) or face summary dismissal from the service, seems to have settled the mutiny, at least for now. There are still another four intakes of MK scheduled for Wallmannstal over the next two years (as well as three intakes of Apla at Bloemfontein's De Brug), with bridging training programmes set to last until at least

January 1997

But there is cause for hope that there will be no reprise of recent undisciplined behaviour, at least not on such a scale.

While the former guerrillas were protesting in the streets of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban this month, the joint military command was busy with steps to speed up the snail's-pace integration process and install a new structure of command and control at bases like Wallmannstal.

For the first time, recruits have been issued with army brown uniforms. And where they were previously under exclusive command of their own officers, they have now been placed under joint SANDF/MK command, right down to battalion and company level.

At the same time the caterers have drawn up a more "ethnic" menu (including, for example, tripe and onions) which they hope, with some scepticism, will find broader appeal among the troops.

Initial reports have been good though Defence Force spokesmen say there are still some grumbles over pay and severance packages. ■



**MK cadres at Wallmannstal**  
under a new regime

# SANDF, union at war

*Star*  
OWN CORRESPONDENT

LABOUR tensions are mounting as the SA National Defence Force and the SA National Defence Union continue to march out of step.

At the centre of the battle is the SANDF's refusal to recognise the union and threats to prosecute staff who sign up.

Now a war of words has broken out over an internal communication bulletin distributed by the SANDF in which it outlines why it will not recognise or support the union.

In the bulletin the SANDF says it has sufficient channels through which SANDF members can address their grievances, while adding it is an internationally accepted practice for defence forces not to accept trade unions or organisations. The SANDF also says the union could pose a threat to the military establishment.

## 254 Contrast

In direct contrast, the SANDU says it could in fact improve the efficiency of the defence force by ensuring better channels, procedures and working conditions for members.

The SANDU called the present channels for addressing grievances ridiculous and said members were afraid to use them for fear of victimisation. The union said it could overcome the situation by being a go-between.

SANDU spokesman Cor van Niekerk said the SANDF, by threatening prosecution, was using strong-arm tactics to bully soldiers into not joining the union. However, "it's just a matter of time before the SANDF top structure sees that it has to recognise us and allow its staff to sign up."

# Soldiers up in arms at discrimination

By WALLY MBHELE

THE SANDF is facing another crisis as disillusioned members of 121 Battalion claim they are being treated "like slaves".

Their accusation of poor pay and discrimination emerged as President Nelson Mandela's deadline for the return of striking MK and APLA soldiers to return to base expired on Thursday.

Voicing their grievances through the newly formed SA National Defence Union (SANDU), members of 121 Battalion said, "We have nothing at home but the white persons who fought in Angola with us are

occupying senior positions, have cars and they are rich."

City Press has been told that the battalion includes former members of the notorious 32 Battalion, criticised for alleged atrocities, who were integrated into various army units after their disbandment.

In a letter written to General Georg Meiring SANDU spokesman Cor van Niekerk says grievances aired by members of 121 Battalion, "include blatant discrimination as well as the withholding of information which is in the interests of all employees".

He says that according to members of the unit,

top positions in Battalion 121 are occupied by whites only.

Members of the unit claim even those who are selected for undergoing bridging courses are mainly whites, Van Niekerk says.

"A black can be selected for courses only if he is friendly with the white officers."

Unit members claim meetings are attended by white soldiers only. Only blacks who hold rank are allowed at meetings and they are the ones who also maltreat their fellow black servicemen, the soldiers claim.

"When one complains about salary irregularities, you are told that's what you voted for, you voted for

CLIPPS 30/10/94

Mandela, so enjoy your vote," says a memorandum.

According to the complaining soldiers, challenging discrimination at work is not tolerated.

"Some of us have Std 10 but whites with Std 8 get higher salaries."

Complaining about general discrimination among various SANDF units, they allege that "in some units, some people get R29,62 per day whereas others get R17,62."

In response to the grievances a spokesman for the SANDF replied that official channels existed for anyone to air grievances and the Defence Act prohibited trade unions in the defence force.

## Ex-MK men desert base after pay

JOHANNESBURG —  
About 3 500 former mem-  
bers of MK left the Wall-  
mannstal military base  
outside Pretoria without  
official leave yesterday  
afternoon shortly after  
receiving their pay

The ex-MK — among  
those awaiting integra-  
tion into the South Afri-  
can National Defence  
Force — left on foot and  
in vehicles, ignoring a  
warning not to leave

SANDF spokesman  
Colonel Connie van  
Rensburg said the MK  
members indicated they  
wanted to go shopping  
and deposit their money

He said soldiers used  
to be allowed a few days  
off after they were paid,  
but this was stopped to  
hasten the integration

— Sapa

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1/11/94

5000 former guerrillas draw their pay - and quit base again

# NEW ARMY AWOL

BY ABDUL MILAZI and OWN CORRESPONDENT

Acting President Thabo Mbeki last night delayed a crackdown on thousands of former MK troops who, in defiance of a presidential decree, walked out of their base at Wallmannstal north of Pretoria

Rumours that yet more leniency was to be given to the disarming troops were played in question when Mbeki's office indicated that a decision on their status would only be taken later today

Close to 5 000 former MK guerrillas went absent without leave for a second time yesterday, plunging the SA National Defence Force integration process into a fresh crisis

**A LARGE number have reportedly handed in their equipment and said they were not going to return**

At the beginning of October 7 000 former guerrillas also went AWOL They complained about the integration process, food and camp conditions

Yesterday's surprise development came after the soldiers - who had been ordered back to base by President Mandela - received their allowances of R735

The president, who is holidaying in Saudi Arabia, has been kept informed. Sources in Mbeki's office said he would comment on yesterday's events after receiving a full briefing from Defence Minister Joe Modise

The source added that no matter what reasons the troops had for leaving, they had done so without permission and that military discipline had to be upheld

Only 6 400 of the 7 000 who originally went AWOL heeded Mandela's call to return by last Thursday, and most left again yesterday

An SANDF spokesman said in the past the members were granted leave on payday to go shopping and give their pay to their families But this was scrapped because it was detrimental to the integration process, as many of the soldiers

only returned days later By late last night a number were reported to have returned with shopping bags

However, a source at Wallmannstal said a large number had handed in their SANDF identity documents and equipment and said they were not going to return

The Wallmannstal spokesman said those who had left had been marked absent without leave and would be charged if they returned

Punishment for AWOL includes a period in detention barracks and extra drill

later today He said he would raise far-reaching proposals made by the standing committee after a visit 10 days ago to Wallmannstal - and adopted last week by the ANC caucus in the meeting Its report is to be debated in Parliament

Informed MK sources questioned last night whether issues identified during Mandela's visit to Wallmannstal had been addressed

SANDF chief of staff Sipho Nyanda declined to comment and The Star was not able to contact Modise

It is understood that Defence Minister Joe Modise visited the camp yesterday morning and would do so again later today

He is said to have warned the former guerrillas not to leave and pleaded with them to adhere to military discipline

His approval is still awaited on the dismissal of the more than 200 soldiers who ignored Mandela's call to return

ANC chairman of the parliamentary standing committee on defence Tony Xengeti last night described the walkout as a crisis

He was considering calling an emergency meeting

Star

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CRISIS

# Cream of ex-MK crop keep step as many desert

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ARLT 2/11/94

## The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — As the army paraded the cream of the integration crop in front of the media, hundreds of former Umkhonto we Sizwe troops continued to stream out the Wallmannsthal base — many threatening never to return.

The heavily-guarded entrance to the assembly area outside Pretoria yesterday looked more like a taxi rank than a military base, with about 20 taxis waiting to transport the troops to destinations around the country.

"We're leaving this bull army," a man shouted over his shoulder towards the camouflage-clad guards

He, and many others, were wearing civilian clothes, but had their army uniforms in duffel bags slung over their shoulders.

"I'm not going to come back. I've had enough of this place. I'm not interested in joining this army," said another before boarding a taxi

But the scene inside the base was in complete contrast, with 400 neatly uniformed soldiers on parade, each responding with a sharp "Yes, sir!" when their name and number was called out.

The group was the first transfer of non-statutory forces

from Wallmannsthal to army units for the start of bridging training, Wallmannsthal spokesman Connie van Rensburg said.

The troops — finally finished with the administration process after six months — left yesterday for training units around the country.

Colonel Van Rensburg said it was hoped 2 000 troops would have left the assembly area by the end of the week to begin with bridging training, which could take anything from eight to 42 weeks, depending on the skills of the individual.

But he said the number of troops leaving to undergo bridging training was being severely hampered by the desertion of almost 50 percent of the camp on Monday.

About 3 500 troops disobeyed direct orders and walked out of the base after receiving their pay packets. Only 800 had arrived back by late yesterday.

Colonel Van Rensburg said prosecution of those who had returned for being absent without leave had already started. They have not, however, been placed under arrest.

The others face disciplinary action if and when they return.

Under military law, the troops face up to one year in prison for the offence.

But both acting President Thabo Mbeki and Defence Minister Joe Modise — who visited the base yesterday for the second consecutive day — have delayed a crackdown on the troops

Neither had taken a decision on how to handle the crisis by late yesterday.

Mr Modise is scheduled to hold a Press conference in Cape Town today to address what steps are to be taken.

But a senior army source said harsh disciplinary action against those who returned was unlikely.

Reacting to the stream of troops leaving base yesterday, Colonel Van Rensburg said they had been granted leave until 9pm yesterday to go shopping.

He said if those who left on Monday had remained in camp, they would also have been granted leave, instead of facing AWOL charges.

Reacting to the fact that many had taken their army uniforms with them when leaving, he said the troops were scared their "browns" would be stolen if they left them in camp.

They were allowed to take their browns with them out of camp like any other soldier in the National Defence Force.

## French drive to renew SA defence contacts

FORMER French defence minister Mr Yvon Bourges arrived in South Africa yesterday for an eight-day visit that includes meetings with senior politicians, the French embassy said.

Mr Bourges, who is vice-president of the Commission on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Armed Forces of the French senate, will hold talks with Deputy President Mr Thabo Mbeki and Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise.

The talks are aimed at renewing contact with South African defence and foreign affairs officials, the embassy said — Sapa-AFP

(25) CT 2/11/94

# ANC hits out at MK deserters

Political Correspondent

ARC 3/11/94  
THE African National Congress has added its voice to the mounting criticism of the "sustained indiscipline" among some Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers who have gone absent without leave from their Wallmannstal base

In a strongly worded statement, the party's national working committee said it considered this behaviour "totally unacceptable"

But it also urged the Ministry of Defence and the Defence Council "as

(254)  
a matter of urgency to solve all the problems that have led to the unstable situation"

The ANC said "Those who wilfully absent themselves from the South African National Defence Force without permission must bear the full consequences of their illegal action."

"The SANDF must take firm disciplinary action against all those who abandoned their units without authorisation and prefer charges against anybody who might have violated the military code"



# Wallmannstal 'appalling'

CT 3/11/94  
PARLIAMENT — A parliamentary committee has painted a grim picture of discontent, appalling living conditions, poor communication and allegations of sexual harassment at the Wallmannstal military assembly area north of Pretoria (254)

The Joint Standing Committee on Defence, in a preliminary report discussed

yesterday, proposes that its members, the Defence Ministry and SA National Defence Force take joint responsibility for resolving problems that have bedevilled military integration

Presenting the committee's findings on its visit to Wallmannstal on October 21, committee chairman Mr Tony Yengeni said living conditions were appalling,

food was poor and sexual harassment rife

"Racial discrimination, particularly against women, must come to an abrupt end. Physical and sexual abuse of women in the camps should be stamped out"

There had been complaints that former SADF soldiers had pointed rifles at the (non-statutory) troops and beaten them up, said the report — Sapa

# SANIDF integration process bears fruit

□ Former MK cadres attain senior rank

Staff Reporter

THE fruits of the defence force's integration process are starting to show months after it started

Four senior former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres yesterday took up their posts as senior officers in the National Defence Force at the Castle, headquarters of Western Cape Command

They are Colonels Teddington Ngapayi, 52, and Mxolisi Petane, 36, and Lieutenant-Colonels Neville Mapuma, 37, and Bongani Jonas, 35

Dan Lamprecht, officer commanding Western Cape Command, said the new staff members had all been involved in defence force integration negotiations

"Because of their previous positions and experience in MK they were placed as direct entries into the army, but attended senior officer introduction courses at the army gymnasium in Heidelberg," Brigadier Lamprecht said

They will then get their final postings" The officers all received their initial military training at ANC bases outside the country and fought in bush war campaigns against the old SADF

Colonels Petane and Jonas were imprisoned on Robben Island after entering the country as guerrillas

During his trial in 1987 Colonel Petane refused to plead or take part in court proceedings, saying he was a prisoner of war

Colonel Jonas was arrested with ANC MPs Tony Yengeni and Jenny Schreiner and others and refused to testify against them in court

About his new position, Colonel Jonas said he was very proud to be part of the new army

"In MK we were part of the political struggle against apartheid. Now that there is a new government in power, I am prepared to serve the country with the highest discipline and honour, and am prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice in defence of the new constitution"

ARL 3/11/94 254



Picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus

ATTENTION: Dan Lamprecht, Officer Commanding Western Cape Command, congratulates his new senior officers — all former Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres — Colonels Teddington Ngapayi and Mxolisi Petane and Lieutenant-Colonels Neville Mapuma and Bongani Jonas.

# Million dollar bounty for SA secret arms man

ARC 4/11/94

(254)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A bounty of a million dollars (R3,49 million) has been placed on the head of one of the South African arms dealers involved in the aborted Armscor sale of a shipment of AK 47s through Lebanese middleman Eli Wazan earlier this year.

This has been alleged in the affidavit of a senior Armscor official which was presented yesterday to a preliminary hearing of the Cameron commission, appointed in October to investigate Armscor's weapons transactions since 1991, in particular the Wazan deal.

The affidavit, the author of which may not be named pending the commission's decision on Monday on whether the inquiry should be held in camera, says some of the individuals involved in the Wazan transaction "are now in danger".

"One party has been threatened and told there is \$1 million on his head if he fails to sort out the problems with Armscor. He has made special plans to protect himself and his family."

The botched arms transaction involved the sale by Armscor of 34 containers of AK 47s and G3 rifles to Wazan for R2,4-million. The shipment almost reached Yemen before being turned back to Port Elizabeth harbour.

# MPs back tough stand on AWOL

CT 4/11/94

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE ANC's 311-member caucus yesterday endorsed the tough stand taken by Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise and the ANC's national working committee on uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) dissidents

After receiving a briefing from the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, on the situation at Wallmannstal base, the caucus agreed with the NWC that MK members absent without leave should "bear the full consequences of their illegal action".

Earlier, Mr Modise warned that MK deserters who became armed renegades would face the full might of the state

Should those excluded from the SA National Defence Force integration process as a result of their undisciplined attempt to stir up trouble, the might of state would be "mobilised" against them, the minister said

The 5 094 troops who left the base without leave at the weekend have been given until midnight on Sunday to return or face expulsion from the SANDF

Sapa reports that former cadres of now disbanded political militias and former prisoners who are aged or disabled can claim from the R10,7 billion allocated in the 1994/95 Budget for the Department of Social Welfare, the department said in a statement yesterday

## Armcor seeks closed inquiry

JOHANNESBURG — Armcor yesterday asked that the Cameron commission of inquiry be held in camera, to save partners from embarrassment. (251)

The commission's brief includes a controversial Middle East arms deal. ET 4/11/94

Armcor's representative at the commission, Mr Stefan van Nieuwenhuizen, said supporters of the arms embargo against South Africa would be embarrassed if it became known they had done arms deals with South Africa.

He said the decision whether this information be disclosed should be taken by the government and not the commission — Sapa

Tension between veterans and 'softy city slickers'

# Deserters face deadline

254

APG 5/11/94

■ Tension has developed in the desertion-plagued SANDF between veteran MK guerrillas and undisciplined young "city slickers" who joined MK recently.

**DAVID BREIER**

*Weekend Argus Political Staff*

MOST deserters from the SA National Defence Force are reported to be untrained "softies" who only recently joined African National Congress's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)

Former MK members say there has been serious tension between these chronically undisciplined newcomers and MK veterans trained in exile who are relatively disciplined

Top former MK sources now in government insist that MK exile veterans are not responsible for mass desertions

Defence Minister Joe Modise has given more than 5 000 AWOL ex-MK members until midnight tomorrow to return to their Wallmannstal base where they are supposed to be

undergoing integration into the SA National Defence Force. Those who fail to report face dismissal

The desertions by MK newcomers have been a sore point among MK veterans trained in exile who had not deserted, the sources disclosed

They said there was a "lot of tension" between returned MK exiles and raw recruits who had recently joined MK from township self-defence units (SDUs)

There is said to be contempt among bush-trained MK veterans for "upstart city slicker softies" who only recently joined MK — such as one soldier who confessed on TV1's *Agenda* to disliking sleeping in a tent because he was afraid of snakes. The soldiers sleep on beds in large, barrack-like tents.

MK exile veterans used to eat snakes in Angola and regarded them as a protein supplement. Any former MK member confessing to fear of snakes is regarded as being a softy and beyond the pale

SANDF chief director of communications Gert Opperman says soldiers and tents are "synonymous"

Jakkie Cilliers, head of the Institute for Defence Policy, said MK's numbers had "swelled dramatically" in the past few years from among the ranks of township "city slickers"

He said they had very little military training or experience, leading to differences with MK veterans trained in exile

Dr Cilliers said these "city slickers" now in the SANDF had the same culture of entitlement as township residents who demanded four-bedroomed houses rather than self-help site-and-service schemes.

"They have massive expectations," he said

He said many of these MK members had expected to be treated as "conquering heroes", but instead of being seen as victors, they were part of a negotiated settlement

With many of the former MK leadership now in top SANDF positions, there was a leader-

ship vacuum among these former MK cadres, he said

Defence ministry spokeswoman Muff Andersson, herself a trained former MK member, said MK members trained in exile had been through "very gruelling conditions" and had often been subjected to food shortages

In Angola they had often eaten snakes to supplement their diet while in the forests of Tanzania had learnt to co-exist with snakes

She said fear of snakes was clearly a "city kind of response" and was not typical of former MK exiles

The government, meanwhile, is finalising plans for its proposed service brigade to provide training and employment for members of the "lost generation" and SANDF trainees who did not make the grade

While this could give a second chance to deserters, analysts believe they may be even less likely to accept the spartan conditions of a service brigade

Government sources warned that the deserters could turn to crime

# Deserters embark on crime spree

ARG 5/11/94

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**VENILLA YOGANATHAN  
and DAVID BREIER**  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

**RENEGADE** Umkhonto we Sizwe members of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) are running amok perpetrating crime in Natal and the Transvaal.

Police are aware of more cases elsewhere in South Africa.

In Durban, police are investigating a charge by a taxi driver who was allegedly assaulted and robbed on Monday night by four SANDF soldiers.

Earlier that day an estimated 1 500 soldiers were reported to have arrived in Durban by train after going AWOL.

A Press release issued by defence minister Joe Modise confirmed that a total of 5 612 soldiers were absent from the Wallmannstal camp near Pretoria.

Only 518 of them had permission to be away.

The deserters are believed to be former self-defence unit (SDU) members who only recently joined MK, according to Jackie Cilliers of the Institute for Defence Policy.

"They are upstart city slicker

■ Disgruntled former Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers who are absent without leave from the army are turning to crime, police say.

softies who have very little military training or experience, which leads to differences with MK veterans trained in exile," he said.

Yesterday Colonel Ray Harrold of police headquarters in Pretoria said three SANDF members were arrested for robbery and assault in Pietersburg on Thursday.

"We are aware of instances elsewhere in the country where SANDF soldiers who have deserted from their camps have been involved in criminal activities, mainly robbery," said Col Harrold.

A Durban taxi driver, Richard Dlamini, was approached outside the main Umgeni Road station by four SANDF soldiers who showed him their Umkhonto we Sizwe identity cards.

"They wanted to go to C-section in KwaMashu and, because they were soldiers, I agreed even though I was waiting for other people.

"They told me they had left Wallmannstal because of the bad conditions there," Mr Dlamini said.

When they arrived in KwaMashu, the soldiers refused to pay their fare, he said.

"They grabbed me from the back and dug into my eyes and then demanded I hand over my gun and the money I had."

Defence ministry spokesperson Margaret Neethling said her department was concerned about the incidents.

"Such action is rejected by the ministry of defence and the strongest action will be taken against the alleged offenders.

"The offences also fall within the ambit of the police services and the law must prevail," she said.

SANDF media officer Merle Meyer said some renegade soldiers had since returned to the camp, but the rest had until Sunday midnight to do so or face expulsion.

Last month thousands of soldiers deserted SANDF camps and were given until October 27 to return.

Major Meyer said the names of the 278 soldiers who had not returned by then were submitted to Mr Modise who dismissed them.

"These people had until November 3 to appeal their dismissals. Those who did not are no longer part of the SANDF."

■ See Page 13.

# Army integration still fragile

By THEMBA KHUMALO  
Political Correspondent

HAGGARD and visibly tired, Joe Modise was probably the busiest cabinet minister in parliament this week. His authority has been put to test by the rebellious action of more than 5 000 Umkhonto weSizwe troops who went AWOL (Absent Without Official Leave) from the Wallmannstal military base against the orders of their commanders.

Modise said of the 5 094 soldiers who were absent from the camp, only 518 had permission to go home.

Against the backdrop of a mounting crisis in the integration of the army, Modise's Defence Minister has once again come under the spotlight be-

cause of the acts of ill-discipline by MK members. Pressure is particularly on him to call the rebels to order because of his status as the former commander of the guerrilla army.

Failure to do so would reinforce a perception that during the days of the armed struggle he never enjoyed the loyalty of his troops.

However, the rebels should have been at Modise's press conference in parliament on Wednesday to see the man's anger about them. He cut the figure of a guerrilla commander who, although as a cabinet minister is no longer expected to behave like a bush soldier, grimaced, gestured and addressed journalists and interested MPs in a typical military

fashion. One would swear he was speaking to the rebellious soldiers through the media.

Watching and listening to him would have been most intractable rebel scurrying back to Wallmannstal.

"Those who fail to report will forfeit the right to remain in the National Defence Force. As regards those individuals who failed to comply with the President's instruction by the given deadline, they are now out of the National Defence Force," he said forcefully. (254)

Flanked by his deputy, Rommie Kasitli, and adviser, Calvin Kahn, Modise - probably tired of nursing the sentiments of former guerrillas who

want things done their way in the conventional army - minced no words when he said the government had had enough of the army mavericks.

Before attending the press conference he was locked in a weekly cabinet meeting where it is believed that the Wallmannstal crisis topped the agenda.

The action of the rebellious troops came barely two weeks after President Nelson Mandela ordered them back to Wallmannstal after they walked out of the base and threatened not to return in protest against alleged discrimination against them by the white army officers.

The bulk of them returned, but others ignored the seven-day deadline decreed by Mandela.

But commentators expressed concern that most of the genuine grievances of the disenfranchised soldiers had not been addressed three weeks after Mandela's assurance that they would be attended to immediately.

It is believed that some of the allegations against the army are not without substance. For instance, it is not yet clear why the guerrillas are sleeping in tents when the former SADF and former homeland troops are housed in barracks. Allegations of food that causes diarrhoea and the granting of lower ranks to highly trained guerrilla commanders persist.

Guerrillas also argue the term "integration" has lost its meaning in the military sense because it

appears that they are the ones who are being absorbed into the new army. They say that for the future survival of the army, all troops, whether conventional or guerrilla, need to be retrained and given new political education in line with the new government. It is wrong to leave the former SADF members as they were because they defended an apartheid government and they need to be re-educated on the new country's policy.

"Before we came back from exile we were given an impression that we would be in the same assembly points with the SADF and homeland armies for retraining. Now we find ourselves being trained by the same people we fought," said an MK officer.

# Last boat for MK soldiers

By WALLY MBHELE

ILL-discipline, bean-counting inefficiencies and impatience have emerged as some of the key problems that nearly scuttled the integration process of the armed forces into a unified SA National Defence Force.

However, in a first encouraging sign towards integration this week, the first group of MK members were transferred from the Wallmannstal assembly area outside Pretoria to different units round the country for advanced military bridging courses.

Speaking to City Press at the base this week, Colonel Connie van Rensburg said the purpose of amalgamation was to create a common standard among various armies of the former government, TBVC states and the

members at Wallmannstal had gone absent without leave. Many left with their army equipment and face prosecution.

Their continued defiance of orders, including a presidential decree from Nelson Mandela, this week prompted the ANC National Working Committee to call for tough disciplinary measures against the rebels, including expulsion.

They have been given until today to return to the army - or face expulsion.

Joint SANDF media liaison officer at the base, Lt Colonel Mbulelo Musi, admitted to City Press there were elements within MK who were reluctant to take orders and subject themselves to military discipline.

"Theoretically the integration was supposed to be a fast process. Unfor-

recommendation is made to the placement board for a rank," said Musi.

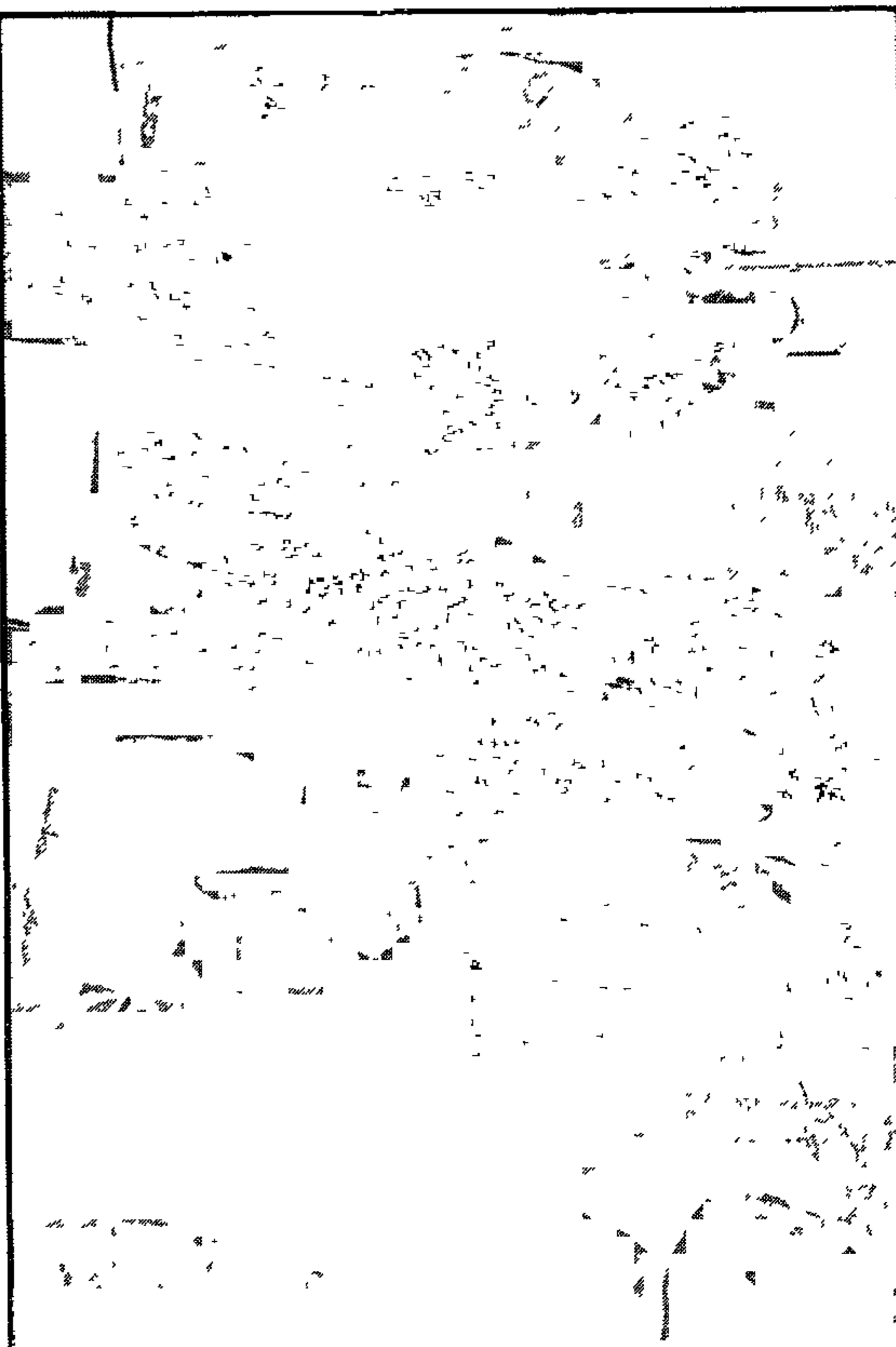
These stages had to be completed before it could be decided which bridging course an individual should attend, he said.

"Then you sign a letter, which will be endorsed by the Minister and the Chief of the SANDF."

For anyone to complete the process, "you always have to be around", he said. "If it is said remain in the camp, don't go out. Rather follow the established military channels if you have a pressing problem to attend to."

Many of those who left the camp said "some white officials" had repeatedly tried to delay the integration process.

They said while their files went missing "time and again", they had been at the base since May 1 without any visible



DISGRUNTLED... A number of angry MK members leave Wallmannstal the day after they were paid, vowing not to return.

By Piers ANDRIES MCINEKA





# Mandela threatens deserters

(254)

CT7/11/94

JOHANNESBURG — Former uMkhonto weSizwe soldiers who did not return to base by midnight last night will face President Nelson Mandela's anger

Speaking at the PWV ANC's fifth provincial conference, Mr Mandela said "We cannot command an army of criminals, of bandits. People who go away from their base and defy an order from a commanding officer are not soldiers."

Last night hundreds of former MK members were returning to the Wallmannstal base following the ultimatum

Colonel Connie van Rensburg said a roll-call would be taken late last night.

Mr Mandela said he was determined to bring order to the defence force and MK.

The strongest disciplinary action would be taken against MK cadres who did not return to base by last night. Those who did return would also be disciplined "They must know that my patience has been exhausted, and I am going to vent my anger on them," Mr Mandela said

## Disgruntled

About 5 000 MK soldiers went absent without leave from the Wallmannstal training camp near Pretoria on Monday.

On Wednesday, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise gave the disgruntled troops until midnight last night to return.

● National Party parliamentarian Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday the "undisciplined" actions of former MK members had wasted the five percent transition tax

The cost of incorporating the former TBVC armies and MK into the SANDF had been budgeted at R1 486 million, with an extra R223m for financing MK assembly points.

"The responsible minister should give every taxpayer the assurance that this situation will now be brought under control," he said. — Sapa

# Sales: Armscor chief says he may have been wrong

□ 'No personal knowledge of deal because it was relatively small'

ARG 8/11/94 (254)

JOHANNESBURG — Armscor chief executive Tielman de Waal has acknowledged that he may have been wrong to say the agency complied with all regulations when it sold a consignment of AK-47 rifles through Middle Eastern arms dealer Eli Wazan

Mr De Waal was the first witness at the opening of the inquiry into the R2,5 million transaction, based on a false end-user certificate saying the consignment was headed for Lebanon

Mr Justice Edwin Cameron ruled that the inquiry be conducted in public, with some evidence given in camera if necessary, in spite of an application by Armscor that it

be held behind closed doors

Armscor argued that countries that had violated the United Nations arms embargo on South Africa might be embarrassed by evidence at the inquiry and the lives of some people could be placed in danger

Mr De Waal said he had no personal knowledge of the Wazan deal because it was relatively small. He knew only that the arms involved had come from surplus defence force stock

"I devote two percent of time to the sale of surplus defence stock," he said

One of the three commissioners conducting the inquiry, Laurie Nathan, asked Mr De Waal about an Armscor Press statement on September 30

saying the agency had acted within relevant regulations

"On September 30 I believed that statement was correct," he said, but said that new information had thrown doubt on whether this was so. "Subsequent to that I'm not sure I would make that same statement," he said

He said another Armscor statement that the ship carrying the consignment had been turned away from Beirut port was wrong and had been based on "misleading" information from the ship.

Mr De Waal said that since the Wazan deal, Armscor had instituted procedures to verify all end-user certificates

Asked about reports of arms sales to Angola's Unita rebels by South Africans, Mr De Waal

said this was the subject of considerable speculation

"I would only be adding to the speculation," he said. "I have no facts"

He said the arms from the Wazan deal were now in storage at Naboomspruit but their legal ownership was still in dispute after they were turned away from Yemen

Armscor was barred from selling arms to Yemen by a cabinet decision against supplying weapons to countries in conflict, Mr De Waal said

Asked if Armscor had internal checks to prevent arms being sold to the wrong countries, Mr De Waal said "I would assume those procedures are in place but I cannot confirm that." — Reuter

# Arms deal: Armscor agent linked to Wazan

CT 8/11/94  
254

## Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — A senior Armscor employee spent a week in July at the Cyprus holiday home of Lebanese arms agent Mr Eli Wazan, the Cameron commission of inquiry into arms transactions heard yesterday.

Mr Wazan was involved in the deal in August which saw an AK-47 rifle consignment from Armscor end up in Yemen — to whom South Africa is not allowed to sell weapons.

The employee had enjoyed the hospitality of

Mr Wazan in Cyprus with the consent of his direct superior, the commission heard.

Commission chairman Mr Edwin Cameron asked that the identity of the Armscor employee not be disclosed. The employee had been placed on compulsory leave and had been told Armscor was investigating possible disciplinary action against him.

Armscor managing-director Mr Tielman de Waal told the commission that when the information about the relationship between his employee and Mr Wazan came to light, Armscor

believed some irregularity over the deal had taken place within Armscor.

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise ordered the inquiry as a result of the Wazan deal, which caused great embarrassment to Armscor. The commission was instructed to probe the Wazan deal as well as all armament transactions entered into by Armscor over the past four years.

Armscor claimed the AK-47s were meant for the Lebanese government. However, the Lebanese denied any knowledge and it was later shown that documentation for the deal

had been forged. Armscor asked for the inquiry to be held behind closed doors to avoid possible embarrassment to countries that had violated the UN arms embargo, but Mr Cameron ruled it would be open to the public.

Mr De Waal said he had not been in the country when the Wazan deal surfaced, and he had no previous knowledge of it. Subsequent investigations indicated certain control regulations had not been adhered to by Armscor, he said.

# Army expels 2 221 ex-MIK troops

CT 8/11/74

(254)

PRETORIA. — A total of 2 221 former uMkhonto weSizwe members "forfeited the right to remain in the SA National Defence Force," yesterday, said Dr Das Herbst, a spokesman for Defence Minister Mr. Joe Modise.

He said Mr. Modise stood by his warning that deserting former MK troops not back at Wallmannstal military base by midnight on Sunday would be sacked.

Army spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Brian du Toit confirmed yesterday afternoon that 2 221 trainees had failed to report for duty at the base.

He said 4 084 trainees had returned, 59 were on official leave and four could not turn up because they were in hospital.

Dr Herbst said the 2 221 trainees were no longer regarded as members of the SANDF.

"They have forfeited this right," he said, warned on Wednesday last week, he said.

Col Du Toit said trainees who had avoided expulsion by returning before the Sunday deadline would be disciplined for absence without leave.

He could not say what steps would be taken

against them.

About 5 600 MK troops left the base north of Pretoria last Monday after receiving their pay.

Col Du Toit said last week's desertion by MK troops had disrupted the integration process.

The target of having all Wallmannstal trainees placed at military bases across the country for bridging training by this week could not be achieved.

"Now we cannot give a time-frame for the integration of the Wallmannstal group," he said

— Sapa

# 2 500 ex-MK cadres fired

*Sowetan 8/11/94*

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

ABOUT 2 500 disgruntled former Umkhonto we Sizwe members who failed to return to the Wallmannstal military base by midnight on Sunday have been dismissed from the defence force

Defence spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Brian du Toit said yesterday the 1 600 soldiers who returned to the base before the deadline would be disciplined. He said a report would be handed to Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise, who would determine how the returned cadres would be disciplined. (254)

According to the army, 4 084 trainees had returned, 59 were on official leave and four could not return because they were in hospital. Du Toit said Modise

stood by his ultimatum that the soldiers return to base or forfeit the right to be in the army.

About 5 000 MK troops left the base north of Pretoria last Monday after receiving their October pay.

On Saturday President Nelson Mandela said his patience with the deserters was exhausted and that a disciplined defence force could no longer be manipulated by criminals.

The first walkout of former MK cadres was in early October when more than 5 000 deserted, claiming the integration process was fraught with anomalies.

Mandela addressed the troops, who had returned to Wallmannstal on October 20, saying their grievances, which were genuine, would be addressed. He then gave those outside a seven-day ultimatum to return or face dismissal — but only 278 met the deadline.

at a cool pool on a hot day as (from left) owners were served while frolicking at Newlands pool yesterday.

Picture ALAN TAYLOR

started paying monthly fee table

● FW shocked — Page 3

## Armcor probe open to public

**JOHANNESBURG** — The Cameron Commission of inquiry into Armcor's weapons deals began yesterday.

The Commission's chairman Mr Acting Justice Edwin Cameron has ruled that hearings would be open to the public, except in instances where national security or individual safety was involved.

CT 8/11/94  
● Armcor, arms agent link — Page 2 (254)

## Xmas sales boom expected

RISING inflation and fears of another hike in interest rates dented business confidence in October — but Christmas sales are expected to be R3 billion higher than last year.

Sales are likely to total R23bn, with the biggest improvement expected in the Cape coastal area, according to a survey carried out by the SA Chamber of Business.

● Xmas sales set for real growth — Page 10

# Govt bypassed in EU aid of R440m

**BRUSSELS** — The European Union (EU) has abandoned efforts to channel part of its aid for this year through the South African government.

The EU would now direct aid of R440 million to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) instead of the government, its acting director of development policy, Mr Peter Pooley, said yesterday.

Until now, EU aid has deliberately bypassed Pretoria officials and ministers.

The South African government said last night it was mystified.

Yesterday, Mr Pooley said Brussels was keen to work through the South African government, in a way that would never have been possible during the apartheid era.

"What we need is a single minister and a single official through whom we can channel our development aid," he said.

"We need a single channel so we are not having to arbitrate between, say, the minister of housing who wants one thing and the minister of health who wants another."

"With the new government, it is extremely difficult to decide who should be the great co-ordinator." He said he hoped the problem would soon be solved.

However, it was too late for the R440m to be channelled through the government.

"We must avoid losing the aid at all costs — and that we shall do," said Mr Pooley.

"All the R440m will go to non-governmental organisations, to ensure none of it disappears down the drain."

The EU aid budget for South Africa for next year is expected to increase by 25%.

Mr Pooley added he hoped that in the coming years, the EU would be able to channel more money through the government, while maintaining some links with NGOs.

But Dr Bernie Fanaroff, the deputy director-general in the office of Mr Jay Naidoo, the Minister without Portfolio, said the matter had been raised with Mr Pooley's deputy two weeks ago after press reports about alleged difficulties and "they told us there were no problems."

Dr Fanaroff also said neither Mr Pooley nor the EU had raised the matter nor had they written to his department about it.

"If we had received anything in writing, we would have dealt with it urgently."

## Lome treaty

"We can only conclude there is a problem in the EU structures. It is certainly not here."

Meanwhile, the SA government is preparing to announce whether it will seek partial membership of the Lome convention.

This is the trade and aid treaty linking the EU with 70 developing nations.

Mr Pooley said he expected an application for membership from the SA government — The Telegraph plc, Political Staff

# Funds threat to Black Sash

By BARRY STREEK, Political Staff

THE Black Sash may have to retrench its 50 workers in nine advice offices across the country because of funding cuts, its president, Mrs Mary Burton, warned yesterday.

The future of the advice office network, initially established to help black people fight pass laws, is at stake.

Mrs Burton's announcement follows decisions by some of the funders of its R4.4-million budget, including USAid, to change their funding priorities.

The Black Sash has also still not received European Unity funding which had been pledged for last year.

The problem has been caused by funders' decisions to support the government directly through the Reconstruction and Development Programme and to move away from backing anti-apartheid projects.

Mrs Burton said with its present resources the organisation had no option but to enter into immediate discussion with all its advice office staff before issuing a three-month notice of across-the-board retrenchments.

# No decision on punishment for MK members who deserted

■ STAFF REPORTER  
and SAPA-REUTER

(254)  
No decision has been made yet on what would be done to punish the former Umkhonto we Sizwe members who had left assembly points before being integrated into the SA National Defence Force, Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday.

Speaking in response to questions in the Senate, Kasrils said Defence Minister Joe Modise would make an announcement soon on exactly what measures would be taken against the deserters.

"If a soldier has no permanent or temporary rank, he cannot be

Star 9/11/94  
tried by a military disciplinary court," he said.

Reading Modise's response to a question by Democratic Party Senator James Selfe, Kasrils said a total of 14 764 soldiers had been reported absent without leave since May 1 this year.

He said 3 170 soldiers had permanent or temporary rank as former SA Defence Force and TBVC defence force members.

## Investigated

Of these, 2 992 had been tried by summary courts and 168 had been court-martialled, he said, adding that these individuals were subject to the Military Discipline Code.

A further 10 cases of AWOL were still being investigated.

Turning to members of the non-statutory forces awaiting induction into the SA National Defence Force, Modise said there had been two occasions when individuals had left assembly areas at Wallmannstal, Hoedspruit and De Brug without permission.

Early in October, 8 005 had left the three bases and 323 failed to return.

On October 31, 5 094 had left Wallmannstal.

"Of these, 2 221 had not returned to the assembly area within the time limit," said the Minister.

## NEWS Ex-MK cadres court-martialled for AWOL • Bengu appeals to donors

# More than 3 000 soldiers absconded,

A TOTAL of 168 former South African Military Discipline Code and "a total of 168 have been court-martialled, 2 992 Defence Force and TBVC defence forces members have been court-martialled, and 2 992 faced summary trials for going absent without official leave since May 1992. Defence Minister Jo Modise revealed to the Senate yesterday that 3 170 members of these forces had gone AWOL since the beginning of May. These individuals were subject to the

two occasions when individuals had left assembly areas at Wallmannstal, Hoedspruit and De Brug. Early in October 8 005 left the three bases and 323 failed to return. On October 31, 5 094 had left Wallmannstal. Of these 2 221 had not returned to the assembly area within the time limit," Modise said. And yesterday, Chief of the Army Lieutenant-General Hattugh Pretorius

said a lack of discipline among former Umkhonto we Sizwe members integrated into the SANDF had been tolerated until now because the army was desperate to make the integration work. Pretorius delivered this message at a conference at Unisa on futures and forecasts in the army. (254) He said without discipline, a soldier could become a rogue in the force. "I notice with concern the lack of

discipline exhibited by some of the personnel to be integrated. It is unacceptable for soldiers to call on the Minister of Defence to resign or to demand the appearance of our President to listen to grievances. This violates the fundamental principle of military relations — the subordination of the military to political authority," he said. — Sowetan Correspondent



# Revolt exposed

CT. 9/11/94 254

## RESCUED IN MID-ATLANTIC

**Yachtsman describes nightmare**

By DALE GRANGER

**BRITISH** BOC Challenge single-handed around-the-world yachtsman Josh Hall went last night as he described how he lost his yacht in the North Atlantic before he was rescued by Australian fellow-competitor Alan Nebauer.

Recounting his ordeal minutes after he crossed the line with Nebauer on Newcastle Australia, an emotional Hall said his Class 1 boat Gartmore Investment Managers "was a classic BOC boat, she's in tears."

Nebauer took fourth place in Class 2 after 52 days at sea — 21 days with Hall.

Hall said his collision with an object at sea just south of the equator was "horrendous" as he was "thrown against the wheel."

Nebauer is favourite to clinch the seamanship award for the first-leg for the rescue. The award will be given on November 25.

Officials turn blind eye to race hero — Page 7



**THANKS MATE** .. British solo BOC sailor Josh Hall (left) thanks Australian competitor Alan Nebauer for saving him in mid-ocean almost three weeks ago when his yacht sank after it hit a submerged object. Nebauer sailed Newcastle Australia into Table Bay with Hall on board last night.

Picture: SENNY GOOL

**PRETORIA.** — Some of the former uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) members awaiting integration were obviously building up to a revolt — and the army would not stand it, army chief Lieutenant-General Hattingh Pretorius warned yesterday.

Own Correspondent

Speaking at an SA Army Futures and Forecasts conference held at Unisa yesterday, Gen Pretorius said an investigation to look into the future of the part-time forces.

"The idea is to have a totally voluntary part-time force — in line with the tendency in other democratic countries."

"I foresee that the future volunteer will have a say in the number of days per year he wants to serve. I further foresee that a contract of sorts will have to be drawn up between the SA Army, the volunteer and his employer."

For his sacrifices, the employer could possibly be compensated in the form of a tax concession of some kind," Gen Pretorius added.

Gen Pretorius said he had ordered an investigation to look into the future of the part-time forces.

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"I foresee that the future volunteer will have a say in the number of days per year he wants to serve. I further foresee that a contract of sorts will have to be drawn up between the SA Army, the volunteer and his employer."

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Gen Pretorius said the responsibility of the army was to fulfil the missions of border protection and internal stability.

At present 17 infantry companies were deployed on border duty at an estimated daily cost in excess of R400 000. The effective and humane monitoring of the country's borders was however essential to stop the flood of illegal immigrants.

He said that in the first nine months of this year, a total of 35 812 people had been arrested attempting to cross the border.

"If one considers that only 12 275 were arrested during the whole of 1993, and that only a portion of illegals are actually being caught, SA is in danger of being swamped by illegals."

THE CIGARETTE FC

In tradition



# Armcor's board is under review — FW

From: SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Asked whether the cabinet was considering personnel changes at Armcor to help settle its 1991 indictment on US arms smuggling charges, Deputy President F W De Klerk replied that all parastatal boards were under review

He declined to comment on the case — which is hampering South Africa's bid to sell Rooivalk helicopters to Britain as Washington is blocking access to US technology — because of the hearing

The prosecutors are said to be willing to recommend more lenient penalties if the government takes steps to clean house at Armcor

# Armscor secrets

## China supplied South Africa with arms

CT101194 (254)

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Armscor disclosed details yesterday of secret weapons deals during the apartheid years, including sales to Lebanon's Christian militia and purchases from China.

The Cameron Commission of Inquiry also heard yesterday that several other consignments of Armscor weapons had been delivered to destinations other than those agreed to by the armament procurement company.

Testifying about a consignment of AK-47 and G3 rifles and ammunition worth R2.8 million destined for Lebanon in August, but which ended up in Yemen, Armscor general manager of marketing Mr Peet Smith said it appeared that other consignments had similar fates.

He supplied no details.

Mr Smith testified after Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise granted Armscor employees permission yesterday to divulge information about arms transactions.

In cross-examination by Mr Brian Sheer, representing the commission, it was stated that the only control Armscor's top management had over the sale of surplus SANDF stock — from where the August consignment was drawn — was a monthly report which only contained the country of destination, the nature of the shipment and the amount of money involved.

Mr Smith said the man who sold SANDF stock, who the commission ruled should not be identified, "operated independently" and that the only other controls over his activities were ad hoc internal audits, inspections and the issue of export permits.

However, since realising that the

Beirut deal had soured, Armscor insisted on the supply of end-user certificates by governments buying weaponry from SA.

Mr Smith said Armscor had only realised that Beirut was not the true destination of the weapons in the August deal after seeing local media reports.

Referring to the AK-47s, the report said the dealer, Mr Eli Wazen, had acted with Mr Anwar Shaalan of Jordan, director of a company called Eastern Discovery SA.

In the August deal, Armscor sold 33 containers of AK-47 and Portuguese-made G3 rifles with ammunition in a deal brokered by Mr Wazen, who said the destination was Lebanon.

The inquiry has heard that a Lebanese end-user certificate produced by Mr Wazen was a forgery and the ship carrying the weapons sailed straight for Yemen, where it was turned away by local authorities.

The Armscor report, signed by Mr Smith, said Mr Wazen introduced Armscor to the Christian militia in the late 1980s, when the militia was involved in a fierce civil war with Muslim groups.

"Since February 1991, a number of shipments of surplus and redundant South African Defence Force stock were made by Armscor to Lebanon," the report said. "Until September 1993 all these shipments were made to



JOINING THE FRAY... For the first time in the history of the public service, these public servants staged a march yesterday in support of demands for salary increases ● Report Page 5

Picture BENNY GOOL

To page 2

P. 10.

From page 1

the Christian militia"

Under a heading "The Yemen Connection", the report said that in 1993 "a package consisting of a number of AK-47s and ammunition was inspected by (Wazen) and a Prince Anwar (Shaan) from Jordan with the intention of making them available to Lebanon"

CF 10/1/94  
"Approximately half the package was shipped to the Christian militia during September 1993"

"During June 1994 Prince Anwar approached Armscor directly to sell the remainder of the AK-47 package to Yemen" (254)

It said Armscor told the prince that such a transaction was impossible because Yemen was on a list of countries to which South Africa would not sell arms

Eastern Discovery, which is represented at the inquiry, claims that it is the rightful owner of the shipment that was turned away by Yemen. The arms were returned to South Africa, where they are now in storage

The Armscor report said that between 1976 and 1986, South Africa had bought nearly 40 000 AK-47s from avowedly anti-apartheid China and five countries in Eastern Europe CF2

Mr Smith said it now appeared that Mr Wazen might have duped Armscor on previous occasions, sending arms to clients other than those he purported to be representing

# 'Armcor man knew of deal'

254

CT 11/11/94

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A senior Armcor employee had known right from the start that a consignment of several thousand AK-47 and G3 rifles was meant for the "black market" and not for Beirut, the Lebanese arms agent who had put the R2,8-million deal together claimed.

Armcor general manager marketing Mr Peet Smith told the Cameron commission of inquiry into South Africa's armaments deals of the past few years that he had interviewed the agent, Mr Eli Wazan, in Geneva shortly after Armcor's top management learnt the consignment was heading for Yemen, not Lebanon.

South Africa is not allowed to sell weapons to Yemen

## Weapons sold to Rwanda

Mr Smith also conceded that "with hindsight" Armcor had made mistakes selling arms to Rwanda and the Lebanese Christian Militia.

Under examination by commissioner Mr Laurie Nathan he said Armcor had sold arms to Rwanda until October, 1993.

He admitted the arms could have been used in the genocide earlier this year.

Mr Smith also said National Intelligence was investigating claims that arms were reaching

Unita from South Africa

He denied that Armcor was still involved in supplying them.

Mr Smith said that during the interview Mr Wazan had claimed the Armcor employee — who may not be identified to protect his safety — had known the end-user would not be the Lebanese government.

He had also claimed he told the employee the "end-user" certificate supplied to Armcor and the SA government was "not checkable".

Mr Wazan had been paid \$120 000 (about R420 000) commission.

Mr Smith said the Armcor employee had received "foreign currency" from Mr Wazan.

He had said he kept it for four months while looking for a suitable charity, but later spent it on a family holiday.

DEFENCE *Fm 11/11/94*  
**Action at last**

After months of hedging and looking for excuses, the ANC has finally admitted that indiscipline within MK ranks is the major problem at the Wallmannstal army integration base *(254)*

Critics of the unruly cadres found an unlikely ally this week in the form of the ANC Youth League — a body not renowned for self-criticism. The league said it was “disappointed and disturbed by the conduct of the former MK members,” about 5 600 of whom simply walked out of the camp after being paid at the end of October.

It acknowledged there were problems with the integration, but said “this is no reason for disturbing the process, particularly since the President’s office and the Ministry of Defence have given an undertaking to address the problems.”

Defence Ministry spokesman Major Muff Anderson, herself a former MK member, was more blunt, saying the Awol soldiers “have been behaving like baby Boy Scouts.”

Defence Minister Joe Modise confirmed the dismissal of 2 221 former MK soldiers who failed to obey his order to return to Wallmannstal by midnight on Sunday. That left 4 084 ex-MK recruits at the base to continue with their absorption into the SA National Defence Force. Another 59 were on leave and four were in hospital.

Those who did return before the midnight deadline — roughly 3 000 — would be disciplined, said army spokesman Lt-Col Brian du Toit. The extent of the action was still to be decided.

*Fm 11/11/94*  
SATV earlier showed returning soldiers saying they would not accept punishment for their unauthorised absence, suggesting that harmony may not yet be ready to descend on Wallmannstal. Rebel MK soldiers in Natal, meanwhile, threatened to set up an underground army under radical ANC leader Harry Gwala. Gwala himself did not speak out.

But Modise said any such attempt would be crushed. “We will mobilise the nation to ensure they don’t cause trouble.”

Some MK deserters, meanwhile, have allegedly turned to crime. Police said last week they had arrested three former MK soldiers, apparently from Wallmannstal, in connection with a liquor store robbery. And in Natal, an alleged deserter from the Ladysmith base was arrested for illegal possession of arms.

This was the second mass exodus of ex-MK soldiers from Wallmannstal, after nearly the entire complement walked out a month earlier, also after being paid. President Mandela on that occasion gave them an ultimatum to return or be sacked. Some 278 troops failed to turn up and were summarily discharged.

The trouble, however, began long before that. In May former MK chief and now SANDF Chief of Staff-designate Sphiwe Nyanda, had to be rescued by Defence Force troops when he was attacked in his car by a mob of MK recruits at Wallmannstal. He had gone there to investigate their complaints. The scorch marks left by his burnt-out Audi are still visible on the grounds of the base.

“We cannot command an army of criminals or bandits,” said Mandela last Saturday. But later that day, in an address to the ANC’s annual PWV Congress, he reiterated well-worn complaints that the integration process was too slow and amounted to a co-option of MK and Apla soldiers into the old Defence Force. “That must stop, we are on an equal basis.”

Mandela also accused the old Defence Force officers of racism. “The (MK) chaps on the ground are being ordered around as second-class citizens (and) the living conditions of our people are very bad.”

But what Mandela and other ANC leaders have neglected to emphasise, however, is the problem of sexual harassment and abuse among the MK cadres at Wallmannstal — identified by a parliamentary committee as a major problem at the base. While the report, led by ANC MP Tony Yengeni, slammed the weaknesses in accommodation and catering, it went on to note that the several hundred MK women at the base were the object of constant harassment.

“Physical and sexual abuse of women in the camps should be stamped out immediately,” the report stated.

The report might also have pointed out that the complaints about food should not be laid at the old SADF’s door, as the menu and the catering company employed at

Wallmannstal were arranged in full consultation with the MK leadership and approved by ANC headquarters *(254)*

# Arms inquiry: Alias refused

JOHANNESBURG. — The Cameron Commission inquiring into Armscor weapons sales yesterday refused an application to keep secret the name of a key witness who believes his life will be in danger if he testifies

Mr Louis Wessels, legal representative for Armscor official Mr Marius Vermaak, applied for the commission to withhold his client's name, address and position within Armscor

The commission is investigating, among other things, an abortive arms shipment in August when a ship carrying 9 000 AK-47 rifles, 6 000 G3 rifles and 10 million rounds of ammunition was turned away by the ostensible end-user, the Lebanese government. Lebanon denied all knowledge of the deal and the ship returned to South Africa after trying to off-load the weapons in war-torn Yemen

The deal was arranged by Mr

CT 12/11/94 (254)  
'Witness'  
life not  
in danger'

Vermaak with Lebanese arms dealer Mr Eli Wazen and Jordanian businessman Mr Anwar Ahl Shaalan

Mr Vermaak told the commission in camera his life had been threatened because of the deal

Mr Acting Justice Edwin Cameron said there was no proof Mr Vermaak's life was in danger. His name and address were already known as Mr Shaalan was represented on the commission

It would be senseless for the press to call him Mr X

Mr Wessels said after a recess Mr Vermaak had instructed him

to abide by the ruling

Mr Johan van Dyk, chairman of Armscor's armaments marketing permit committee, testified on the workings of the committee which evaluates arms sales

He said the Department of Foreign Affairs and the SA National Defence Force were represented on the committee to decide on countries with which arms deals may be concluded

The commission heard there had been a request for arms from the Lebanese government through Mr Wazen, with whom Armscor had dealt for 10 years

Commissioner Mr Laurie Nathan asked Mr Van Dyk why the application had been approved when the signature on the certificate was not named or titled. Mr Van Dyk agreed it might have been signed by a clerk at the Lebanese Interior Ministry

He also agreed the certificate was of limited value as there was no certainty of the end-user — Sapa

# Army crisis: Azapo warns on instability

(254) CT 14/11/94  
JOHANNESBURG — The Azanian People's Organisation has expressed concern that the crisis between deserters from uMkhonto weSizwe and the administration of the South African National Defence Force could sow the seeds for future instability in the country

This was said in a statement yesterday by Azapo deputy president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe after a meeting of the organisation's central committee on Saturday — its first since merging with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

Problems such as racism and corruption were still very real in several institutions run by whites, including the police, army and prisons, he said

## Hunger strike

A decision was taken to commend Azapo members who had intervened in problems such as taxi violence and to urge all members to act whenever peace within black communities was threatened or disrupted

The meeting expressed its concern over a hunger strike by its members at St Alban's prison, including Azapo regional chairman Nkwenkwe Madela. The men are seeking amnesty

Azapo's central committee had decided it would reconvene its 12th congress at the campus of the University of the North on December 17 to deal with unfinished business, proposed amendments to the constitution and the future direction of Azapo — Sapa



# New era dawns as civilians prepare to control military

Star 15/11/99

Cape Town — A Defence Secretariat could be in place by April 1 as a major step towards achieving civilian control of the military over the next five years, Defence Secretary Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn said yesterday.

He told the joint standing committee on defence that its success would depend on close collaboration between civilians and soldiers at defence headquarters.

The secretariat would have 625 members, predominantly civilian. Initially, 558 defence headquarters staff would be transferred to the secretariat, augmented by 67 civilian appointees. There would eventually be an 80:20 percent balance in favour of civilians.

The secretariat could be established by April 1 if the Public Service Commission authorised the required structures and posts in time.

Chief director, logistics, Major-General Aboobaker Ismail said civilian control had to be achieved to ensure the military operated in the confines of the

constitution and according to its parliamentary mandate. It had to be ensured that at no stage did the military subvert the authority of Parliament or the State.

Control and policy formulation would be shared between the Ministry of Defence and the Defence Secretariat, working in close liaison with the SA National Defence Force and defence headquarters.

The defence force would formulate strategy, while its four arms would work out the means of fulfilling this. (254)

The Minister of Defence would put the necessary budgets to Parliament for approval.

Director, strategic planning, Brigadier Jack Grundling said it was essential that political civilian control of the military be established, but with due respect for military professionalism.

Ismail said the process should be sufficiently transparent, while taking into account that no state anywhere could disclose all its military capabilities — Sapa.

# ANC won't tolerate MK rebels

Star 17/11/94

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

In its angriest stance yet towards disgruntled former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members dismissed from the SA National Defence Force, the ANC yesterday warned that any attempt to return to armed struggle would be "heavily dealt with"

The organisation was reacting to claims this week by a spokesman for the newly formed MK Elected Committee, Salvador Mkhari, that the dismissed soldiers had decided to use force — attacking police and other State installations — to get the Government to accede to their demands

The demands include pay-

ments apparently promised to former cadres by the ANC.

In a strongly worded statement, the ANC said all those involved in such a "suicidal plot" would be "heavily dealt with should they dare to proceed with their anarchy".

The ANC was convinced that in the process of recruiting for self-defence units (SDUs), MK was "heavily infiltrated" by "elements in the security forces" with the sole aim of sullyng the name of the organisation and MK.

"It is very unfortunate that there were no mechanisms in place to screen all recruits to the SDUs who ended up in the MK fold, some of whom are being manipulated by certain political organisations and in-

telligence structures against the principles and policies that the ANC stands for," the statement said.

ANC information head Jackson Mthembu, elaborating on the statement, said the organisation had to share the blame for the alleged infiltration, as it should have screened the recruits

The statement said Mkhari had never been a member of MK or received any military training outside the country

He had only joined the self-defence units long after the ANC had suspended armed activities.

"He is therefore not only ill-informed of MK discipline but also bankrupt when it comes to ANC policy matters. The

same would be said of the small clique that he purports to be leading." (254)

Meanwhile, the Returned Exiles' Committee (REC) said in a statement from Ulundi yesterday that it had been joined by 1 500 of the 2 000 former MK members who deserted the Wallmannstal defence force base — and was also ready to "use force to make President Nelson Mandela pay attention" to the REC's grievances.

REC founder Pat Hlongwane said Mandela and the Government should meet the organisation's demands before it chose to embark on peaceful resistance or "hit back physically to show our anger to the international community"

Ex-MK (254)

## members fined for deserting

PRETORIA: — Forty-five former uMkhonto we-Sizwe members who went absent without leave from the Wallmannstal military base near here were each fined R75, the SA National Defence Force said yesterday.

All had pleaded guilty.

The military trials of the remaining 4 039 who were absent without leave from the base between October 31 and November 6 were continuing. All were being tried individually.

The SANDF statement said there had been uncertainty about the legality of applying the military disciplinary code to the former MK members.

“However, on November 14 the state law advisers confirmed that the members concerned were in fact subject to the military disciplinary code in the rank of private.”

The SANDF said justice was “not being dispensed with a sledgehammer” but in the spirit of training those affected in the disciplinary requirements of a professional army.

The trainees had also forfeited pay for the period of their absence.

— Sapa

ET 18/11/94

# Deserters each fined R75

FORTY-five of the 4 084 SA National Defence Force (SANDF) recruits who went absent without leave from the Wallmannstal base outside Pretoria last month have been fined R75 each. *Bi Day*

SANDF spokesman Col Connie van Rensburg said yesterday the recruits would also have to forfeit their wages for the days they were AWOL. *18 11194*

Sapa reports that the trials of the remaining 4 039 soldiers, who were AWOL between October 31 and November 6, were continuing. Their cases were being heard individually.

Van Rensburg said the former Umkhonto we Sizwe troops being integrated into the SANDF had been absent for periods ranging from five to 20 days after

JOHANNES NGCOBO

their protests against living conditions and the pace of integration.

About 80 had already appeared before the military court and some had yet to be sentenced. All had pleaded guilty.

"Justice is not being dispensed with a sledgehammer, but properly and in the spirit of training under the disciplinary requirements of a professional army," an SANDF statement said. *(234)*

Army spokesman Lt-Col Brian du Toit said the process was time consuming and was causing further delays in the integration of the former cadres into the SANDF. He could not say when the trials would be completed.

# TVBC's costly army promotions

Sowetan 18/11/94

(256)

**By Ismail Lagardien**  
Political Correspondent

THERE was a flurry of promotions in the armies of the former TBVC states shortly before the elections.

Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise confirmed in Parliament that 2 252 promotions were effected in the former armies of Bophuthatswana, Venda, Transkei and Ciskei and that "the most obvious" cost implication for the new government was salaries.

After the integration of the armed forces in South Africa, the Ministry of Defence will have to pay these people salaries "according

to pay scales associated with their high ranks", Modise said.

"All the financial implications will only become known after stock-taking and audit of all inventories and accounts of the former TBVC defence forces by the (South African) National Defence Force has been completed by March 1995," Modise said.

The financial implications under the present financial year's estimates are R1 173 457 a month or R11 734 570 for the period between the election and the end of February 1995.

Most of the promotions were made in the Transkei (1 657), with other areas being Ciskei (411) Bophuthatswana (34) and Venda (150).

# AWOL ex-MK cadres fined

FORTY-FIVE former Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres who went absent without leave from the Wallmannstal military base near Pretoria were each fined R75, the South African National Defence Force said yesterday.

The SANDF said in a statement that all had pleaded guilty.

*Sowetan 18/11/94*  
The military trials of the remaining 4 039 former MK troops who were AWOL from the base between October 31 and November 6 were continuing. They are all being tried individually.

Army spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Brian du Toit said the process was time-consuming and was causing further delays in the integration of the former cadres into the SANDF. He could not say when the trials would be completed.

## Temporary suspension

The SANDF statement said uncertainty regarding the legality of applying the military disciplinary code to the former MK members had led to a temporary suspension of the trials on November 11.

"However, on November 14 the State law advisers confirmed that the members concerned were in fact subject to the military disciplinary code in the rank of private and the trials are now continuing."

*(254)*  
The SANDF said justice was "not being dispensed with a sledgehammer, but properly and in the spirit of training those affected in the disciplinary requirements of a professional army."

Du Toit said the fines would be subtracted from the monthly pay of the trainees, who had also forfeited pay for the period of their absence.

# March to cheaper tune may fuel row

By ANDREW TRENCH

THE SANDF could face a major backlash in the new year from former homeland soldiers who will lose hundreds of rands each month because of integration <sup>2011/194</sup>

The changes are being introduced at the directive of the Public Service Commission and are aimed at curbing possible friction in the military over disparities in pay.

But it is feared the decision to reduce allowances and introduce tax parity could spark widespread dissent by the thousands of former homeland troops.

From March 1 all soldiers will be subjected to SA tax rates, which are higher than in Transkei and Ciskei, where some soldiers are taxed by just 15 percent.

Soldiers' basic salaries — sometimes as little as R800 a month — will not be effected, but allowances will be reduced or scrapped. Ciskei troops are entitled to an R870-a-month housing subsidy while Transkei soldiers get up to R1 200. They all will now receive R612.

An "occupational allowance" — effectively danger pay — of R220 for Ciskei soldiers will be scrapped. A R1 200 a month Special Forces allowance for former Transkei soldiers is expected to be slashed in half to R600.

Several top defence sources acknowledge a backlash could result from the moves, but say a situation where different soldiers have different benefits cannot continue.

A Transkei officer, who said there had been talk of taking legal action, added "It's not hit them yet. When it hits their pocket it is going to be different."

SANDF media liaison officer Major Nick Sendall conceded the issue was "sensitive" and said the SANDF would deal with each case on its own merits.

(251)

# Army promotions cost R14m

Political Correspondent

**TAXPAYERS** are forking out R14 081 484 extra a year in salaries to pay for the rapid promotions homeland armies awarded members before the election

The Transkei Defence Force led by Gen Bantu Holomisa accounted for 1 657 of the total of 2 252 promotions in the 12 months before the homeland armies were incor-

porated into the SA National Defence Force. **CT 21/11/94**

The Ciskei Defence Force was responsible for 411 promotions in this period, the Venda Defence Force 150 and the Bophuthatswana Defence Force 34

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said in a written reply to Mr James Selfe (DP) that the promotions would have cost implications for the SANDF

"The most obvious is salaries because those promoted will, after integration of the forces, be paid according to pay scales associated with their higher ranks."

Mr Modise said the amount involved was R1 173 457 a month for the financial year ending February 1995, but the full cost of integration would only be known after the audit in March.



# Former MK members find their sea legs

SALDANHA BAY — Former Umkhonto we Sizwe members, many of whom until recently had never seen the sea, are being trained as sailors by the SA Navy.

The 259 former guerrillas, including 37 women, currently undergoing basic training at SAS Saldanha on the West Coast, all volunteered to join the navy after reporting to the Wallmannstal assembly point outside Pretoria in August.

Changes to military training techniques have ensured the navy integration process has been more successful than that at Wallmannstal. "Although we were not pre-

B/Day 21/11/94

STEPHANE BOTHMA

pared to compromise on discipline, we have changed the military culture of screaming and shouting and hitting people in the right direction," Saldanha commander Capt Koos Louw said. (254)

Instead, the training base placed emphasis on mutual respect and an understanding of different cultures and backgrounds, levels of military training and education.

The total current intake at Saldanha is 370 volunteers, with no distinction being

To Page 2

## SA Navy

B/Day 21/11/94

From Page 1

made between the former MK members and civilian volunteers.

The Navy is now recruiting former members of the PAC's armed wing Apla, who are based at De Brug outside Bloemfontein at present.

Classroom training is computer-aided with emphasis on mathematics, English and science. On the physical side, recruits are taught to overcome their fear of water and learn to swim. (254)

"We have learnt that activities such as the toyi-toyi help with team building," training officer Cmdr Glen Knox said. Group singing during exercises had become the order of the day.

Of the more than 20 000 former MK troops being integrated into the SA National Defence Force, only 10 have received any formal navy training, mainly in Russia. These individuals have been taken into the navy as senior officers.

# Retain and diversify arms industry

CT 22/11/14 (254)

**JOHANNESBURG** — There is a strong case to be made for the retention and development of a diversified arms industry which could service future defence needs of sub-Saharan Africa in general and South Africa in particular.

This was the opinion expressed by Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, South Africa's new Defence Secretary, at a one-day seminar on defence

equipment co-operation in sub-Saharan Africa yesterday. The international seminar has been arranged by Armscor.

Gen Steyn said a diversified arms industry would contribute towards the development of the national economy as well as the development of the sub-Saharan region as a whole.

"There is no reason why South Africa should not be allowed to pursue its own legitimate economic and

political interests as it sees fit. "At the same time, the government must ensure that South Africa is not out of line with international arms product control lists and must continue to make visible efforts aimed at demonstrating amenability in this regard," Gen Steyn said.

According to Gen Steyn judicious arms sales as a tool of foreign policy could prove valuable — both economically and politically.

This would also benefit African states as they sought to reduce their dependence on non-African supply sources, switching away from North American and European suppliers to South Africa, he said.

"Many overseas companies failed in their diversification attempts and South African companies would be wise to study the reasons for these failures," Gen Steyn said. — Sapa

## Mandela's straight talk with business

JOHANNESBURG — President Nelson Mandela will launch a national crusade against malpractices in the private sector when he addresses business leaders at a Radio 702 Breakfast Club function today.

Business leaders will be invited to join the crusade to discourage illegal and semi-legal practices that cost the government revenue and make SA companies less competitive abroad.

Government sources said Trade and Industry minister Trevor Manuel had briefed Mandela on reports of malpractices, including tax evasion and transfer pricing.

The sources said Mandela was eager that the transparency his government has committed itself to was extended to the private sector.

From TIM COHEN

JOHANNESBURG — SA's arms exports to the Middle East are expanding sharply while exports to Africa, Asia and the Far East have declined substantially, chairman of the SA Defence Industry Association John Temple said yesterday.

Temple also released for the first time figures for SA's arms exports before 1992, which showed a dramatic rise compared to the 1991 figures.

Temple said exports between 1987 and 1981 were almost constant at about R200m, but then quadrupled to about R800m in 1992, rising again to R880m in 1993, he said. According to Armscor, exports for the 1994/95 financial year were likely to top R1bn.

Despite the increase, SA would only have a 0,4% share of world arms trade which was led by US which exported over \$8bn, followed far behind by Russia, Germany and China which sold weapons worth about or just less than \$2bn each.

In 1992, SA exported 33% of its arms to Asia, 25% to the Far East and 18% to Africa.

The following year, arms exports to the Middle East jumped from 11% of total sales to 61% of total sales while exports to the Far East de-

# Arms exports to Middle East up sharply

(254) (75)

CT 22/11/94

clined dramatically to 7% of total sales.

Sales to Africa also declined dramatically to 5% of total sales while sales to Asia halved.

Sales to South America, North America and Europe all constituted small proportions of total trade. SA's arms exports to North America were non-existent in 1992 but increase to 2% of total trade in 1993.

Temple showed a seminar on Defence Equipment Cooperation in Sub-Saharan Africa a list of potential African export markets which proposed that SA does not export to Zaire, Uganda, Liberia, Burundi and Rwanda, among others.

The largest potential markets SA could hope to sell defence equipment to were Angola (\$26m of its existing imports of \$322m), Ethiopia (\$28m of \$95m), Cameroon (\$23m of \$78m) and Zimbabwe (\$21m of \$52m).

# Steyn sees strong case for diversified arms industry

There is a strong case to be made for the retention and development of a diversified arms industry which could service future defence needs of sub-Saharan Africa in general and SA in particular.

This was the opinion expressed by Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn, the new Defence Secretary, at an international seminar arranged by Armscor yesterday.

Steyn said a diversified arms industry would contribute towards the development of the national economy as well as the region.

"There is no reason why SA should not be allowed to pursue its own legitimate economic and political interests as it sees fit.

"At the same time, government must ensure that SA is not out of line with international arms product control lists, and must continue to make visible efforts aimed at demonstrating its amenability in this regard."

Arms sales used judiciously as a tool of foreign policy could prove valuable — both economically and politically.

"Nowhere may this be more true than in Africa, where SA arms sales may help expand SA influence across the continent," Steyn said. This would also benefit African states as they sought to reduce their dependence on non-African supply sources, switching from North American and European suppliers to SA, he said.

"A major task facing SA policymakers (including the Defence Ministry) is that of maximising the international legitimacy of SA's arms trade policies."

Steyn said he believed there was a vast potential for further diversification of the SA arms industry.

He said the prime reason was the need for a culture change, as years of selling only to the military had created a culture that prized technical progress above cost control.

Steyn suggested the future of the local arms industry preferably be linked to the broader base of SA's macro-industry as a whole and that potential for further diversification of the arms industry be exploited.

SA defence and military capabilities should be exploited as part of the country's new role in African reconstruction and development, SA Defence Industry Association chairman John Temple said yesterday.

Temple, group MD of Plessey Tel-lumat SA, told the conference SA underestimated the needs and requirements of the region.

"SA's new role in Africa involves relative peace could include involvement in disaster relief and humanitarian aid, provision of intelligence and surveillance equipment, provision of security and riot control equipment, and local design and manufacturing capabilities for special needs."

Temple said conversion of military equipment or technology to commercial applications was well advanced.

Examples were the use of fibre optic technologies (for missile and torpedo guidance) in land and sea cable telecommunications and of solid propellants (for missile and rocket systems) in sea rescue flares.

Meanwhile, Defence Minister Joe Modise said there should be no unrealistic expectations of SA's ability to support other African countries militarily, and there would be no extensive aid coming from SA.

"We will co-operate with other peace-loving nations and contribute to peace-keeping activities to the best of our ability, but market forces should be allowed to dictate the extent of equipment transfers," Modise told delegates at the seminar.

He added SA would only sell defence equipment and services to approved recipient countries at market-related prices, and defence trade and co-operation should be seen as part of a broader need for regional economic co-operation.

Referring to SA's defence force and defence industry, Modise said the country needed both, and one of the primary tasks of the arms industry with regard to the SANDF in the future would be that of maintaining, refurbishing, upgrading, developing and on occasion converting military equipment. — Sapa



Zambian Defence Minister Ben Mwiye, left, addresses a seminar on defence equipment co-operation in sub-Saharan Africa held in Johannesburg yesterday. Waiting his turn to speak is new Defence Secretary Gen Pierre Steyn.



Ireland's Northern Ireland director Ivor Jenkins said today he had invited a group of seven SA party would — with or without the CP's participation — prepare for the poll.

## Right-wingers prepare for local govt elections

THE right-wing Transvaal Municipal Association is setting up an organisation to contest the local government elections and is canvassing political parties to join it.

Wilson Zwane

party would — with or without the CP's participation — prepare for the poll.

## Northern Ireland leaders to visit SA

NORTHERN Ireland leaders are to visit SA to study negotiations in the country since the 1960s, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA said yesterday.

Transvaal director Ivor Jenkins said today he had invited a group of seven SA party would — with or without the CP's participation — prepare for the poll.

In their private capacities, this followed recent developments in Northern Ireland which offered prospects for the negotiation of a political settlement.

"Iida's objective in inviting these politicians is to provide them with the opportunity to study the SA experience over the past number of years will be of great interest to them and may well be relevant to their own situation."

The delegation would spend a week in the country and meet politicians, technical experts and military

# SA 'will probably agree to UN request for troops'

JOHANNESBURG. — Defence Minister Joe Modise says South Africa will probably accede to any request from the United Nations for peacekeeping troops in Angola

"Once the request is made, it's going to be very difficult for us to say we cannot assist in Angola," Mr Modise said at a news conference.

"The problems in Angola and Mozambique are affecting us directly..

"From the looks of things, it does appear as if it's going to be very difficult for us to avoid taking part in the keeping of peace.

"Peace in Angola, peace in Mozambique, is in the interest of South Africa," Mr Modise said

The United Nations special envoy to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, said yesterday the world body would not send peacekeepers until it was sure the ceasefire there was holding.

South Africa, Zambia and Zimba-

bwe had been named as possible contributors to a peacekeeping force.

Deputy Foreign Minister Ronnie Kasrils told the same news conference that South Africa opposed the role some of its former soldiers were playing in Angola, training government troops, but could not do much about it

"We've been looking at the Angolan problem .. In terms of the law they (the South Africans) are providing security services and training for the Angolan government, not acting as mercenaries as such," Mr Kasrils said.

"We're looking at the legislation. Legislation will have to be tightened up ..

"I think that the Angolan government is quite happy with the services that (the South Africans) have provided, so it becomes something rather complex" — Reuter

# Secrecy hinders Armscor inquiry

Vuyo Mvoko

**A**RMSCOR's insistence on keeping wraps on vital information is proving a stumbling-block for the Cameron Commission of Inquiry into arms dealings.

On Tuesday the commission was forced to postpone its hearings until next week, pleaded chairman Edwan Cameron before announcing the adjournment: "We need Armscor's assiduous co-operation, in a much more pro-active way."

Armscor and the South African National Defence Force argue that if they lift the embargo on certain information, the revelations may jeopardise South Africa's foreign relations. They said they had the full support of the Department of Foreign Affairs Armscor's legal representative,

Henry Shakenovsky, admitted: "I'm sitting with shipping documents, but have not given them to others". He said that because of time constraints and the embargo, he had been unable to have a "deliberate... perusal" of the documents to collate evidence.

Shipping company Dan-Am Shipping and Chartering said Armscor had not provided the necessary documentation to enable it to prepare its case. The little it had received was of uncertain status — it was unclear whether the embargo applied.

It emerged that a task force set up to investigate and classify relevant documents, drawn from Armscor, the SANDF and the departments of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Industry, was not yet operational.

The law specifies that the classification of countries, which governs

armaments export control, cannot be disclosed to the public. On Wednesday the cabinet was to have taken a decision on whether this information can be made public. One of the commissioners, Laurie Nathan, was last week stopped from pursuing a line of questioning related to classification.

Some potentially damaging information has already surfaced in an Armscor report tabled last week and previously submitted to Defence Minister Joe Modise, it emerged that during the apartheid years Armscor had purchased arms from the People's Republic of China, Portugal and Eastern European countries, "apparently for assistance to Umfa", and had also sold them to the Lebanon.

The Cameron Commission was set up by the Ministry of Justice to investigate, among other things, the sale of

a consignment of AK47s to Yemen, in breach of South African government policy, last September. Despite the shipping company's records which say the arms were meant for Yemen, Armscor is adamant they were destined for Lebanon.

An "armaments export control" delegated by the Defence Ministry to Armscor, was in force at the time of the transaction. This stipulated three basic groups, where no restrictions applied, where only "non-sensitive" items (such as vehicles and radios) could be marketed, and where all marketing was prohibited.

The report revealed that millions of rounds of arms, including AK47s, G3 rifles and Milan missiles, were sold to both the Lebanese government and Lebanon's Christian Militia between 1983 and 1989.

WMS-24/11/94 (254)

WM 25/11-1/12/94 (254)

# MK deserters camped in Ulundi

**Deserters from the Wallmannstal army base have been recruited by a paramilitary squad with links to the IFP**

Zulu speakers who claim they were discriminated against after they joined the new South African National Defence Force. They have been told they will be trained by some of Inkatha's top paramilitary leaders

Their "chief of staff" is said to be Dabuxolo Luthuli who defected from MK to join Inkatha in the 1980s. Luthuli was leader of a group of some 200 paramilitary fighters trained for the Zulu nationalist movement by Military Intelligence at a secret base in the Capriv. Strip in 1986

IFP secretary general Dr Ziba Jiyane said he knew nothing of attempts to recruit and train MK deserters. But he added "I have known for a long time that Zulu MK members have been ill-treated, both in exile and in the Transvaal. I don't know anything about this defection, but I have heard that one or two of them were considering the possibility of joining Inkatha."

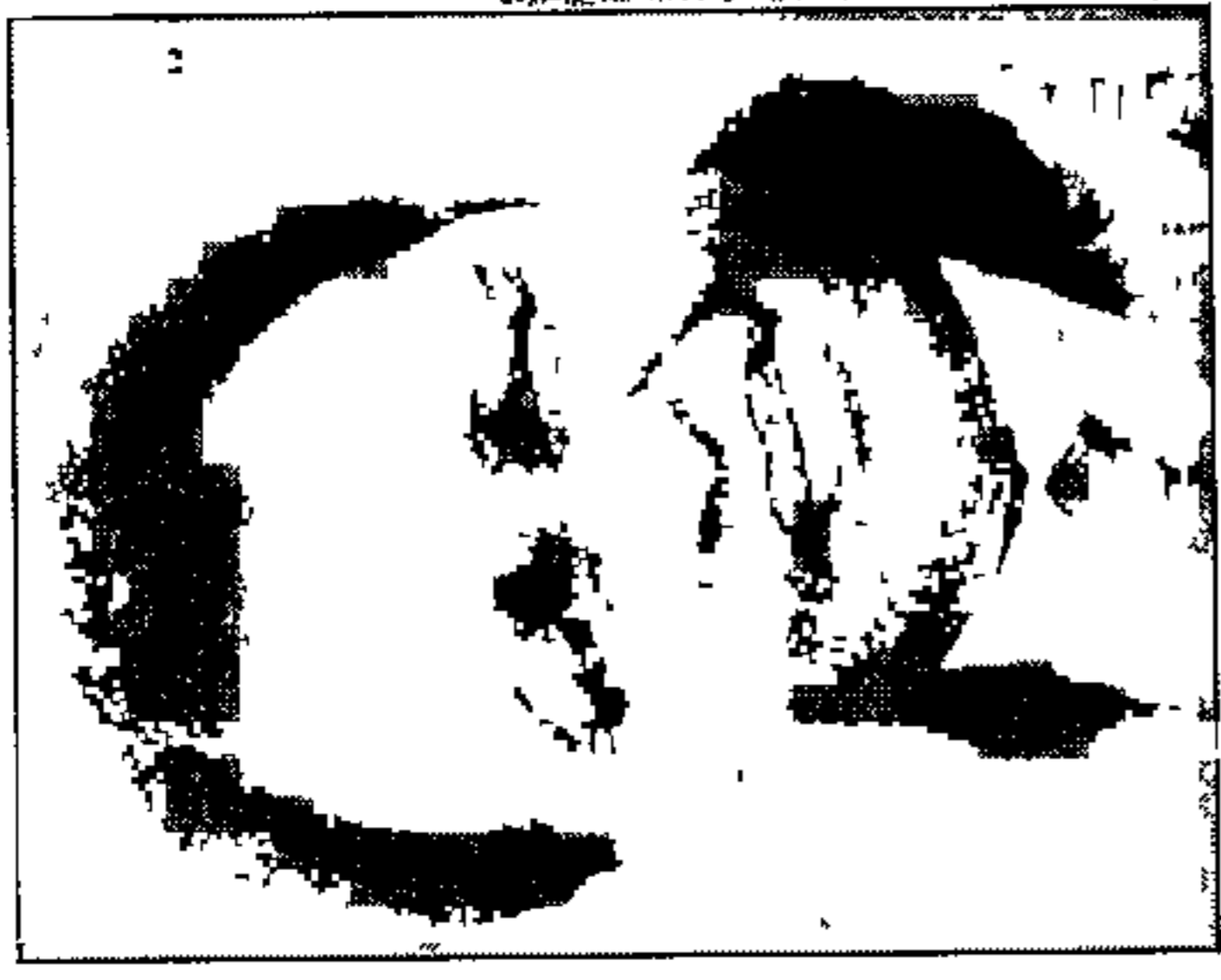
**D**ISGRUNTLED Umkhotini we Sizwe members, who recently deserted from the Wallmannstal army base, have joined a paramilitary squad with links to the Inkatha Freedom Party. The former MK fighters are being housed at police barracks in Ulundi and are expected to receive training as members of Inkatha-supporting "self-protection units"

The 150-strong band was recruited by Patrick Hlongwane, leader of a dissident group tortured in the ANC's exiled military camps in the 1980s who has close links with Inkatha. The deserters are mainly

Hlongwane told the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* from his residence in Ulundi that about 1 500 of the Wallmannstal deserters had joined his Returned Exiles Committee (REC). "These people have real grievances about the way they were treated in the SANDF and they are now demanding that (Defence Minister) Joe Modise, (Deputy Defence Minister) Ronnie Kasrils and (Chief of Staff) Siphwe Nyanda step down"

Hlongwane denied that the deserters had joined Inkatha and said they were staying at places in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. He claimed no knowledge that the group was preparing for military training and that Luthuli was involved in this. However, it is widely known that the REC has strong attachments to the IFP, even though it operates under an independent banner

It is believed the SANDF deserters have been recruited as part of Inkatha's preparations for an



**Joe Modise: 'He must step down'**

expected escalation of political violence as the volatile province gears up for local government elections. Some say they have been told to prepare for a period of civil strife — called *ndonda busuku* after an historic battle that took place in the Zulu royal family — next year

Most of the deserters are young men who were originally recruited into MK from the ANC's self-defence units in Natal in the late 1980s. They claim that older MK "veterans" were given preferential treatment in exile and also when the ANC guerrillas joined the new national army

As many of the older generation of ANC guerrillas came from the Eastern Cape and Transkei, the dissidents' complaints appear to have taken on an ethnic nature. Some of the deserters to Inkatha complain of "Xhosa domination" in the new armed forces — providing Inkatha with a useful rallying call to mobilise support from this quarter

Hlongwane confirmed this was a complaint among members of the deserters. "These guys say that soldiers from the former TVBC states (the independent homelands of Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei) are treated better by the white officers in the SANDF. The Transkei and Ciskei soldiers got a better deal than them"

**H**e told the WM&G that the deserters were demanding a military base be set up in Natal as a precondition for rejoining the SANDF. He said Zulu speakers from the province suffered disadvantages in Transvaal military bases, because they had to travel long distances from their homes and experienced "ethnic discrimination"

"These people are now supporting the demands of the Returned Exiles Committee. We want the leadership of the SANDF to resign because they took part in the killing of our comrades in exile. We also want the bodies of those who were killed in the ANC camps to be exhumed and returned"

Hlongwane says the REC is an independent organisation. However, during the run-up to the April elections this year, he worked closely with Thomas Mandla Shabalala, an IFP strongman from the Lindelani settlement north of Durban

In October last year he issued a press statement calling on all REC members to join the Freedom Alliance, which at that stage grouped the IFP with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, and also Inkatha's self-protection units

"We call upon all trained ex-MK members and REC members to seriously consider joining these self-protection units to defend the kwaZulu government against the SACP/ANC/Cosatu onslaught," he said. "Contribute your military skills in the defence of the Zulu nation. Crush the orchestrated civil war which is being launched against the Zulu people"

# Homeland forces' promotions milk SANDF

Star 20/11/94  
DAVID BREIER

CAPE TOWN — It's official: most members of Bantu Holomisa's Transkei Defence Force (TDF) were rapidly promoted just before it was incorporated into the SA National Defence Force, costing taxpayers millions.

This has helped to push the total bill of integrating the SANDF to a colossal R6,8 billion in the next four years. This includes the former TBVC homeland armies as well as ANC armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and PAC armed wing APLA. (254)

Late promotions also took place in the Ciskei and Venda armies to ensure members enjoyed higher rank and pay in the new SANDF.

This has now emerged in a reply tabled in the Senate by Defence Minister Joe Modise in reply to a question from Democratic Party senator James Selfe.

Earlier this year, other parliamentary replies revealed the homeland defence forces were absurdly top-heavy at the time of incorporation in April. The most flagrant case was the TDF in which less than a quarter of the 3 333 members were privates — the rest were officers and NCOs.

But the latest information released in the Senate reveals the unseemly rush with which soldiers in Holomisa's Transkei army were promoted.

In this last year alone, there were a staggering 1 657 promotions in the TDF — more than half of these, one brigadier was promoted to major-general (T.T. Matanzima), 10 colonels became brigadiers, 13 lieutenant-colonels became full colonels, 21 majors became lieutenant-colonels, 44 captains became majors, 68 lieutenants became captains and 41 second-lieutenants became lieutenants. Among the more bizarre Transkei promotions were the cases of 30 corporals who leapfrogged up the ranks to second-lieutenant.

## Few privates

Another 30 TDF second warrant officers became WO1s, 44 staff-sergeants became WO2s, 112 sergeants became staff-sergeants, 284 corporals became sergeants, 431 lance-corporals became corporals and 428 riflemen became lance-corporals.

There were only 826 riflemen (privates) left.

The picture was not much better in Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei Defence Force where a quarter were promoted in the last year before incorporation — there were 411 promotions in that year out of 1 654 soldiers. This left only 757 privates.

Even the tiny 1 187-strong Venda Defence Force got in on the promotion act. In its last year it promoted 150 soldiers, leaving only 570 privates.

The Bophuthatswana National Guard was in a different position as Bop leader Lucas Mangope appeared to be under the delusion that he could continue his homeland indefinitely — before it was overthrown — so he did not go in for wholesale promotions. There were only 34 promotions in the relatively large 3 658-strong BNG in the that period.

According to Modise's reply, the most obvious cost implications of these promotions were salaries. "Those promoted will, after integration of the forces, be paid according to pay scales associated with their higher ranks. The financial implications are R1 173 457 a month, or R11 734 570 for the remaining 10 months (May 1994 to Feb 1995) of the financial year."

Holomisa, the former military ruler of the Transkei and now Deputy Minister of Environment, Affairs, has claimed the officers he promoted were "staff qualified". Selfe said: "The question one needs to ask is how many houses and schools could have been built with this amount of money?"



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# List of SA arms buyers reviewed

(254)

JOHANNESBURG. — A commission of inquiry into South African weapon sales said yesterday the cabinet was reviewing the classification of 49 countries on its secret list of arms clients.

The list was compiled by the defence foreign policy committee comprising Defence Force, Foreign Affairs Department and Armscor officials.

Acting Justice Mr Edwin Cameron, who is heading the commission looking into Armscor's international sales since February 1990, turned down an application by the committee members for the list to be kept secret.

"The governmental transition in our country is shortly to be complemented by a radical overhaul of the country's classification system and of the assignment of countries to categories," he said.

"In our view the fact that the document emanates from a government which has been superseded by a new order is of the greatest significance in estimating whether there is good reason to believe that international relations may be threatened by the disclosure of the old country's classification."

Mr Justice Cameron said the constitution's provisions for openness and the public's right to know were more important than any possible embarrassment that disclosure of the documents could cause.

"The right of the public to examine the past is intrinsic in the constitution. The argument we have heard is not persuasive that there is danger or risk to international trade relations or bilateral relations."

He added, "Our terms of reference require us to investigate arms transactions that may have violated any international embargo and it could hardly be contemplated that we will give protection to any party, governmental or otherwise, which was involved in such a violation."

The judge agreed to release the list at 5pm on Monday unless an interdict blocking its publication was sought. — Reuters

# Modise lashes out at foreign pressure

□ Defence minister insists SA has right to make and sell arms

JOHANNESBURG. — Defence Minister Joe Modise has lashed out at countries he said were trying to block South Africa from selling its arms, including world-leading long-range artillery.

"Pressures are being put on South Africa on the question of the sales of arms throughout the world and also the production of arms," Mr Modise told a news conference at the country's two-yearly defence equipment exhibition in Johannesburg yesterday. "I think there is a limit. We're a

sovereign state, we have the right to defend ourselves, we have the right to compete with others in the marketplace," he said.

Mr Modise declined to name the countries involved but the United States has intervened in the past to block missile deals between South Africa and countries in the Middle East.

"Some of the people who are putting on this pressure claim to be our friends. If they are our friends we would like them to do unto us what

they would wish done unto them," the defence minister said.

He said those trying to block South African arms sales argued that the G-5 and G-6 long-range 155 mm guns, based on designs by murdered Canadian scientist George Bull, were unconventional weapons.

"In our view the G-5 and the G-6 are conventional weapons," Mr Modise said.

"They are ordinary artillery pieces

The ammunition is conventional ammunition. I'm sure that those that want us to stop, if they had the capability, they would be producing these guns by the thousands.

"We are not dictating to other people, I think other people must leave us also to decide our own future."

South Africa sold the G-5 to Iraq during the 1980s when it was at war with Iran. In July it signed a \$120 million contract to sell the self-propelled version, the G-6, to Oman.



Joe Modise

26-27/11/94

# T'kei army raises cost SA millions

DAVID BREIER  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

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More than half the members of the defunct Transkei army were hurriedly promoted in its last year to raise their rank and pay in the new National Defence Force.

IT's official — most members of Bantu Holomisa's Transkei Defence Force (TDF) were rapidly promoted just before it was incorporated into the SA National Defence Force costing taxpayers millions.

This has helped to push the total bill of integrating the SANDF to a colossal R6,8 billion in the next four years.

This includes the former TBVC homeland armies as well as African National Congress armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and Pan Africanist Congress armed wing Apla, who have been a source of chronic indiscipline.

Late promotions also took place in the Ciskei and Venda armies to ensure members enjoyed higher rank and pay in the new SANDF.

This has emerged in a reply tabled in the Senate by Defence Minister Joe Modise in reply to a question from Democratic Party Senator James Selfe.

Earlier this year, other parliamentary replies revealed the homeland defence forces were absurdly top-heavy at the time of incorporation in April.

The most flagrant case was the TDF in which less than a quarter of the 3 333 members were privates — the rest were officers and NCOs.

But, the latest information released in the Senate reveals the unseemly rush with which soldiers in Mr Holomisa's Transkei army were promoted in its last year, to gain high positions in the SANDF.

In this last year alone, there were a staggering 1 657 promotions in the TDF — more than half.

Of these, one brigadier was promoted to major-general (T T Matanzima), 10 colonels became brigadiers, 13 lieutenant-colonels became full colonels, 21 majors became lieutenant-colonels, 44 captains became majors, 68 lieu-



□ HOLOMISA: Bizarre



□ GQOZO: 411 promotions



□ MANGOPE: Deluded



□ SELFE: Questions

tenants became captains and 41 second-lieutenants became lieutenants.

Among the more bizarre promotions were the cases of 30 corporals who leapfrogged up the ranks to second-lieutenant.

Another 30 TDF second warrant officers became WO1s, 44 staff sergeants became WO2s, 112 sergeants became staff sergeants, 284 corporals became sergeants, 431 lance corporals became corporals and 428 riflemen became lance corporals.

There were only 826 riflemen (privates) left.

The picture was not much better in Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei Defence Force where a quarter were promoted in the last year before incorporation — there were 411 promotions in that year out of 1 654 soldiers. This left only 757 privates.

Even the tiny 1 187-strong Venda Defence Force got in on the promotion act. In its last year, it

promoted 150 soldiers, leaving only 570 privates

The Bophuthatswana National Guard was in a different position as Bop leader Lucas Mangope appeared to be under the delusion that he could continue his homeland indefinitely — before it was overthrown

He, therefore did not go in for wholesale promotions in the last year — there were only 34 promotions in the relatively-large 3 658-strong BNG in that period

According to Mr Modise's reply, the most obvious cost implications of these promotions were salaries

"Those promoted will, after integration of the forces, be paid according to pay scales associated with their higher ranks

"The financial implications are R1 173 457 a month or R11 734 570 for the remaining 10 months (May '94-Feb '95) of the financial year."

But, the full financial implications will become known only after stocktaking and audit of all inventories and accounts of the former TBVC defence forces by the SANDF. This is due to be completed in March next year.

Former Transkei military ruler Mr Holomisa, now Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs, has claimed the officers he promoted were "staff qualified" and had done army courses in South Africa and in other countries "where South Africa was not allowed to go"

Mr Selfe said the homelands had clearly promoted their members once the agreements setting up the SANDF were taking shape, to ensure their members enjoyed higher ranks and pay

He said there were "vague rumours" of Transkei soldiers doing crash courses in Uganda and India, but he doubted this had brought them to the standards.

# Arms secrets remain secret

CT 29/11/94 (254)

JOHANNESBURG. — Highly confidential documents relating to South Africa's armaments trade will remain secret until a ruling by the Cameron commission in favour of public disclosure is taken on review to the Supreme Court

The South African National Defence Force informed the Cameron commission yesterday afternoon of its decision to take the matter on review.

This follows Friday's ruling by the three-man Cameron commission in favour of openness and transparency in the armaments industry

The commission said the public's right to know and the constitution's provisions for openness were more important than any

## Disclosure decision to go on review

possible embarrassment the disclosures could cause

The SANDF, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Armscor had applied for non-disclosure of certain top-secret documentation on the basis that making such information public was a threat to

national security, international trade relations and/or foreign or bilateral relations

In spite of the landmark finding the commission agreed to suspend its ruling to give the three parties an opportunity to consider whether the matter should be taken on review

Mr Acting Justice Edwin Cameron indicated on Friday that if the parties did decide to take the issue to another forum the commission would not make the information public until the Supreme Court ruled on the matter.

This would obviate the need for the parties to seek an urgent interdict in the Supreme Court to stop any disclosure by the commission pending the review

The inquiry continues today. — Sapa'

# Come join the arms hand-in

Star 30/11/94

BY PAULA FRAY

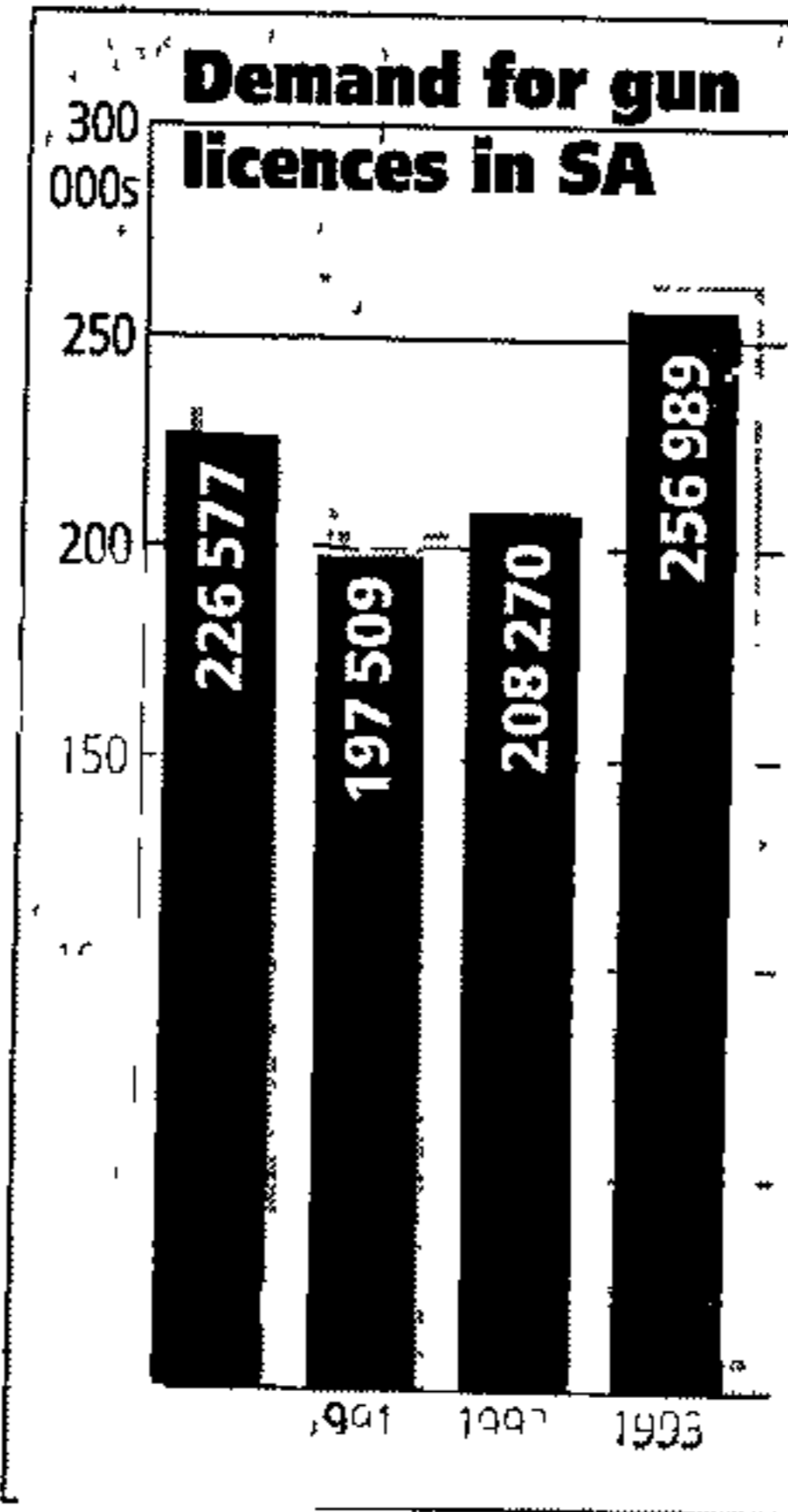
The Gun-Free SA Campaign is calling on South Africa's more than 1,6 million licensed gun holders to join in the handing over of weapons on Reconciliation Day next month.

Police are alarmed at the high number of weapons being stolen countrywide while statistics show a steady increase in the number of firearm applications

"This country is in the grip of a domestic arms race of frightening proportions," said Gun Free SA campaign chairman Bishop Peter Storey

Of the 256 989 firearm applications made last year, 248 976 were granted — bringing the total number of licensed gun owners to 1 637 141, according to the Commissioner of Police's annual report.

During 1993, 14 009 applications were refused and 4 806



persons were disqualified. At the same time, a 136 706 weapons

were reported stolen. "In addition to 3,5 million licensed weapons, there are between 1 and 3 million unlicensed weapons in circulation. This contributes enormously to criminal and political violence," said Storey.

"In South Africa, the crime rate is growing faster than the population. There has been an almost unbelievable 135 percent increase in murders between 1983 and 1992" (254)

Storey said this campaign differed from previous amnesties in that the hand-in centres on December 16 would be religious venues, and both licensed and unlicensed guns were being called for.

"We underestimate black resentment at the fact that licensed weapons have in the past been available only to whites. That is why we are also making provision for owners of licensed guns to hand them in voluntarily," he said

# Arms secrets out unless court acts

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11/94

CT30/11/94

Own Correspondent

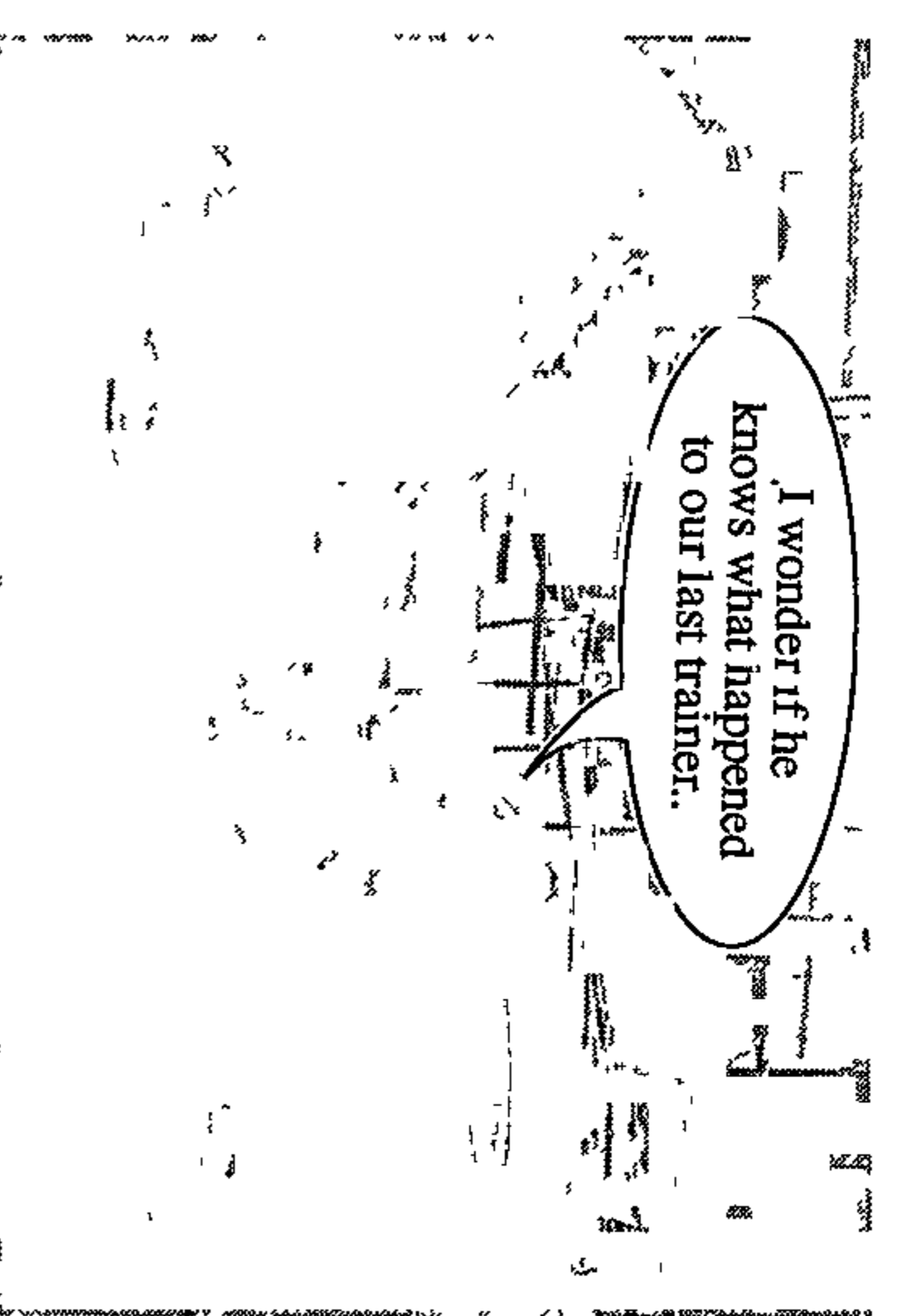
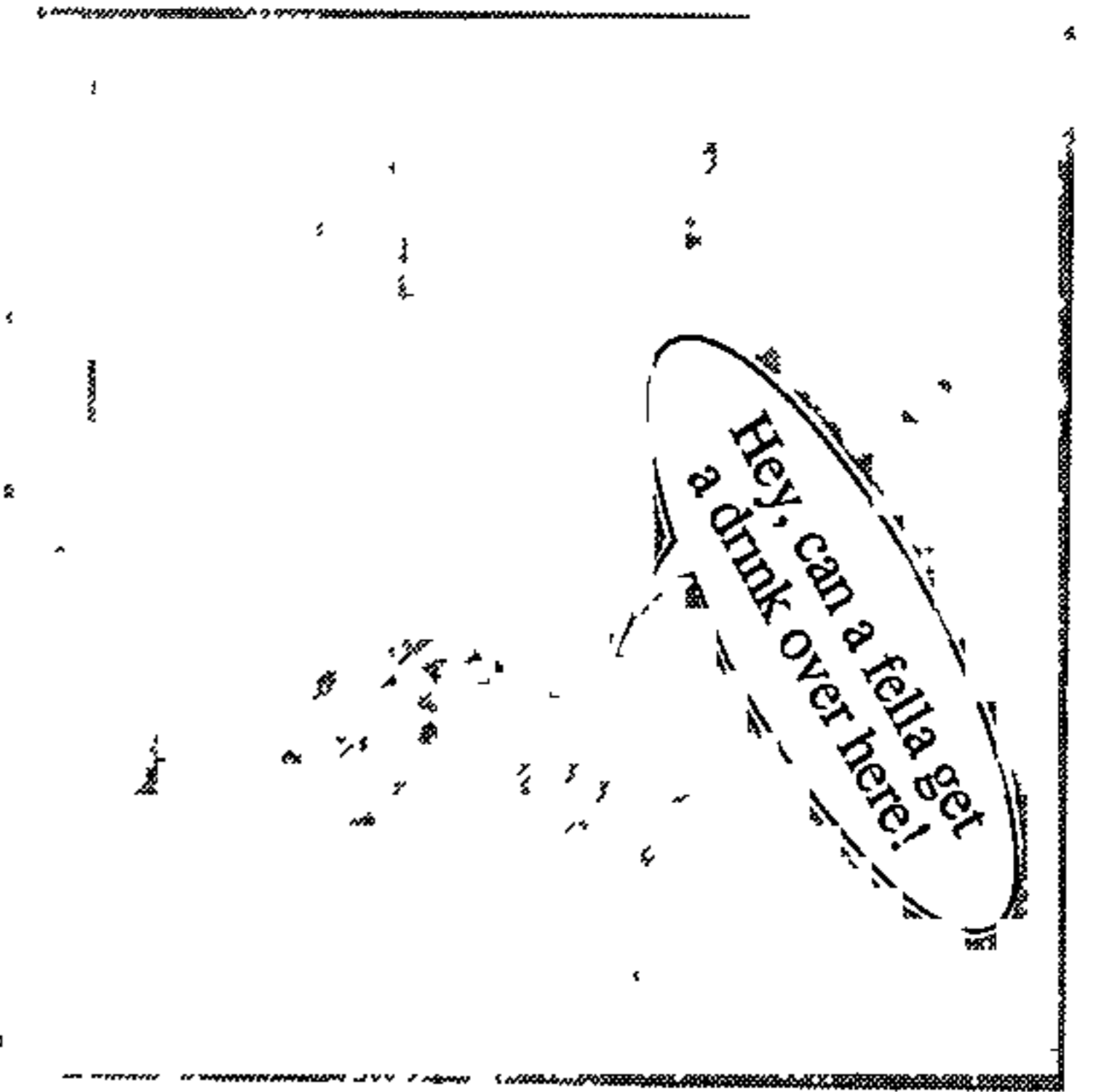
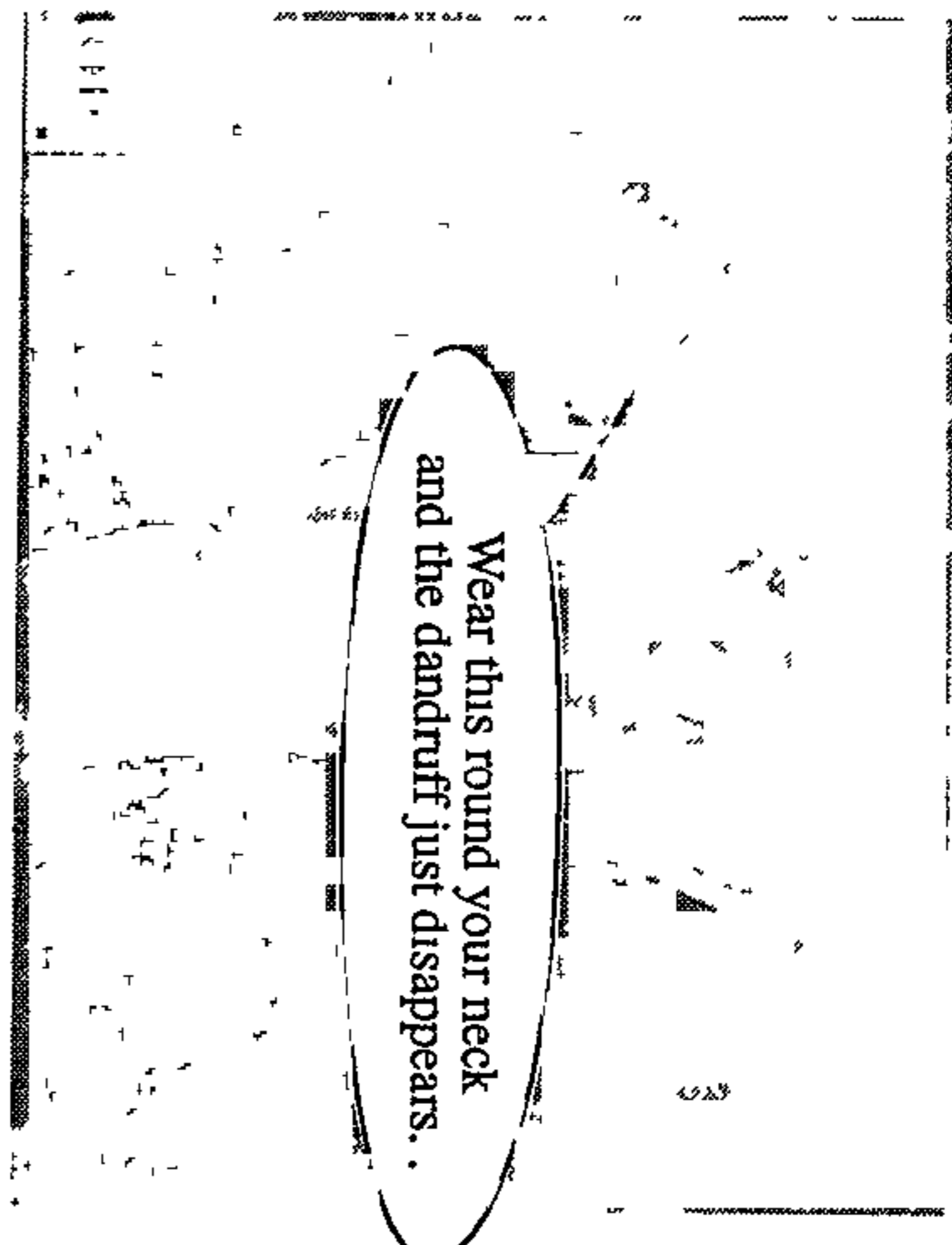
**JOHANNESBURG** — The commission of inquiry into Armscor weapons deals would release secret documents on South Africa's arms trade next Monday unless the SA National Defence Force got a Supreme Court order restraining it from doing so, Mr Acting Justice Edwin Cameron ruled yesterday.

The SANDF yesterday applied for the inquiry to be suspended until mid-January to give it time to launch the review and asked the commission to undertake not to release the documents pending the review.

Acting Judge Cameron raised questions about Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise's attitude to a review, saying the public had a right to know who was responsible for the impasse in proceedings.

SANDF legal representative Mr C L Claassen later told Acting Judge Cameron Mr Modise had given his tacit approval earlier this week by not interfering in the decision to go on review.

Mr Modise issued a statement yesterday that he was not involved in the decision to take the matter on review but had been informed of it by the chief of the SANDF. "My attitude has been — and still is — that the matter should be dealt with outside my involvement."



# A union for the troops?

HOW should the new South African National Defence Force approach conditions of work in the armed forces? Political Correspondent **CLIVE SAWYER** reports on a new study of the subject.

2574

**T**HEIR job is just that much different from others. They are liable for 24-hour duty, often work a more than eight-hour day without compensation, cannot strike or negotiate salaries and working conditions, cannot unilaterally quit their jobs, and must face prolonged danger and loss of life.

Now, says Lindy Heineken of Stellenbosch University's centre for military studies, the time has to come to decide whether South Africa's soldiers should be allowed to unionise.

Writing in the latest issue of *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, Ms Heineken said no country except Sweden allowed its troops to take part in strikes or any other industrial action.

Most military unions, as in Germany, were professional associa-

tions which lobbied political decision-makers on policy, while remaining committed not to undermine combat-readiness or discipline.

An amendment to the Defence Act has allowed the formation of a similar professional association in the defence force.

At present the only recourse for uniformed personnel in the defence force was the "redress of wrongs" procedure in the military disciplinary code.

"In its present form, it is questionable whether this procedure is an effective or impartial channel of restitution."

If the military was to parry the union challenge, it must accommodate the needs of the rank and file by providing what unions cannot.

"This means genuine interest in and compassion for subordinates."

If personnel structures are inefficient and insensitive to the needs of soldiers, the desire for unionisation will increase, Ms Heineken said.

The supremacy of the constitution, against which all laws, executive and judicial acts will be measured, had serious implications for the military and the extension of employee rights to soldiers.

Employee rights in the constitution include fair labour practices, to

form and join trade unions, to organise and bargain collectively and to strike for the purpose of collective bargaining.

It could be argued that soldiers were not workers and were not entitled to these rights, the constitution guaranteed freedom of association for all individuals.

If the matter went to the constitutional court, military authorities would have to prove that giving employee rights to soldiers would endanger the maintenance of security and public order.

"The military could argue that unions will break down loyalty, dis-

cipline and morale, thereby seriously affecting its ability to carry out its mission successfully."

Much depended on whether military service was seen as a calling or a job.

If it was seen as a job like any other, pressure would grow for unionisation.

Outlining trends in the South African military, Ms Heineken said the shift to voluntary service and the changing profile of recruits were crucial.

Recruits from Umkhonto We Sizwe were less socialised into traditional military culture and seemed more critical of and less receptive to orders.

Many black soldiers had experienced the benefits of trade unionism while in civilian employment.

# Court bars release of Arm Scor sales list (254)

APR 3/12/94

PRETORIA — The Supreme Court has granted an interdict barring a judge from releasing a list of countries that bought weapons from South Africa's arms giant Arm Scor.

The South African National Defence Force had asked the court for an urgent order to prevent the release of the list by Acting Judge Edwin Cameron, who heads a commission looking into arms sales.

Judge Johan Els yesterday granted a temporary interdict barring Judge Cameron from disclosing or publishing the contents of the documents known as log 17 pamphlet. 19 and all documents associated thereto.

Judge Els ruled that the temporary interdict would be in effect until December 8 when full argument would be presented to the court.

Judge Cameron had earlier said he would release the documents if no interdict was granted by 4 pm yesterday.

In papers before the Pretoria Supreme Court the SANDF said "the damage will be irreparable once the documents have come out".

Lawyer Neels Claassen, who appeared for the defence force, warned journalists after the hearing not to publish details of the urgent application, apart from the interim order.

"If any of you Press publish our application, you are in trouble," he said.

Asked to explain this, Mr Claassen said it was possible the defence force would apply for the hearing to be held behind closed doors.

The application was brought against Judge Cameron, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Arm Scor and the Freedom of Expression Institute, who are all represented at the Cameron Commission.

In an answering affidavit, the institute's lawyer, Dikgang Moseneke, said SANDF chief General Georg Meiring did not have the legal standing to bring the application to court.

"The applicant must bring the Minister of Defence here," said Mr Moseneke, arguing that Defence Minister Joe Moseke had the ultimate responsibility for defence force actions.

— Reuter



# Cameron independent — Modise

JOHANNESBURG — The Cameron commission of inquiry was an independent and impartial body with clear terms of reference, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise said on Friday.

Commission chairman Mr Acting Justice Edwin Cameron said on Tuesday that Mr Modise bore political responsibility for the commission's inability to proceed after counsel for the SA National Defence Force asked for proceedings be postponed to prepare a Supreme Court application to suppress the publication of certain documents.

In a statement released to clarify his position "on certain media and other pronouncements" concerning his ministerial responsibility regarding the commission, Mr Modise said "The debate about whether certain aspects of the commission's work should be open to the public or held in camera has to be viewed within the context of what is best for the

national interest."

Mr Modise said there was a legal requirement for transparency in the commission's work, but it had to be carefully considered what matters needed "to be dealt with in a manner which does not jeopardise the security and national interest of South Africa" — Sapa

2514 CT 5/12/94

# Arms deals documents still secret

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Cameron commission of inquiry into South African arms deals was temporarily prohibited by the Transvaal Supreme Court on Friday from disclosing secret documents identifying countries that bought SA weapons during the embargo years.

Mr Justice Johan Els granted an urgent interim interdict to the SA National Defence Force, ruling that the documents may not be made public pending full argument on the matter on Thursday.

The application was brought hours before the expiry of a deadline set by commission chairman acting Judge Edwin Cameron for the disclosure of the documents. Judge Cameron had ruled that the public's right to know and the Constitution's provisions for openness were more important than any possible embarrassment caused by publication of the documents.

Counsel representing the SANDF, Mr Neels Claassen SC, warned that the contents of the SANDF's founding affidavits in support of the application may not be published.

He added that the SANDF would apply that Thursday's court proceedings be heard behind closed doors.

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wind W 10 knots

# Court move to keep arms sales secret dropped

ART 7/12/94 (254)

## The Argus Correspondent

The National Defence Force (SANDF) is to withdraw its Supreme Court application to prevent publication of a classified document listing countries to which South Africa has sold arms

As a result, the Cameron Commission investigating Armscor deals yesterday released the list of 179 countries apartheid South Africa considered to be potential arms buyers

Among them are Albania, Chile, China and Taiwan, Egypt, Israel, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, the "Lebanon Christian Militia", Malaysia, Morocco, Mongolia, Myanmar (formerly Burma), Nigeria, Ukraine, Pakistan, Poland, Rumania, the Russian Federation, Rwanda and Burundi, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, South Korea, Tunisia and Zambia.

Iraq and Angola, listed in earlier documents as possible clients, later had this status withdrawn.

The list also specifies that Armscor could sell "non-sensitive weapons" to South African "state and semi-state organisations, and security agencies and self-governing black states".

Only a handful of countries, including Zimbabwe, Zaire, Vietnam, Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia, Sudan, Cuba, North Korea, Iran, Libya, Liberia, Yemen, Yugoslavia (including Serbia and Montenegro) and Botswana were declared states with which there could be "no trade whatsoever".

Only the Greek section of the official government of Cyprus had been given a clear trade code

The SANDF announcement, made by its counsel Henry Shakanovsky at the Cameron Commission office in Sandton, was the direct consequence of last week's publication in the Weekly Mail and Guardian newspaper of a 1989 version of the document — "which completely destroyed the essential basis for the relief sought through the application"

Mr Shakanovsky added, however, that while in this instance the SANDF had been "effectively deprived of its legal and constitutional right to seek a review of the commission's November 25 ruling", it reserved its rights to protect South Africa's national security interests in the future.

"This action (of withdrawal) must in no manner be construed as a waiver or abandonment of the SANDF's rights or duties," he said

Acting Justice Edwin Cameron ruled on November 25 that "the right of the public to examine the past is intrinsic in the constitution. The argument we have heard is not persuasive that there is danger or risk to international trade relations or bilateral relations"

Judge Cameron said yesterday he welcomed the SANDF's announcement, which was significant in terms of the commission's progress

His sentiments were echoed by Raymond Louw of the Freedom of Expression Institute.

# Chemical war agents 'made for research'

ET 9/12/94

(254)

JOHANNESBURG — Armscor said yesterday a subsidiary was making chemical warfare agents such as mustard gas, but only in limited research quantities allowed by international convention.

Mr Phillip Coleman, manager of the Protechnik laboratory which makes the agents, told reporters during a tour of the plant outside Johannesburg that the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) allowed signatories to maintain "a single small-scale facility".

He said Protechnik made small samples of mustard gas and other agents as part of its operation to test clothing, air filters and chemical weapons detection systems.

Mr Coleman said his company was helping to ascertain which companies in South Africa were making industrial chemicals that could be processed into warfare agents.

Under the terms of the CWC, which South Africa signed in January last year, member states must monitor the production and marketing of schedule three chemicals.

Armscor chief Mr Tielman de Waal said South Africa had no stocks of chemical weapons.

Armscor sources said the tour of the facility was aimed at nipping in the bud any speculation that Protechnik was producing chemical weapons on a scale large enough for military use. — Sapa-Reuter

## Armcor buys gas warfare firm

(254) BD 9/12/94  
STEPHANE BOUTHMA

ARMSCOR had purchased a defensive chemical warfare research and development company which would support the Council for the Non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction with regard to local implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention, Armcor MD Tielman de Waal announced yesterday.

The R4m deal to purchase Protechnik Laboratories, was concluded three months ago, De Waal said, adding that Armcor needed the investment in such a facility because proliferation did not necessarily occur in well-formed and well-shaped missiles or guns only.

Through Protechnik, Armcor would provide specialist technical support to the council, although the Trade and Industry Department was the custodian of the Non-Proliferation Act, he said.

He said SA did not produce weapons of mass destruction and was committed to a policy of non-proliferation. In January last year SA became a signatory to the Chemical Weapons Convention.

Protechnik manager Phillip Coleman said his company manufactured chemical warfare agents such as mustard gas in limited research quantities allowed by the international convention.

It produced small samples of chemical agents to test protective clothing, air filters and chemical weapons detection systems.

## Paper industry warns against tariff removal

AMANDA VERMEULEN

SA's paper and pulp industry has warned that the removal of tariffs on imported paper could force local producers to seek investment opportunities outside the country's borders.

Responding to the Printing Industries' Federation (PIF) call to the Department of Trade and Industry to remove the 10% tariff protection, paper industry players said it could have a detrimental effect on the local industry.

A Trade and Industry Ministry spokesman said the application to the Board on Tariffs and Trade should be published today in the Government Gazette.

After publication, the board will ask for comment and complete an investigation before making a report to Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel.

Mondi MD Derrick Minnie said yesterday many of the group's products, supplied to the local printing and packaging industry, were substantially below prices of imported paper and board, even when the tariff protection was not included.

He said almost every paper-producing nation had some form of tariff protection, with some being as much as 30%.

The paper industry required massive capital investment, and local

producers had to be assured that there would be a market for their products to ensure a return on investment. Tariff protection was the main mechanism of assurance paper producers needed, and if it was to fall away, then local companies could look at investing in other countries which had protection.

Minnie said Mondi had been loyal to its local customer base, despite the fact that they could receive substantial prices for products in overseas markets, particularly now that paper and pulp prices had increased dramatically.

Sappi Fine Paper MD Bert Ibertson said the tariff issue relating to the paper industry had been dealt with under GATT, and over time tariffs worldwide would be reduced.

If the tariffs fell away, the printing industry would become more reliant on imports, which could become a problem in the current undersupply in world markets.

The PIF's Chris Sykes said he found it strange that local producers were using tariff protection as a reason to keep investment in SA, when Sappi and Mondi were investing abroad already.

"If SA industry is to be world competitive there is a decreasing need for tariff protection."

... court was... the men were used. A call by State counsel for the death neighbouring restaurant owner who came to investigate was also shot dead.

# Arm Scor payment 'a mistake'

(254)

SUSAN RUSSELL

A SENIOR Arm Scor executive told the Cameron commission yesterday that an apparent overpayment of \$50 000 to arms dealer Eli Wazan, an agent in a weapons transaction, must have been "a mistake".

Arm Scor's senior manager of marketing development Brig Anthony Savides was replying to questions put to him by commissioner Laurie Nathan relating to the financial details of two deals Arm Scor concluded with Wazan.

Both deals involved the sale of AK-47s, ostensibly to Lebanon, with Wazan acting as the intermediary between Arm Scor and the purchaser.

President Nelson Mandela initiated the present inquiry, headed by Acting Judge Edwin Cameron, after it was disclosed earlier this year that the second consignment of AK-47s purportedly en route for Lebanon was in fact destined for Yemen, a country with which Arm Scor was prohibited from dealing.

Savides agreed that documents showed Wazan was overpaid \$50 000.

The document authorising the payment was signed by Arm Scor senior manager of import/export P Smit, Savides himself and his subordinate Marius Vermaak who handled the transaction.

Asked what motive Vermaak could have had for overpaying Wazan, Savides replied: "I couldn't begin to guess. Well, I could guess but I wouldn't like to."

At this point Arm Scor counsel S van

Nieuwenhuizen SC objected to the speculative nature of the questions.

He agreed it could have been an "elaborate scheme" to filter money out of SA and the issue did "require exploration".

He said, however, that instead of asking Savides to speculate on motives, the commission should rather wait for the evidence of Vermaak himself as well as Arm Scor's auditors.

Counsel for Vermaak also told the commission that he would be able to furnish the commission with an explanation which would make it clear that no irregularities had occurred.

Earlier Savides agreed that although he had been senior to Vermaak, in many instances he had merely acted as a rubber stamp to Vermaak's decisions.

He also agreed that in many instances figures given for the cost of various legs of the Wazan transactions, such as the arms dealer's commission, listed in the original price determinations, were lower than the amounts actually paid out by Arm Scor.

Savides could not explain the discrepancy or why the amounts paid out had been inflated over the original quotes.

The commission continues today.

Savides told the commission that since the Wazan transactions Arm Scor had instituted strict new departmental and interdepartmental controls.

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R250 off any old printer  
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ARG 14/12/94

# Arm Scor weapons bound for Yemen

□ Commission sheds more light on shady deal

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A bill of lading for a shipment of weapons sold by Arm Scor to Middle East arms dealer Eli Wazan last October reflected the cargo destination as Yemen, to which South Africa was prohibited from selling arms, the Cameron Commission has heard

Clive Reid, Cape regional executor for Eagle Freight, the shipping company contracted to transport the arms, said the destination information on the bill of lading had been given by Michael Steenberg, a representative of the ship's charterer, Danam

Danam had been contracted by Macro Freight, an Arm Scor subsidiary which handled the cargo's transportation to Port Elizabeth, the commission heard yesterday

Arm Scor has alleged Mr Wazan

duped it into believing the weapons, AK 47s and G3 rifles, were destined for Lebanon

The present commission was launched after it was disclosed in the media in October that a second shipment sold to Mr Wazan in August, also purportedly destined for Lebanon, nearly ended up in Yemen.

Mr Reid said the destination reflected in the bill of lading for the shipment in October last year, a copy of which had been submitted to the commission, had been given by Mr Steenberg

"So whatever decision had been made within Arm Scor about the destination of the weapons, Steenberg could put whatever he liked into the bill of lading?" commissioner Laurie Nathan asked.

"Yes, the rights of consigning the vessel belong to the charterer," replied Mr Reid

In earlier evidence, Anthony Sa-

vides, a former army brigadier who joined Arm Scor as a senior manager for Middle East markets, said he had first heard the October shipment had nearly reached Yemen when the story broke in the Press

As far as Arm Scor was concerned, the shipment was intended for Lebanon.

Asked by Mr Nathan if he could say what went wrong, he replied. "I'd rather not speculate"

On Monday, it appeared from Arm Scor accounts records that Mr Wazan had been overpaid by US\$50 000 (R175 000) during the course of his dealings with the arms manufacturer.

Arm Scor counsel Stefan van Nieuwenhuizen said it was likely the Arm Scor manager who undertook the arms contracts with Mr Wazan, Marius Vermaak, could shed more light on whether the money had in fact been misappropriated.

**First black to command** (254)

DURBAN — Commander Yegan Moodley is to take command of the SAS Jan Smuts, a minister class strike craft of the South African Navy, as the first black person to assume command of the vessel

ET 14/12/94



# Denel's Simeras <sup>254</sup> signs contract to convert aircraft

ET 16/12/94

**JOHANNESBURG**—

State-owned arms company Denel Ltd said its Simeras division had signed an agreement with Bankamerica leasing and capital group (Balcap) and Deutsche Aerospace Airbus to convert four Airbus A300 B4 aircraft into full Class E freighters.

It said in a statement Deutsche Aerospace Airbus had developed kits permitting such conversions on Airbus A300 and A310 aircraft and had concluded a full technical support agreement with Simeras early in 1993.

## Jan Smuts

Balcap would supply the four A300 B4 aircraft for conversion by Simeras at its facility at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport, it said. The aircraft would be available for service in early 1996, it added. "The demand for air cargo is forecast to grow at a rate of about 7% per annum over the next 10 years.

"A majority of the lift will continue to come from the conversion of mid-life passenger aircraft," said Denel.

## Solution

A300 and A310 used aircraft would "offer the perfect solution" in the 30 to 50 ton payload category, currently served by four-engined, stage two, narrow body freighters of 25 years or older.

It said Balcap and Simeras had agreed to market and sell the modified wide body freighters jointly through Simeras' marketing department and Balcap agent Allred International.

# Brilliant legal mind defends his principles to the hilt . . .

MRG 17/18/12/1914  
254

women or homosexuals. Within the model of a constitution committed to human rights, he said, it would be possible to exercise dispassionate judgement of gay issues.

And, now that he has been recommended as a judge to the Transvaal Supreme Court, he will doubtless be reminded of the qualities he himself listed when he called for the resignation of three of the country's top judges. "The highest standards of dispassion, neutrality and evenhandedness," were his stipulations for the judiciary.

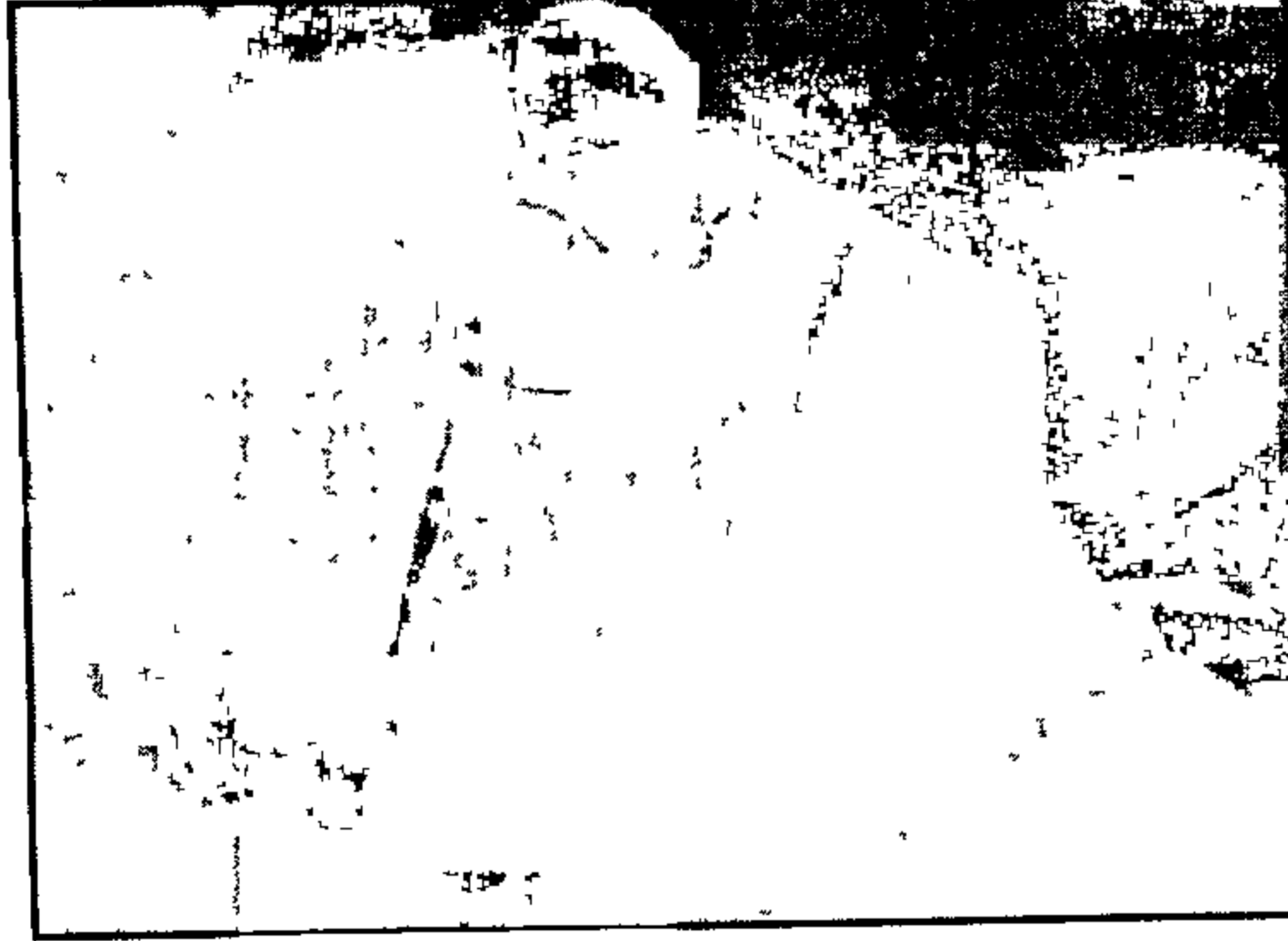
In her introduction to Judge Cameron's inaugural lecture at Wits, Professor Sinclair praised his publications on labour law. She spoke of his involvement with trade unions and his active involvement in litigation about conscription. To this list, add litigation on media and freedom of expression, mines safety and health, removals and incorporations, group areas and gender rights. It was Judge Cameron who in a 1983 court case involving East Rand businessman Barry McGearry set in stone the laws guaranteeing confidentiality to people infected with the Aids virus.

All this, plus the open declaration of his homosexuality, which will make Judge Cameron the first South African judge to have done so, makes one wonder all the more at his publicity shyness.

According to Mark Gevisser, co-editor with Judge Cameron of a recently published collection of essays about gay life in South Africa, Judge Cameron puts this country at the forefront of the world in the fight against homophobia. "He is persuasive, he takes people with him because of his logic. He is not hot-headed, he is not emotional, not conservative! He chose to give his inauguration speech on gay rights in the constitution. He drafted a charter on how people should deal with people with HIV and Aids."

To his many admirers, there is no greater knight of the nineties than Edwin Cameron. He has founded an Aids Law Project at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies. He co-chairs the National Aids Convention of South Africa. He is committed to decriminalising homosexuality.

Some of his critics within the gay community would have it that he is guilty of being over politically correct, overly principled and morally upright. Judge Cameron, one said, has a tendency to be "precious and ever so slightly tetchy." So, nobody's perfect.



■ Last week, as the Cameron Commission continued to pry into the darkest corners of the South African arms industry, chairman Edwin Cameron, right, was recommended as a judge in the Transvaal Supreme Court. **MAUREEN ISAACSON** tried to find out more about him

**J**ACKETS are slung across chairs, sleeves are rolled up and the spotlight is on the shipping executive facing the Cameron Commission. But, Edwin Cameron, acting judge and chairman of the inquiry probing Armscor's shadowy dealings has not succumbed to the heat. He continues to look cool in his grey Prince of Wales check jacket.

For a man who has hit the headlines regularly in recent weeks, Judge Cameron is remarkably publicity-shy. After "serious consideration" he has declined — terribly politely — to be interviewed by Weekend Argus, saying it would be "self-seeking" and "bad timing".

He may not want to talk about himself, but that doesn't stop people talking about him. It was Judge Cameron who stood firm in the face of a defence establishment bid to hold the hearings in camera, and insisted on the public's right to know about the past. It was he who said this right was more important than any embarrassment that disclosure might cause.

In one of the final sessions before the commission goes into recess, Eagle Freight regional executive Clive Reid is being hammered by one of the advocates. It is here that one gains insight into the kind of meticulous detail that goes into the commission's investigation.

They are dealing with the mounds of complicated shipping arrangements for the second of two consignments of weapons purchased from Armscor by arms dealer Eli Wazan.

Mr Reid, whose company was involved in the shipping, is writhing. Mr Cameron remains contained, although a spreading flush of his neck betrays rising irritation. He turns to his co-commissioners for a moment, then calls for an end to the "belligerent questioning".

"This commission is not a court of law," he says. "This witness does not have the normal protection he would have in an adversarial situation. He may be seen to have been holding his own and answering questions in a robust manner, but if you would bear that in mind we would be grateful."

The tension eases. Judge Cameron flicks his pen. He makes fastidious notes. He clarifies matters for Mr Reid. In his white shirt with red spotted tie, he is utterly

His achievements in court are renowned. As a result of his courage, says Professor Davis, the Sharpeville Six — sentenced to death in the late 1960s — were saved from the gallows. Judge Cameron's strong criticism of senior judges, along with the courage about which the legal fraternity raves, made him the Wits Law School's *enfant terrible* in those years, says Wits Law School professor June Sinclair.

Okay, so he was not appointed to the Constitutional Court — in spite of the fact that he was one of the 24 on the shortlist. His answer, when asked if his commitment to gay rights would prevent him from being an open-minded Constitutional Court judge, but out at narrow thinking.

Gay rights, Judge Cameron said, is not a separate issue, but central to the constitution's broad commitment against discrimination — whether against black people,

"courteous. He says "Mr Kriegler, will it perhaps suit you to adjourn until tomorrow morning?"

At 41, baby-boomer Judge Cameron was making his mark before the Armscor commission thrust him into the public eye. Nothing short of brilliant is what colleagues and friends say about this Wits law professor. They're talking about the Rhodes scholar who won the Vinerian scholarship award for the highest academic achievement in law at Oxford University.

They're talking about the co-author of two leading text books on labour law, the man who has written "some of the finest material published in legal journals in South Africa." So says Dennis Davis, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits — where Judge Cameron has worked since 1986.

## THE MAN WHO STEERS THE CAMERON COMMISSION See page 22

# Arms and the shady men...

Armscor's cloak-and-dagger dealings with the 'James Bond' of the industry revealed

### HELEN GRANGE

Weekend Argus Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG** — As the Cameron Commission into South African arms deals proceeds, the intrigue deepens around two individuals, Marnus Vermaak and a man Armscor names as Prince Anwar Ahl-Shalaam of Jordan.

The two key characters in the aborted Armscor/Middle East weapons deal, which broke into a public scandal earlier this year, have filled out in the unfolding evidence as colourful anti-heroes in the international arms underworld.

Mr Vermaak, the Armscor marketing manager who brokered the deal which saw a shipment of AK-47 and R4 rifles nearly reach Yemen in August, before being turned away, operated as a free agent whose integrity his superiors apparently never doubted.

In their collective evidence, Armscor's

■ The Cameron Commission of inquiry into weapons deals went into recess this week after its proceedings had been dominated by two colourful characters who have never attended the hearing

general manager Petrus Smith, managing director Tielman de Waal and senior marketing development Brigadier Anthony Savides have painted a picture of him as a sort of James Bond of the arms industry, immune to scrutiny.

Mr Smith, Mr De Waal and Brigadier Savides — by their own accounts — only had a peripheral view of Mr Vermaak's multi-million rand dealings, and all have admitted there was little effective control over him.

The extent of their knowledge was such they had been introduced to Mr Vermaak's Lebanese arms contact Eli Wazan and had received reports from Mr Vermaak on the sale of weapons to Mr Wazan. They had also signed Mr Vermaak's accounts of expenditure for the shipment the weapons, ostensibly

missions to Mr Wazan could only have been a "mistake".

He couldn't begin to guess at Mr Vermaak's motives for the overpayment, but agreed it could have been an "elaborate scheme" to filter money out of South Africa and the issue did "require exploration".

This aspect of the inquiry has been left deliciously dangling — particularly in view of Mr Vermaak's counsel's indication that he intended leading evidence showing that his client was innocent of any misappropriation.

The other mysterious character in the tale before the Cameron Commission, "Prince Anwar", is Mr Wazan's principal and the end purchaser of the weapons.

It was established this week, to the amusement of the Commission, that Mr Vermaak's seniors were none the wiser to the fact that the "Prince" — with whom they had become acquainted through Mr Vermaak — was firstly not a prince and secondly not from Jordan.

References by the Armscor officials to "Prince Anwar of Jordan" caused consternation at the start of the hearings when Jordanian representatives in South Africa insisted there was no such prince in the Jordanian royal family.

Subsequently, it was found that the "Prince" was in fact a businessman from Syria living in Jordan (He continues to be referred to in the Commission as "Prince Anwar").

Brigadier Savides testified this week that "Prince" Anwar had arrived in Grahamstown to inspect the first consignment of arms bought by Mr Wazan last October while it was in transit to the Port Elizabeth docks. He then decided the goods were below standard. He accepted the cargo anyway, but the weapons, which "Prince" Anwar allegedly told Armscor were destined for Lebanon's Christian militia, ended up being distributed by him among Jordanian government troops.

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# SHOCK

# NEW TWIST

ARG 17-18/12/94

# ON HELDERBERG

■ Mystery still surrounds the crash seven years ago of SAA Boeing 747 Helderberg. But compelling indications are emerging now that a mysterious cargo may have been the cause of the tragedy.

**NORMAN CHANDLER**  
Weekend Argus Correspondent

INVESTIGATIONS by Weekend Argus, conducted in three countries, have uncovered striking new evidence of a possible cover-up of the cause of the Helderberg air disaster.

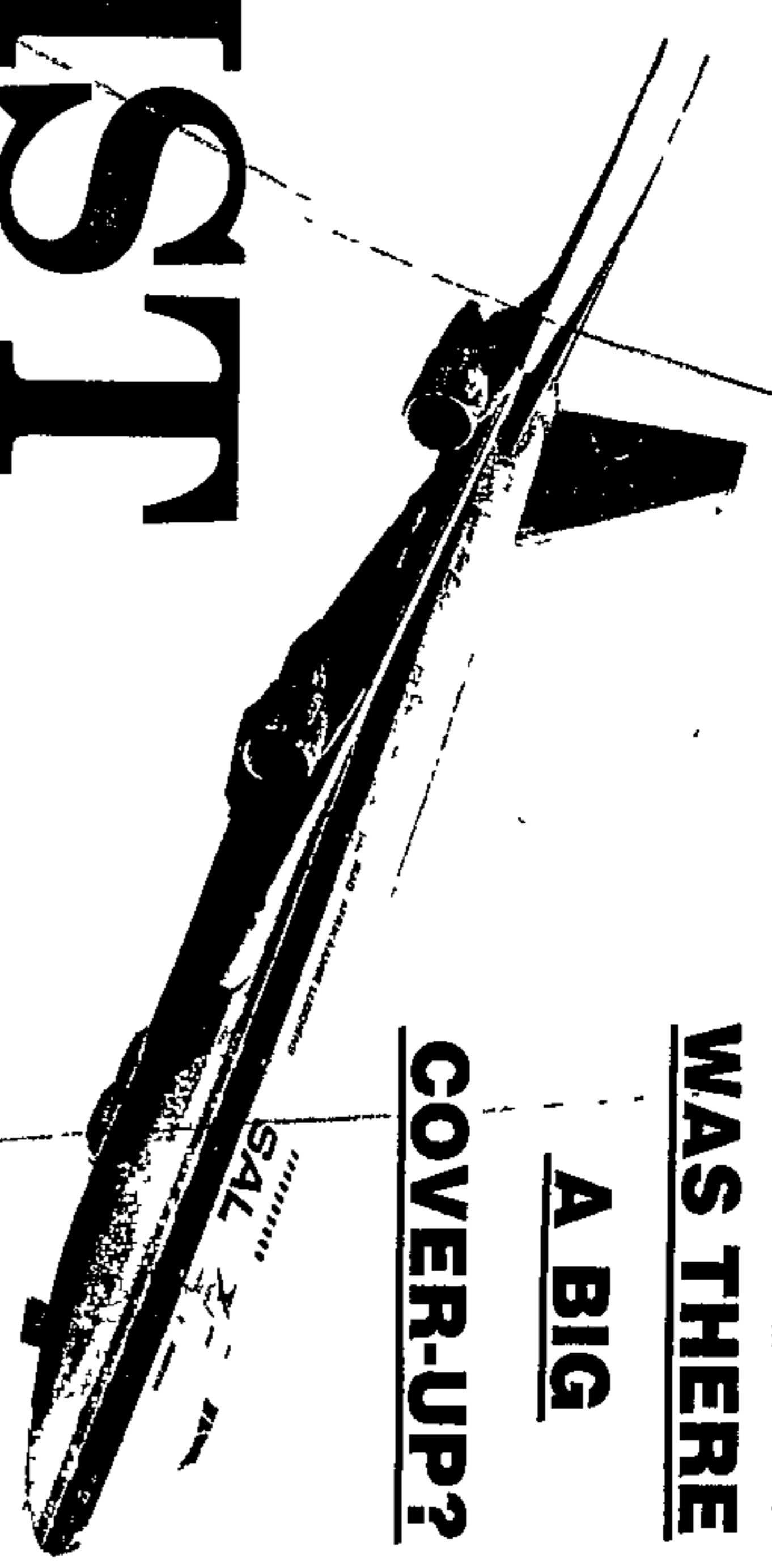
The information points to the possibility that the Helderberg had been illegally carrying a secret new rocket fuel when it crashed into the Indian Ocean seven years ago.

The evidence suggests not only a non-disclosure of important facts because this was thought to be important to South Africa's security situation at the time, but also to the destruction of vital cargo documentation in the Republic of China (Taiwan).

A total of 159 passengers and crew died when the aircraft plunged into the sea north of Mauritius just after midnight on November 28 1987. It was the worst South African Airways crash in history.

The man who conducted the investigation into the crash, Judge Cecil Margo, now retired, says he had always kept an open mind. He says he would support moves to re-open the investigation if evidence warranted it.

Inquiries made in South Africa, Mauritius and Taiwan have established the following:  
■ The aircraft, unbeknown to SAA, was carrying a propellant presumably used for rocket research and development. There are strong indications it



**WAS THERE**

**A BIG**

**COVER-UP?**



**Buthlezi: No decision to pull out of government**

DURBAN. — Inkatha had not taken any decision to pull out of the government of national unity but had the right to discuss the issue, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said.

"The IFP like any other political party has a right to discuss and debate and consider its participation in the government of national unity," Chief Buthelezi said in a statement yesterday.

He said that given the stresses and strains of working in a GNU, the IFP's national council had "every right to discuss the problems it encounters, how long such a government of national unity will last and

**Herschelle hits a century**

**JOHN FREUDENBERG**  
at Newlands

RUGBY and cricket prodigy Herschelle Gibbs led the Western Province run feast at Newlands yesterday with a superb 102 against Boland.

**Sold and enjo in over 160 c**

the time, but also to the destruction of the documentation in the Republic of China (Taiwan)

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Inquiries made in South Africa, Mauritius and Taiwan have established the following

■ The aircraft, unbeknown to SAA, was carrying a propellant presumably used for rocket research and development. There are strong indications it could have been so-called red mercury, a propellant which is a key factor in the development of

### More reports — page 19

nuclear weapons. It is surmised the consignment, which British intelligence sources say was being couriered, unexpectedly became volatile at a height of 10 000 m, emitting smoke and other fumes which probably incapacitated the passengers and crew, causing the crash.

■ Documentation regarding the cargo was destroyed by Taiwanese officials while the Margo inquiry was still in session. This has been confirmed in Taipei under pressure of questioning by Weekend Argus.

■ No cargo manifest, or air cargo waybill, was ever made public by investigators, who reported to the inquiry that they had checked computer records. Cargo handlers in Taipei said, however, that the documents covering cargo loaded at Taipei at the time would have been typewritten and not in a computer, as stated in the report issued by the Margo inquiry. This meant that the inquiry may have been given misleading information.

■ A mystery cargo, identified only as "tropical fish", was aboard the aircraft. This is the first time there has been any indication that the aircraft carried anything other than computers, computer parts and watches with lithium batteries, as reported by the inquiry. Chinese sources have speculated that "tropical fish" may have been a cover name for an explosive material placed illegally aboard the aircraft. The Margo report also mentioned a possible misrepresentation of cargo.

■ A Mauritius medical team assigned to the accident found the bodies of the victims had been strangely mutilated. Post-mortem results on the bodies or any other indication of how the occupants of the aircraft may have died also was never divulged in the inquiry report and information about the state of the bodies when they were found has never before been divulged.

■ Weekend Argus has also learned that the aircraft's commander, Captain Dawie Uys, may have been "persuaded" by a senior government official over the telephone from Pretoria to take off after he refused to do so when he apparently discovered the nature of his cargo. The aircraft was delayed as a result, with the official reasons given as "weather" or "connecting passengers" from an incoming flight. Captain Uys's concern about the cargo was acknowledged at the time by a senior SAA official, Marthinus Jacobs, in Taipei, but was never brought before the inquiry.

Judge Margo, who was chairman of the board of

■ To page 3

**Weekend Argus SUN**

From page 1

## Signs point to possible cover-up of 'undeclared' cargo

inquiry into the Helderberg crash, said yesterday he was no longer in office and had no jurisdiction to reopen the board of inquiry. He, nevertheless, agreed that, depending on the new evidence, an inquiry should be reopened if there was a proper case for it.

He was reacting to a request by Weekend Argus for comment on information it had obtained while investigating the disaster. Reporter Norman Chandler is to meet informally with the judge early next week to discuss further aspects of the case.

Mr Justice Margo said, "We followed up many leads which, when tested, were found to have not a gossamer thread of truth.

"For example, we had information from an anonymous caller who claimed to have seen rockets (firecrackers) in the hold. There were dozens of such lip-offs.

"Another woman told us it was more than her life was worth to talk to us, but she knew her employer was importing fireworks. When this was tested by police, it was found to be a fabrication.

"Our mission was to find the cause (and) to be sure that that kind of accident never occurred again. A powerful team was assembled on the board of inquiry, including the former head of the Air Safety Branch in the United Kingdom. He had been involved in hundreds of air crash inquiries.

"We know what was in the cargo. We did not find the actual origin of the fire. The main participants in the fire were cardboard and plastic packaging materials. This was indicated by evidence about previous fires on other aircraft.

"We took all the characteristics of the fire and tested them. An eminent American aviation expert was involved. The causes have varied from inflammable materials such as cardboard matches and hair curling fluid, to magnification of the sun's rays shining through glass and friction of components on the floor of the aircraft. Numerous other causes have been indicated in other cases.

"Once such a fire takes hold, the ignition

of surrounding materials can easily occur. In the present case there were all indications of a fierce fire occurring in the packaging materials.

"We came to our conclusions after looking at the temperatures of the fire and through chemical analysis. We were satisfied with the findings, but we always had an open mind.

"The nature of the fire was inconsistent with one originating from any explosive materials. There was no explosion in the aircraft. That was fully demonstrated."

Speculation remains, however, in a number of countries that the Helderberg had been carrying a cargo of propellant normally used for rocket research. One source believes the propellant was red mercury, an important component in nuclear weapons and rocket propulsion systems.

The source, a highly placed explosives expert, said this information was so sensitive that if his identity was revealed, "I would need a bodyguard."

Another source confirmed that rocket propellant had been aboard the Helderberg, but said he did not know anything about red mercury.

A six-man police task force has been formed to investigate a string of murders in South Africa believed to be connected to the trade in red mercury, involving some of the world's leading intelligence agencies. Police have accused the Israeli secret service, Mossad, of direct involvement.

This week, they again appealed for anyone with information about the deaths, red mercury or its possible connection with the Helderberg disaster to come forward. All information will be handled in the strictest confidence. Task force officers can be contacted on (012) 320-6456 or 320-6449.

The propellant was most probably destined for research and development of South Africa's then fledgling, inter-continental ballistic missile programme, denied by Armscor to have existed, but con-

firmed by international military analysts. Armscor, as well as the then South African Defence Force, denied having had any cargo aboard the Helderberg. This denial formed part of the accident inquiry report.

A British expert witness on fire and explosives, Greg Southard, is on record as having told the accident inquiry, chaired by Judge Margo, that the material which had fuelled the fire was either an incendiary device or some undeclared cargo.

This view was shared by the Boeing aircraft company which built the Helderberg. International airline safety regulations, adhered to by all registered carriers, specifically forbids the carriage of dangerous materials, but these regulations can be varied under special conditions. Each country has its own variation authority, and, in South Africa's case, it is vested in Armscor.

Weekend Argus is satisfied that the Helderberg's owners, South African Airways, had no knowledge of the nature of this part

of its cargo.

The South African government spent more than R100 million trying to recover wreckage and bodies of victims in a bid to find out exactly what took place on flight SA 295 in the moments before it plunged into the Indian Ocean 134 nautical miles north-east of Mauritius. A total of 15 bodies and only one percent of the wreckage was recovered.

The inquiry concluded that the "substances involved in the combustion included plastic and cardboard packaging materials." But, the actual source of ignition was never determined.

"It is virtually certain that there was no sabotage. There was no explosion in the aircraft and the presence of a pressure or time-activated incendiary device was extremely unlikely. The only possible causes for the loss of control (by the crew) were pilot incapacity from carbon monoxide or carbon dioxide poisoning and/or smoke inhalation, or disorientation consequent on reduced cockpit visibility in smoke, or pilot distraction (or) damage to the structure and/or to the control systems directly or indirectly caused by the fire."

## THE HELDERBERG DISASTER

A Weekend Argus special investigation

by NORMAN CHANDLER

**D**OUBTS about the cause of the Helderberg crash arose as soon as it occurred, rumours abounded on why it happened, with many claims being made about its cargo. Bereaved families speculated openly while telephone callers to newspaper offices around the country claimed cargo such as fireworks, nitric acid, armaments and other war materiel was on board.

None of the allegations was ever proved. All that the Margo board of inquiry into the accident found was that the smoke which probably caused the crash emanated from a pallet at the right front of the upper cargo compartment in the Boeing 747 Combi aircraft.

Some families, however, refused to accept a R177 000 payout per passenger made by South African Airways to victims, preferring to wait

until after the inquiry in case their legal advisers found they would be able to claim under the Warsaw Convention, which allows for claims to be lodged up to two years after an air accident.

Yvonne Bellagarda, widow of flight engineer Giuseppe (Joe) Bellagarda, said at the time: "What is so terrible is just not knowing what happened. You try to forget, then everything comes out again on television. But I have also kept a scrapbook of all the coverage and would still like to get to the bottom of it. I want to know."

Her husband was making his last flight for SAA after 29 years with the airline. His voice was prominent in a recording of voice communications between the aircraft crew, Plaisance airport on Mauritius and ZUR, the South African Airways radio.

The recording was played to a hushed Rand

Supreme Court during the inquiry into the accident.

Retired SAA captain Dennis Cronje, who was on the Helderberg as well as other seven years, gave evidence to the court. He described its findings "as a cover-up — that there was a fire on board."

He added "I flew that route for seven years. I know that nothing I can imagine that we could burn so ferociously that could burn so ferociously put it out. They have spent a lot of time coming up with something that they did not find what was."

Captain Cronje's evidence was accepted in the inquiry board but rejected by the court.

Weekend Argus has conducted an investigation into the tragedy ...

# What happened on

AN in-depth investigation by Weekend Argus has found there may have been a deliberate cover-up of the cause of the crash of the SAA Boeing 747, the Helderberg, seven years ago.

The investigation, conducted in three countries, has uncovered more questions than answers about the reasons for the disaster.

Evidence points to a cover-up involving not only non disclosure of important facts because they could have thought this to be important to South Africa's security situation at the time, but also the inexplicable destruction of vital cargo documentation in the Republic of China (Taiwan).

A total of 159 passengers and crew died when the aircraft — flight SA 295 — fell into the Indian Ocean north of Mauritius just after midnight on November 28 1987. It was the worst SAA crash in history.

Inquiries in South Africa, Mauritius and Taiwan found the following:  
 ■ The aircraft, unbeknown to South African Airways, was carrying a propellant presumably used for rocket research and development.

There are strong indications it could have been so-called red mercury, a propellant which is a key factor in the development of nuclear weapons.

The-then South African Defence Force and Armscor both denied having any cargo on board.

It is surmised that the consignment, which British intelligence sources say was being couriered, unexpectedly became volatile at a height of 10 000m, emitting smoke and other fumes which probably incapacitated the passengers and crew, causing the crash.

Dealers in red mercury, meanwhile, have told Weekend Argus that ever since the Helderberg crash such volatile material is now transported at much-lower altitudes, preferably at ground level.

At that time, South Africa had a fledgling inter-continental ballistic missile programme, although Armscor has denied this. Military analysts in South Africa and Britain said the development of such missile systems formed part of a space research programme in which South Africa had been involved for years.

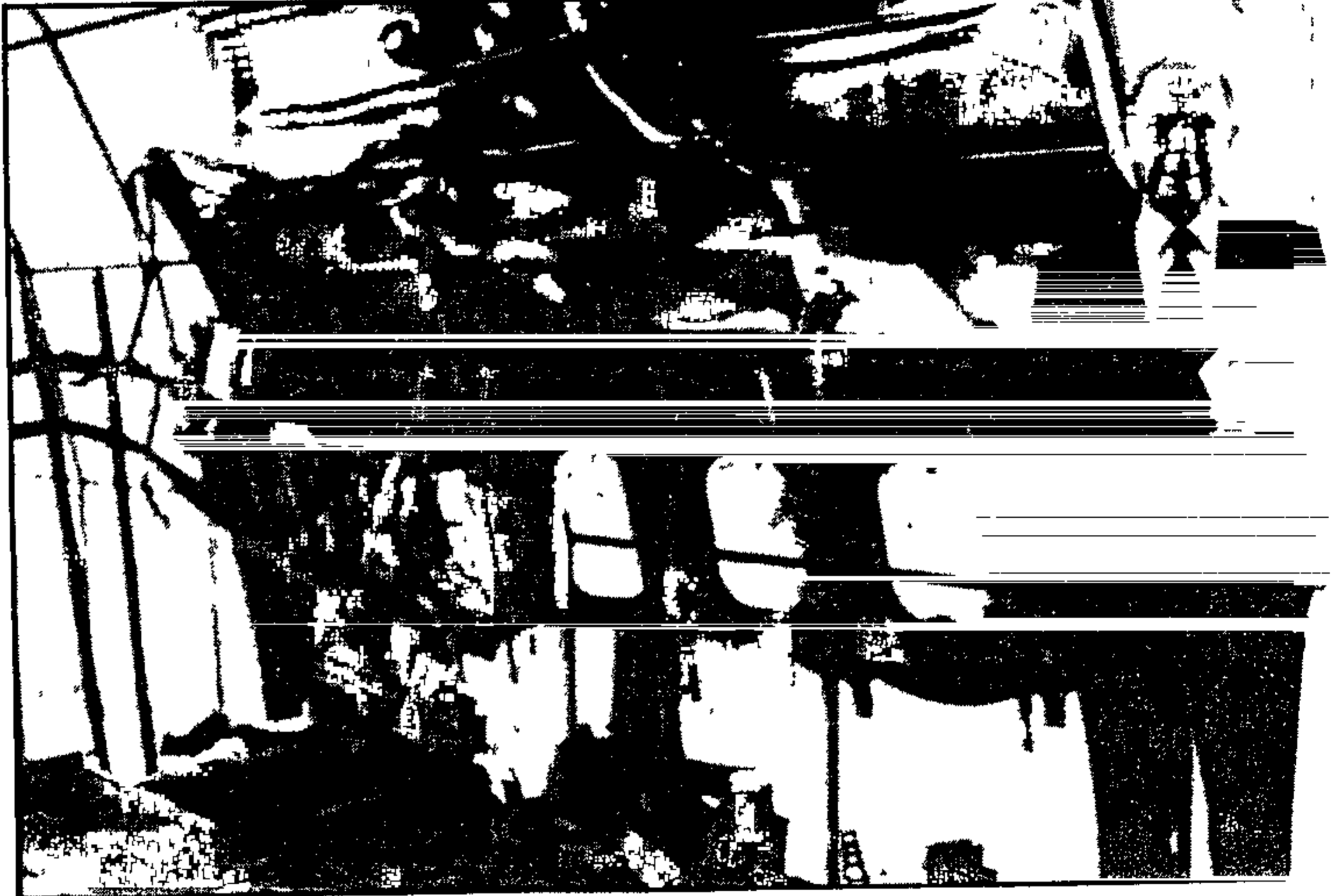
■ Documentation regarding the cargo was destroyed by Taiwanese officials while the Margo accident inquiry was still in session. This has been confirmed in Taipei under pressure of questioning by Weekend Argus.  
 ■ No cargo or air cargo waybill was ever made public by investigators who reported to the inquiry that they had checked computer records.

Cargo handlers in Taipei said, however, that the manifestos covering cargo loaded at Taipei, at the time, would have been typewritten and not placed in a computer, as stated in the report issued by the Margo inquiry.

This means the inquiry also might have been given misleading information.

■ A mystery cargo, identified only as "tropical fish", was aboard the aircraft. This is the first time there has been any indication that the aircraft carried anything other than computers, computer parts and watches with lithium batteries, as reported by the inquiry.

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FLASHBACK.. to 1989, as inquiry head Mr Justice Cecil Margo examines the partly reassembled cargo

"tropical fish" may have been a cover name for an explosive material placed illegally aboard the aircraft.

The Margo report also mentioned a possible misrepresentation of cargo.  
 ■ A Mauritius medical team assigned to the accident found the bodies of the victims had been strangely mutilated. Post-mortem results on the bodies or any other indication of how the occupants of the aircraft may have died was never divulged in the inquiry report and information about the state of the bodies when they were found has also never before been divulged.  
 ■ Weekend Argus's investigation was also told of various claims relating to possible causes of the crash.

It is virtually impossible to confirm these because of a lack of documentation and the unwillingness of former state employees to provide details.

It has been learned, for instance, that the aircraft's commander, Captain Dawie Uys, may have been "persuaded" by a senior government official over the telephone from Pretoria to take off after he had refused to do so when he apparently discovered the nature of his cargo. Aircraft captains have to complete documentation relating to every aspect of passengers and cargo before take-off.

The aircraft was delayed as a result, with the official reasons given as "weather" or "connecting passengers" from an incoming flight.

Captain Uys's concern about the cargo was acknowledged at the time by a senior SAA official, Marthinus Jacobs, in Taipei, but was never mentioned before the inquiry. Mr Jacobs, the last person to see Captain Uys before the flight, said he had been aware of rumours regarding the cargo, but

did not believe Captain Uys was particularly worried about it.

Weekend Argus was told at Taipei that waiting for a connecting flight was unheard of at Chiang Kai-shek (CKS) international airport and that this claim should be regarded as a "very flimsy reason".

Officials at CKS said they could not recollect such a call having been received by Captain Uys but, significantly, did not dismiss the possibility.

Pilots interviewed by Weekend Argus, while not confirming that Captain Uys may have had such a call, said they would not be surprised "considering the nature of cargo carried at that time".

The pilots, all of whom still fly international routes, have declined to elaborate on the nature of the cargoes carried during the years when South Africa was the subject of international sanctions.

## Sadness of a fateful journey captured in simple is

IT is a place of sadness, where even the tropical birds don't sing too loudly.

The crash of the waves on the brilliant white shore a stone's throw away also appears to be strangely muted, as if the sea is acutely aware of what happened that night seven years ago.

This is the scene of a memorial to an event which shook South Africans everywhere and even to-

day is talked about as one of the world's great mysteries of the air.

It was near the village of Belle Mare that some of the bodies and the wreckage from the crash of the South African Airways Boeing 747, the Helderberg, were washed up on the beautiful reef-enclosed beach. The flight path of the Helderberg would have taken the plane over the village and on

to Plaisance airport.

The simple, marble cenotaph — erected next to the lonely beach on Mauritius to honour the 159 passengers and crew who died on November 28, 1987 — is a dramatic reminder to a South African far from home of the reverence with which people on this holiday island regard the accident.

Everywhere one goes people

tell of the Helderberg and are eager to direct you to the site on a remote part of the north-east of the island.

Erected by South African Airways on land given by the Mauritius government, the cenotaph has a simple plaque which commemorates the events of that night, with a regular stream of visitors, Chinese and South Africans.

case their legal advisers to claim under the allows for claims to be an air accident of flight engineer said at the time "What what happened what happened what happened also kept a scrapbook of still like to get to the his last flight for SAA His voice was of voice communications Plaisance airport on South African Airways to a hushed Rand

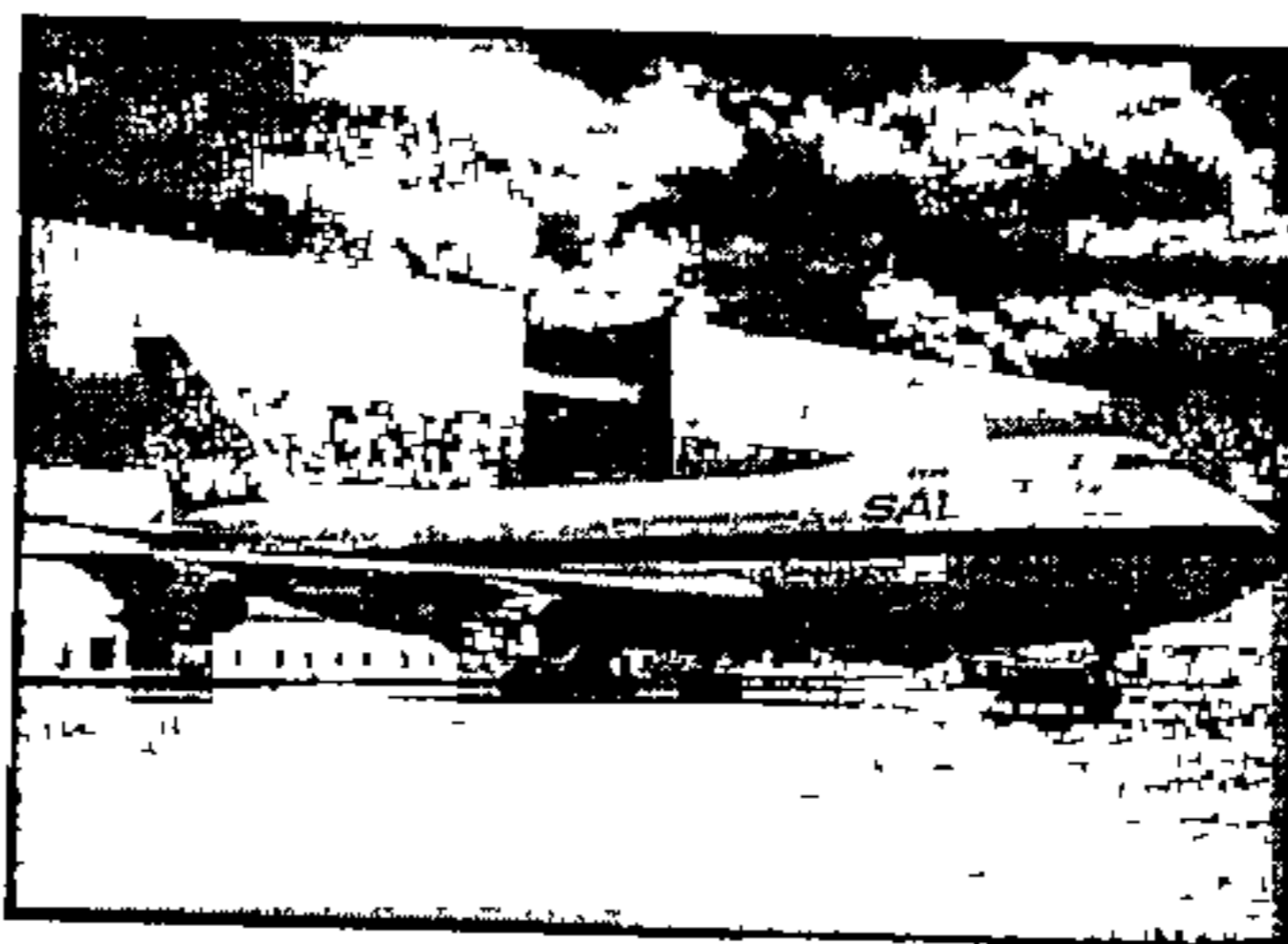
Supreme Court during the inquiry into the accident

Retired SAA captain Dennis Cronje, who flew the Helderberg as well as other Boeing 747s for seven years, gave evidence to the inquiry and later described its findings "as something we knew all along — that there was a fire on the aeroplane"

He added "I flew that route often and there is nothing I can imagine that we ever took as freight that could burn so ferociously that we could not put it out They have spent a lot of money and time coming up with something that we knew all along They did not find what was burning"

Captain Cronje's evidence was evaluated by the inquiry board but rejected because it was not substantiated

Weekend Argus has conducted a special investigation into the tragedy



7/19/12/94  
**ned on SA 295?**



Cecil Margo examines the partly reassembled cargo area of the SAA Helderberg

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 The pilots, all of whom still fly interna- tional routes, have declined to elaborate on the nature of the cargoes carried during the years when South Africa was the sub- ject of international sanctions

Weekend Argus has been given expert medical opinion which rules out any possi- bility of an explosion having occurred, but which also states that the bodies and parts of bodies of 15 dead eventually found had injuries which defied medical knowledge  
 The official accident report said soot had been detected in the throats and lungs of the victims  
 The man in charge of the Mauritius medical team that helped on the night of the accident — which happened 134 nauti- cal miles north-east of the island — was visibly surprised to hear from Weekend Argus that medical reports on the dead did not form part of the official report of the Margo inquiry, an international team of experts under the chairmanship of Mr Jus- tice Margo

Dr Indiraduth Chunnoo, formerly head of Mauritius' Hospital of the North and now in private practice, said in the Mauri- tius capital, Port Louis "I would have thought there would at least have been a description of the bodies because it was something the likes of which I have not seen in my medical career"  
 He then described what he and his medi- cal team saw that night  
 "Some of the bodies recovered had been decapitated, others were missing upper limbs The lower trunk and other limbs were intact  
 "But, the most horrifying was to see that the backbone had been removed from some trunks and the rest of the body re- mained, or there was merely the backbone without flesh," he said  
 "Now, that is something that you do not find as a result of an explosion It is the result of something more devastating, but the question is 'What?'"  
 He disputed a claim made by South Afri- can medical personnel at the time that sharks may have attacked the bodies  
 Dr Chunnoo said that at first he thought there may have been an explosion  
 "Yes, I felt at the time that it may have been an explosion, (but) we cannot say what sort of explosion or whether the im- pact of the aircraft could have caused such mutilation"  
 What still puzzled him was that no sur- vivors were found, he said  
 Asked if he thought that an explosion could have been caused by a volatile com- pound, such as red mercury or solid rocket fuel, Dr Chunnoo replied "We (the medical profession) all know what mercury can do, particularly in its raw state"  
 Dr Chunnoo, clearly nervous, said he was not convinced of the explosion theory, because there was no shock-wave damage, which is characteristic of an explosion tak- ing place in a confined space such as the fuselage of an aircraft  
 Johannesburg forensic specialist Dr Ver- non Kemp said two of the bodies contained sufficient blood in suitable condition for analysis and that the breathing passages of eight bodies contained soot  
 The causes of death of six of the victims was given as "multiple injuries" and two others, from which blood had been taken, was put down as "multiple injuries plus carbon monoxide intoxication"  
 The search for survivors was called off on November 30, less than 48 hours after the crash  
 The Margo report said "On November 30, at 7 30am, it was decided after anxious deliberation to terminate the search for survivors and to concentrate on recovery of wreckage pieces  
 "By this time, mutilated human remains were retrieved, but only eight bodies were substantial enough for medico-legal post- mortem examination The nature of the in- juries indicated that the impact forces were too high for survival"  
 This is the only reference in the 178- page report to anything connected to the state of the bodies retrieved  
 Officials at Taipei's CKS airport insisted that cargo-handling procedures were tamper-proof, but they did not rule out the possibility of something untoward happen-

**they captured in simple island memorial**

to Plaisance airport  
 The simple, marble cenotaph — erected next to the lonely beach on Mauritius to honour the 159 passengers and crew who died on November 28, 1987 — is a dramatic reminder to a South African far from home of the reverence with which people on this holiday island regard the acci- dent  
 Everywhere one goes people

tell of the Helderberg memorial and are eager to direct visitors to the site on a remote corner on the north-east of the island  
 Erected by South African Air- ways on land given by the Mauri- tius government, the cenotaph, with a simple plaque detailing the events of that night, receives a regular stream of South Afri- can, Chinese and Japanese visi- tors  
 Often in tears, they lay wreaths at the foot of the cen- otaph, particularly on the anniver- sary of the crash  
 For visitors it is a long and hair-raising drive along narrow roads to reach the beach But, at a cost of 600 Mauritius rupees (about R110) for the return trip, it is a small price to pay to visit what amounts to a little bit of South Africa



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# More questions than answers in mystery crash

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ing with cargo transferred from a foreign carrier into CKS from Japan, for instance, and then on to the Helderberg

This possibility was repeated several times by senior officials interviewed by Weekend Argus in their offices at CKS

It has, however, been irrevocably established that two pallets of freight, a third of the aircraft's cargo, were loaded aboard the Helderberg — a Boeing 747 Combi cargo/passenger jet — from a flight which landed at CKS from Tokyo on the day the South African aircraft was due to leave on its last flight

The Japanese government, surprisingly, only allowed South African investigators two weeks in which to complete a task which should have taken many weeks. It was said at the time that the decision was taken because of "political sensitivities"

The team was given two-week visas after applying to Japan's Hong Kong consulate for four-month ones. The team returned to South Africa with 96 percent of their work in Tokyo left undone

It also was established in Taipei that 15 Japanese cargo forwarders never applied for compensation for cargo they placed aboard the Helderberg

In contrast, Taiwan allowed investigators, including members of the South African Police, ample time to conclude their inquiries

Confirmation that typewritten cargo documents pertaining to the last flight of the Helderberg, in fact, had been destroyed in Taiwan came from airport officials, who told Weekend Argus this was "standard practice" and in line with local rules and regulations

This, however, directly contradicted what the Margo report said — that an investigation had been undertaken of computer disks at the time and that a number of computerised waybills had been checked

The report said "A computer selected 10 house waybills and one master waybill out of 111 bills. It was found the items in the consignment agreed with the relative documents"

The destruction of the typewritten documents took place in 1989 when the Margo team was still completing its report, issued in 1990

Warehouse worker Hsu Chun-ling said that as soon as a warehouse of documentation filled up, the paper was taken away and destroyed

Cargo terminal assistant manager Andy Hsieh confirmed this, adding "We rou-

tinely destroy the documentation every two years because of the space that is taken up"

Confirmation that the Helderberg's cargo documents had not been transferred to computer disks came from Roger Yu, manager of China Airlines cargo sales and services department

Mr Hsieh also told Weekend Argus he had no knowledge of what cargo the Helderberg may have been carrying and added that personnel who may have handled the loading of the aircraft seven years ago "are not available"

Weekend Argus was told by independent sources that the handlers had been "removed" from the airport

It has been established for the first time that details of the cargo claimed by the Margo inquiry to have been carried by the Helderberg were, in fact, incorrect

The Helderberg was carrying "tropical fish", computers and computer parts, textiles, ships' components and printing and packaging materials

According to the Margo inquiry report, the cargo comprised largely electrical components and parts (mainly computers), hardware, paper articles, textiles and sports equipment

Tsai Tu-hsin, a sub-section chief at the cargo terminal, said that if "dangerous material" such as explosives had been placed aboard the aircraft, a "declaration must be made"

"It is a procedure used by all airlines," said Mr Tsai, who also said that, at the time of the Helderberg crash, Taiwan was under martial law and that, as a consequence, air cargo had to be kept in the terminal's warehouse for 24 hours before onward shipping could take place

"But, it was not a prerequisite for cargo coming from somewhere else for onward movement," said Mr Tsai

The Margo inquiry found that the possibility of a misdeclaration or a false declaration in the consignment notes or cargo materials could not be ruled out

Taiwan had an official representative, Colonel Liang Lung, on the inquiry board. He is now director of flight standards of the Taiwan Civil Aeronautics Administration

He told Weekend Argus in his office at Sung Shan airport, in central Taipei, there was nothing further to add and "all one can do is refer to the conclusions reached by the Margo inquiry"

He provided Weekend Argus with a copy of the conclusions reached

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# THE HELDERBERG DISASTER

## A Weekend Argus special investigation

by  
**NORMAN CHANDLER**

**D**OUBTS about the cause of the Helderberg crash arose as soon as it occurred; rumours abounded on why it happened, with many claims being made about its cargo. Bereaved families speculated openly while telephone callers to newspaper offices around the country claimed cargo such as fireworks, nitric acid, armaments and other war materiel was on board.

None of the allegations was ever proved. All that the Margo board of inquiry into the accident found was that the smoke which probably caused the crash emanated from a pallet at the right front of the upper cargo compartment in the Boeing 747 Combi aircraft

Some families, however, refused to accept a R177 000 payout per passenger made by South African Airways to victims, preferring to wait

until after the inquiry in case their found they would be able to claim Warsaw Convention, which allows for lodged up to two years after an air

Yvonne Bellagarda, widow of flight Guisepe (Joe) Bellagarda, said at the is so terrible is just not knowing You try to forget, then everything on television. But I have also kept a all the coverage and would still like bottom of it. I want to know."

Her husband was making his last after 29 years with the airline. His prominent in a recording of voice between the aircraft crew, Plaisance Mauritius and ZUR, the South Africa radio.

The recording was played to a

ARG. 17/18/12

# What happened

AN in-depth investigation by Weekend Argus has found there may have been a deliberate cover-up of the cause of the crash of the SAA Boeing 747, the Helderberg, seven years ago

The investigation, conducted in three countries, has uncovered more questions than answers about the reasons for the disaster

IAIN

Evidence points to a cover-up involving not only non-disclosure of important facts because they could have thought this to be important to South Africa's security situation at the time, but also the inexplicable destruction of vital cargo documentation in the Republic of China (Taiwan)

A total of 159 passengers and crew died when the aircraft — flight SA 295 — fell into the Indian Ocean north of Mauritius just after midnight on November 28 1987. It was the worst SAA crash in history

Inquiries in South Africa, Mauritius and Taiwan found the following

The aircraft, unbeknown to South African Airways, was carrying a propellant presumably used for rocket research and development

There are strong indications it could have been so-called red mercury, a propellant which is a key factor in the development of nuclear weapons

The then South African Defence Force and Armscor both denied having any cargo on board

It is surmised that the consignment, which British intelligence sources say was being couriered, unexpectedly became volatile at a height of 10 000m, emitting smoke and other fumes which probably incapacitated the passengers and crew, causing the crash

Dealers in red mercury, meanwhile, have told Weekend Argus that ever since the Helderberg crash such volatile material is now transported at much-lower altitudes, preferably at ground level

At that time, South Africa had a fledgling inter-continental ballistic missile programme, although Armscor has denied this. Military analysts in South Africa and Britain said the development of such missiles formed part of a space research programme in which South Africa had been involved for years

Documentation regarding the cargo was destroyed by Taiwanese officials while the Margo accident inquiry was still in session. This has been confirmed in Taipei under pressure of questioning by Weekend Argus

No cargo or air cargo waybill was ever made public by investigators who reported to the inquiry that they had checked computer records

Cargo handlers in Taipei said, however, that the manifestos covering cargo loaded at Taipei, at the time, would have been typewritten and not placed in a computer, as stated in the report issued by the Margo inquiry.

This means the inquiry also might have been given misleading information

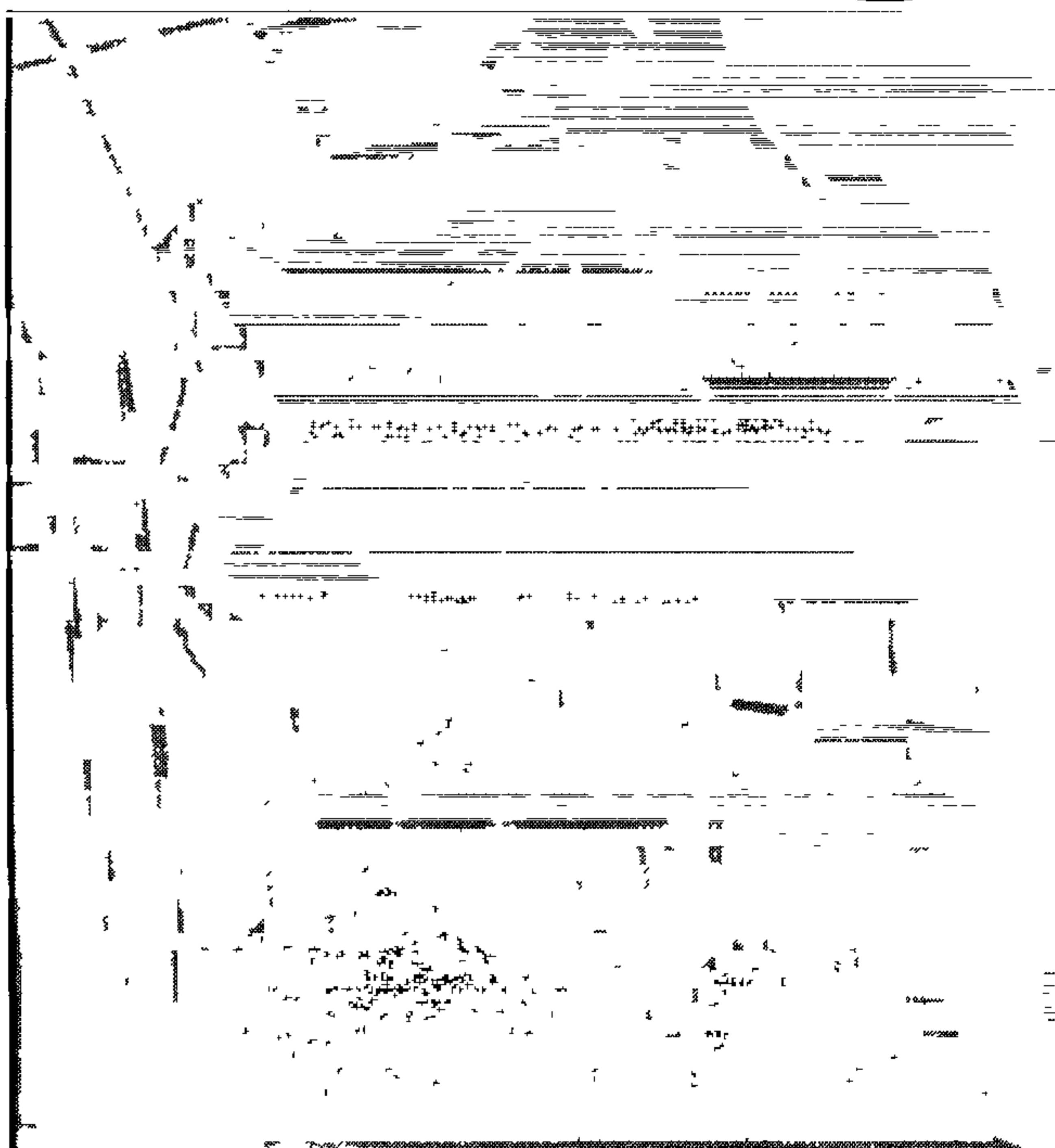
A mystery cargo, identified only as "tropical fish", was aboard the aircraft. This is the first time there has been any indication that the aircraft carried anything other than computers, computer parts and watches with lithium batteries, as reported by the inquiry

Chinese sources have speculated that

Chinese sources have speculated that

Chinese sources have speculated that

Chinese sources have speculated that



FLASHBACK... to 1989, as inquiry head Mr Justice Cecil Margo

"tropical fish" may have been a cover name for an explosive material placed illegally aboard the aircraft

The Margo report also mentioned a possible misrepresentation of cargo

A Mauritius medical team assigned to the accident found the bodies of the victims had been strangely mutilated. Post-mortem results on the bodies or any other indication of how the occupants of the aircraft may have died was never divulged in the inquiry report and information about the state of the bodies when they were found has also never before been divulged

Weekend Argus's investigation was also told of various claims relating to possible causes of the crash

It is virtually impossible to confirm these because of a lack of documentation and the unwillingness of former state employees to provide details

It has been learned, for instance, that the aircraft's commander, Captain Dan Uys, may have been "persuaded" by a senior government official over the telephone from Pretoria to take off after had refused to do so when he apparently discovered the nature of his cargo. Aircraft captains have to complete documentation relating to every aspect of passengers and cargo before take-off

The aircraft was delayed as a result with the official reasons given as "weather" or "connecting passengers" from an coming flight

Captain Uys's concern about the cargo was acknowledged at the time by a senior SAA official, Marthinus Jacobs, in Taipei but was never mentioned before the inquiry. Mr Jacobs, the last person to see Captain Uys before the flight, said he had been aware of rumours regarding the cargo,

## Sadness of a fateful journey ca

IT is a place of sadness, where even the tropical birds don't sing too loudly.

The crash of the waves on the brilliant white shore a stone's throw away also appears to be strangely muted, as if the sea is acutely aware of what happened that night seven years ago.

This is the scene of a memorial to an event which shook South Africans everywhere and even to

day is talked about as one of the world's great mysteries of the air

It was near the village of Belle Mare that some of the bodies and the wreckage from the crash of the South African Airways Boeing 747, the Helderberg, were washed up on the beautiful reef-enclosed beach. The flight path of the Helderberg would have taken the plane over the village and on

to Plaisance

The simple — erected beach on Mauritius 159 passengers died on November 28, a dramatic African far from the scene with holiday destination.

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Supreme Court during the inquiry into the accident.

Retired SAA captain Dennis Cronje, who flew the Helderberg as well as other Boeing 747s for seven years, gave evidence to the inquiry and later described its findings "as something we knew all along — that there was a fire on the aeroplane".

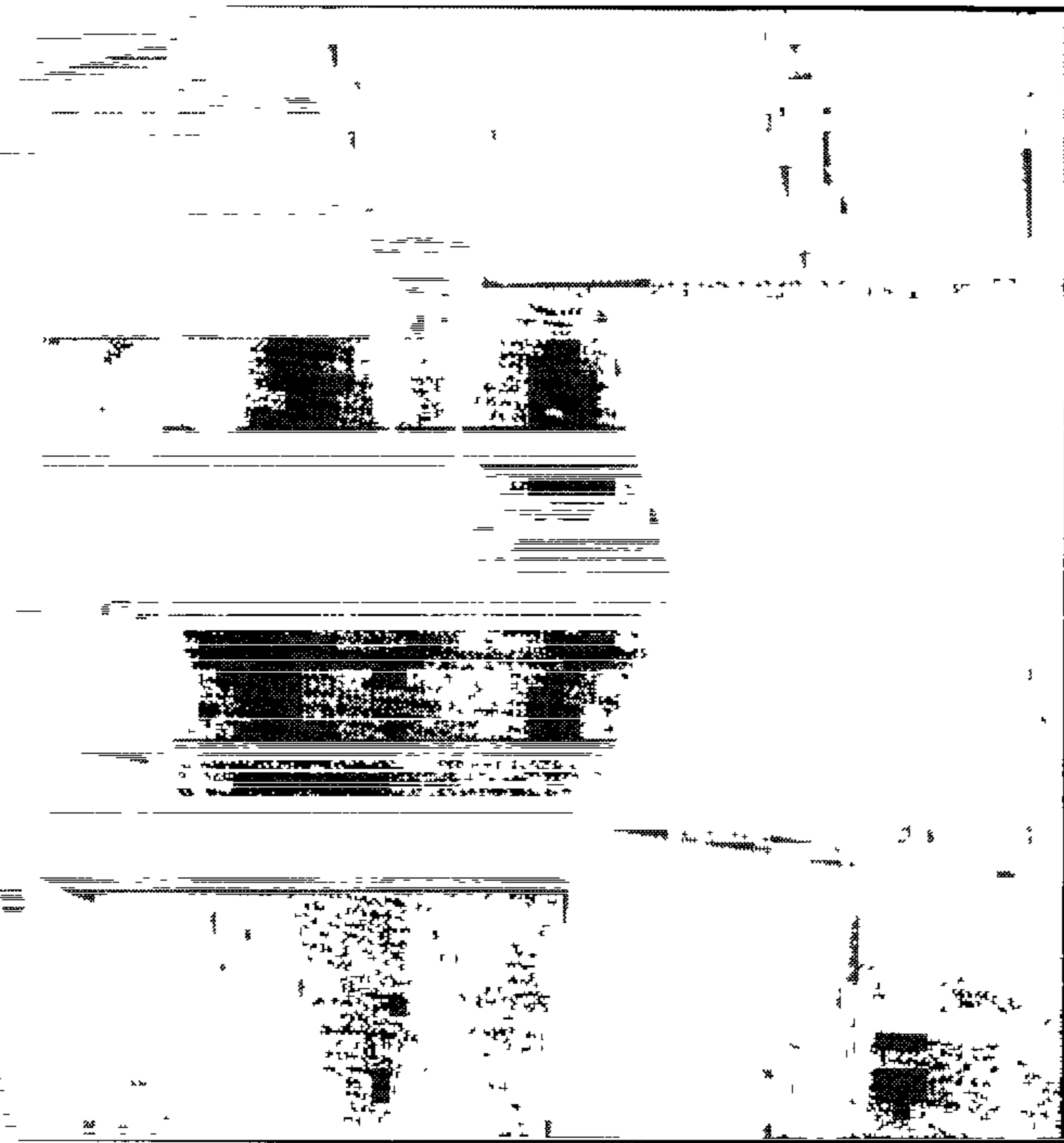
He added "I flew that route often and there is nothing I can imagine that we ever took as freight that could burn so ferociously that we could not put it out. They have spent a lot of money and time coming up with something that we knew all along. They did not find what was burning"

Captain Cronje's evidence was evaluated by the inquiry board but rejected because it was not substantiated.

Weekend Argus has conducted a special investigation into the tragedy ...



94 (254)  
**ed on SA 295?**



Examines the partly reassembled cargo area of the SAA Helderberg.

Dr Indiraduth Chunnoo, formerly head of Mauritius' Hospital of the North and now in private practice, said in the Mauritius capital, Port Louis "I would have thought there would at least have been a description of the bodies because it was something the likes of which I have not seen in my medical career"

He then described what he and his medical team saw that night

"Some of the bodies recovered had been decapitated, others were missing upper limbs. The lower trunk and other limbs were intact

"But, the most horrifying was to see that the backbone had been removed from some trunks and the rest of the body remained, or there was merely the backbone without flesh," he said

"Now, that is something that you do not find as a result of an explosion. It is the result of something more devastating, but the question is 'What?'"

He disputed a claim made by South African medical personnel at the time that sharks may have attacked the bodies.

Dr Chunnoo said that at first he thought there may have been an explosion

"Yes, I felt at the time that it may have been an explosion, (but) we cannot say what sort of explosion or whether the impact of the aircraft could have caused such mutilation"

What still puzzled him was that no survivors were found, he said

Asked if he thought that an explosion could have been caused by a volatile compound, such as red mercury or solid rocket fuel, Dr Chunnoo replied "We (the medical profession) all know what mercury can do, particularly in its raw state"

Dr Chunnoo, clearly nervous, said he was not convinced of the explosion theory, because there was no shock-wave damage, which is characteristic of an explosion taking place in a confined space such as the fuselage of an aircraft

Johannesburg forensic specialist Dr Vernon Kemp said two of the bodies contained sufficient blood in suitable condition for analysis and that the breathing passages of eight bodies contained soot

The causes of death of six of the victims was given as "multiple injuries" and two others, from which blood had been taken, was put down as "multiple injuries plus carbon monoxide intoxication"

The search for survivors was called off on November 30, less than 48 hours after the crash

The Margo report said "On November 30, at 7 30am, it was decided after anxious deliberation to terminate the search for survivors and to concentrate on recovery of wreckage pieces.

"By this time, mutilated human remains were retrieved, but only eight bodies were substantial enough for medico-legal post-mortem examination. The nature of the injuries indicated that the impact forces were too high for survival"

This is the only reference in the 178-page report to anything connected to the state of the bodies retrieved.

Officials at Taipei's CKS airport insisted that cargo-handling procedures were tamper-proof, but they did not rule out the possibility of something untoward happen-

did not believe Captain Uys was particularly worried about it

Weekend Argus was told at Taipei that waiting for a connecting flight was unheard of at Chiang Kai-shek (CKS) international airport and that this claim should be regarded as a "very flimsy reason"

Officials at CKS said they could not recollect such a call having been received by Captain Uys but, significantly, did not dismiss the possibility

Pilots interviewed by Weekend Argus, while not confirming that Captain Uys may have had such a call, said they would not be surprised "considering the nature of cargo carried at that time"

The pilots, all of whom still fly international routes, have declined to elaborate on the nature of the cargoes carried during the years when South Africa was the subject of international sanctions

Weekend Argus has been given expert medical opinion which rules out any possibility of an explosion having occurred, but which also states that the bodies and parts of bodies of 15 dead eventually found had injuries which defied medical knowledge

The official accident report said soot had been detected in the throats and lungs of the victims

The man in charge of the Mauritius medical team that helped on the night of the accident — which happened 134 nautical miles north-east of the island — was visibly surprised to hear from Weekend Argus that medical reports on the dead did not form part of the official report of the Margo inquiry, an international team of experts under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Margo

**aptured in simple island memorial**

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tell of the Helderberg memorial and are eager to direct visitors to the site on a remote corner on the north-east of the island.

Erected by South African Airways on land given by the Mauritius government, the cenotaph, with a simple plaque detailing the events of that night, receives a regular stream of South African, Chinese and Japanese visitors.

Often in tears, they lay wreaths at the foot of the cenotaph, particularly on the anniversary of the crash

For visitors it is a long and hair-raising drive along narrow roads to reach the beach. But, at a cost of 600 Mauritius rupees (about R110) for the return trip, it is a small price to pay to visit what amounts to a little bit of South Africa.

# Cut-price army — but for a fee

**THE Defence Force is proposing it start charging fees for assisting the community.**

Pressed to contain the 1995 SANDF budget and the costs of integrating former MK, Apla and TBVC defence force members at R10-billion, the defence force's budget planners have drawn up a contingency allocation, based on a 14.7 percent cut, that could produce a R1.5-billion "reconciliation dividend" for the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

But, containing the military budget will only be possible if the defence force starts charging for assisting the police, border patrols and for non-military tasks such as disaster relief and rescues, they say. Peacekeeping operations, such as assisting in Angola, will also have to be paid for outside the SANDF budget.

The "army for hire" proposals emerged from a six-week contingency planning exercise, intended to prepare the defence force for another fierce round of cuts in next year's budget.

By PETER De IONNO

the end of February, includes redesigning the army from the top down

Brigadier Andre Kruger, director of army planning, said four "creative" teams of "young colonels", senior operations officers, army headquarters and the Institute for Defence Policy had been briefed to plan an army costing less than R3-billion annually without "touching the bayonets on the ground"

"The policy was 'frontline first'," said Brigadier Kruger. "There would be no point in cutting wildly and destroying the army's ability to do its primary job of defending South Africa."

"All the groups agreed on one thing — the size of army headquarters must be reduced," he said.

Brigadier Kruger said it was agreed that the army's mobile capabilities, rear area protection by support and part-time forces, a rapid deployment force and training standards should all be preserved.

While the planning has not been finalised, Brigadier Kruger said

"rationalisation would be likely to include the amalgamation of bases, training schools and colleges

He said the community would not be affected in terms of defence, but "we are going to find that services to the community are reduced"

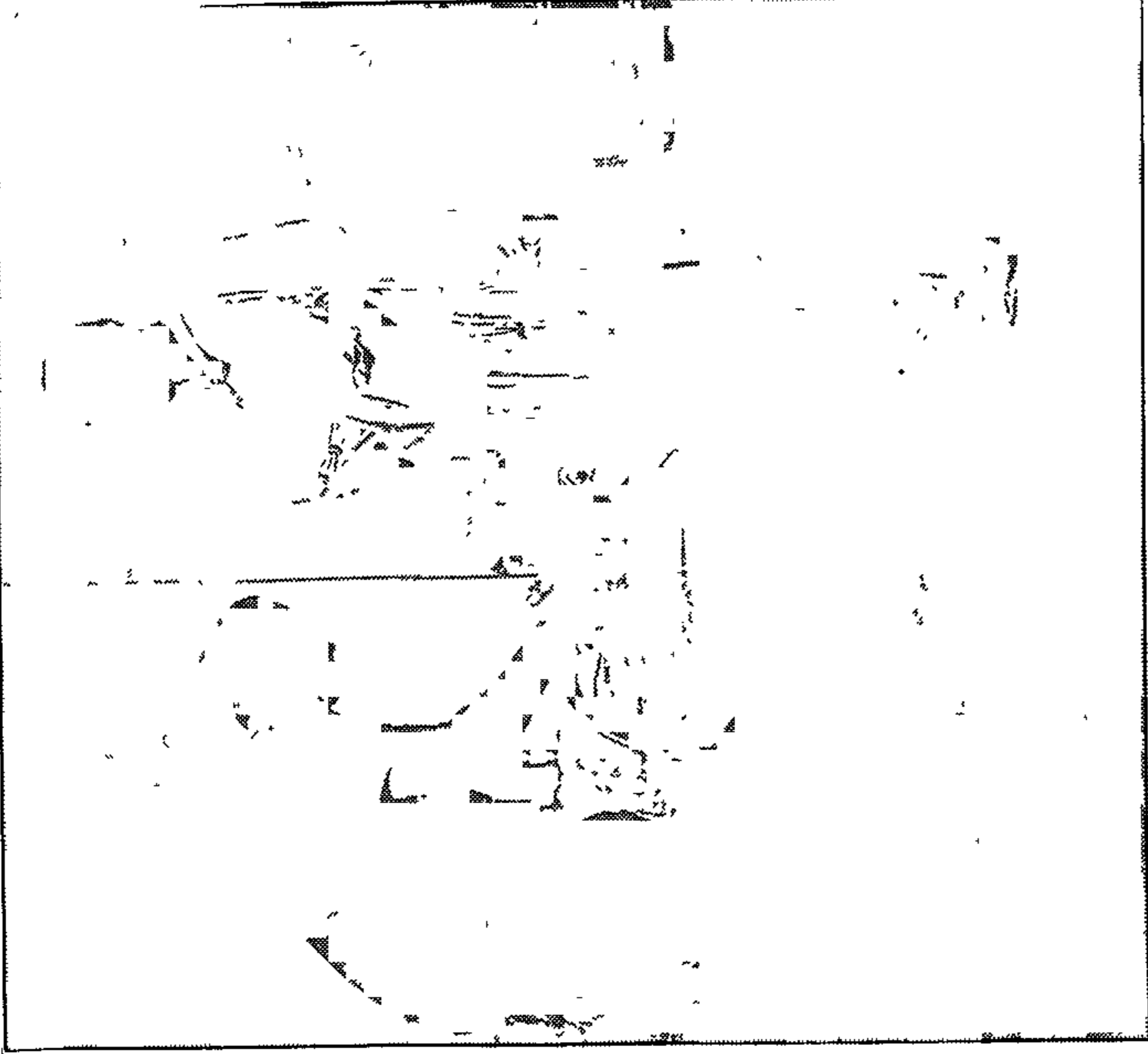
Brigadier Kruger said that some 30 000 posts — equalling the integration intake — would have to be shed in the next three years. The army was aiming for a rationalised strength of 53 000 and a number of units would have to be closed down

While many posts would be lost through attrition and early retirement he said retrenchments would be inevitable

Brigadier Kruger said proposals were being considered to give some of the non-statutory forces' members pay-offs and pension packages for past service in MK and Apla

The aim of rationalisation was to leave the army with a core force with support and training units which could handle limited conflict for short periods only

It could take up to five years to treble a core force into wartime fighting strength



**HELPING HAND FOR HIRE** . . . the next time there is a disaster at a place like Merriespruit, someone will have to foot the bill for the army's help

# Armcor hoppers became Africa's eavesdroppers

(254)

WMIS - 22/12/94

A top-secret document discloses the names of African states that bought hi-tech eavesdropping equipment from Armcor, reports **Eddie Koch**

**A**RMSCOR sold hi-tech "radio hopper" equipment to African states that enabled South African military intelligence officers to monitor sensitive diplomatic and military messages passed on by the governments of these countries

A top-secret document — which describes sales procedures for electronic warfare equipment — instructs Armcor agents to sell only special "B" versions of its renowned "hopper radio" to countries south of a line that ran "from the mouth of the Congo (River) to the port of Dar-es-Salaam". This region falls within the range of the South African military's radio interception stations.

According to a military electronics expert, the "B" editions of the "hopper" were equipped with computer circuits that would have allowed local military intelligence to detect when the radios were in use and to unscramble any messages that were passed along their security-protected frequencies

"This means that those countries south of the line which purchased Armcor's hopper radios have probably compromised their security," says the expert. "They have effectively given the South African military an exclusive line into their secret communications"

The document forms an appendix, entitled "Policy and Procedures for the Marketing of Sensitive Telecommunications Equipment", to the secret "Log 17" that was published in the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* two weeks ago. The sections dealing with electronic warfare are possibly the most damaging to Armcor because it reveals which countries were able to buy the compromising "hoppers"

Armcor's lawyers tried to suppress publication of Log 17 on the grounds that this would have embarrassed countries that it had

dealings with in the apartheid era. They also obtained a supreme court interdict against the Cameron Commission, which is investigating clandestine arms deals by Armcor, preventing the commission from publishing the document. The interdict was withdrawn after the *WM&G* published details from Log 17 anyway.

According to a list in the document, the countries that were eligible to receive "B" hoppers from Armcor, and which fall within the eavesdropping range of South Africa's Department of Military Intelligence, are: Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Lesotho. According to the document, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Angola were barred from receiving the sets.

Armcor's radios are known to be the best form of secure communication on the battlefield and were sold all over the world. During the Falklands War in 1982, British intelligence operatives were unable to learn about the movements and defences of Argentina's ground forces because the latter used the South African radios

The document explains that the radios work by having two levels of security built into them. The first allows it to hop quickly between frequencies at a rapid rate — thus its name. The frequencies are generated by computer chips which are built into the set

**S**econdly, they have a "user's code" that allows two radio sets communicating with each other to jump to the same frequencies at the same time. Thus any two sets using the same code and circuitry can communicate messages without fear of being intercepted

"But the manufacturers have the advantage of knowing how the radio is constructed. This would enable local codebreakers to be able to detect when the set is being used, to record messages transmitted across the spectrum of radio frequencies used by the sets and then to decipher the contents of the message," says the expert.

"This would have given South African intelligence agents a double advantage. They would have been

able to monitor sensitive communications in these countries while other competing intelligence agencies — even those from the United States which used satellite surveillance — would have struggled to obtain the same information"

The secret document stipulates that the Department of Military Intelligence, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and Armcor — along with with the now defunct State Security Council — had to be consulted before any electronic warfare equipment was sold abroad

It suggests that South Africa has a limited electronic warfare capacity. "This appears to have been intended to mislead Armcor's salesmen. South Africa has a reputation for developing the most sophisticated eavesdropping systems in the southern hemisphere," comments the expert.

The SABC, for example, used its Auckland Park transmitter to boost Unita's radio station while jamming Swapo and ANC broadcasts from Angola in the 1980s. The army and navy were able to decoy enemy missiles with active "electronic warfare systems" that sent out bogus signals that mislead the sensor heads in artillery shells. The technology was also able to detonate prematurely artillery shells equipped with electronic fuses.

"A private electronics company, which was subcontracted by Armcor to make the hopper radio, was also tasked with designing a network of transmission stations that could simulate bogus radio traffic and mislead foreign monitors into believing fake deployments of South African Defence Force troops and phantom units in unoccupied areas."

Another major electronic warfare item — listed as being strictly not for sale in the document — was "radio detection finding equipment". This technology allows operatives to detect the exact location of covert radio emissions and then to "slip into" the conversations on these. It was believed local intelligence-gathering operations would have been undermined if this equipment got into the wrong hands

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# Weekend

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## Startling new claims by Pretoria expert:

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(251)

ADT 24/12/94

■ Startling new clues have emerged this week on what may have caused the crash of the SAA jumbo jet, Helderberg, seven years ago.

**NORMAN CHANDLER**, Weekend Argus Correspondent

VITAL new evidence uncovered by Weekend Argus and its sister newspaper, Weekend Star, indicates that the doomed airliner, Helderberg, crashed seven years ago when a secret American-manufactured rocket fuel it was carrying suddenly ignited in mid-air and began to burn uncontrollably.

The information comes from an expert source — a Pretoria consulting engineer and rocket builder — who claims to have detailed knowledge of what was aboard the South African Airways Boeing 747 when it crashed off Mauritius on November 28, 1987.

## Arm Scor replies: No, no and no again

ARMSCOR, the country's official military equipment procurement organisation, was asked by Weekend Argus to comment on specific aspects of the Helderberg crash.

It has been alleged over the years that cargo destined for Arm Scor was aboard the plane, but this has been denied consistently by the organisation.

On behalf of Arm Scor, media liaison spokesman Bertus Celliers replied yesterday. The full list of questions, and the answers to them, were:

Was there any material destined for Arm Scor aboard the aircraft?

"No"

In the event that there was, would Arm Scor advise what material was being forwarded to it?

The expert cannot be named at this stage, but said he would consider giving evidence before any new inquiry into the disaster. He is the second person within a week to have provided key information about the Helderberg disaster.

Last week, Weekend Argus published information from a highly-placed source who was adamant that "the propellant was a mystery substance sometimes referred to as red mercury, which is thought to be a crucial component in nuclear weapons and rocket propulsion systems".

That the Helderberg was carrying some form of rocket propellant has been confirmed by numerous other intelligence and armaments sources interviewed by the Weekend Argus.

The consultant says the propellant is known to scientists as Super Mercuric Cyanate (SMC).

It is produced by a chemical bonding of mercury and pure sodium metal and is used to give added impetus to the fuel used in intercontinental ballistic missiles.

"See previous answer"

Sources have told Weekend Argus that materials required for space/rocket research and development programmes being undertaken by Arm Scor were being carried aboard the aircraft. May we please have comment from yourselves on this claim?

"No."

We have been informed that representatives of Arm Scor patrolled the beaches of Mauritius during the day following the disaster. Would you confirm this? If this were so, why did Arm Scor send a team to Mauritius if the organisation had no cargo aboard the Helderberg?

"No"

## Top investigator 'had suspicions'

THE chief investigator into the Helderberg disaster, Rennie van Zyl, has had suspicions that dangerous cargo was carried aboard passenger aircraft during the sanctions era.

"I have never had any proof, but I have had my suspicions. In those times, there were probably people who would do anything for volk and vaderland. And, we have had problems with false declaration of cargo."

"In the case of the Helderberg . . . well, we never did find out what was the cause of the ignition of the fire. I want to

■ Turn to page 2

He said that, because it was highly inflammable in air, it had to be transported either in a pure vacuum or in water. In the case of the Helderberg, it was placed at the bottom of tanks apparently containing tropical fish.

This coincides with Weekend Argus's report last week which reported Taiwanese officials as saying that a mystery cargo, code named "tropical fish", had been placed aboard the aircraft.

The consultant said SMC was hidden as a sludge at the bottom of tanks carrying tropical fish to South Africa. He has provided Weekend Argus with a written document outlining how SMC was developed, and why.

The plausibility of his information has been confirmed by a top international nuclear scientist, Dr Frank Barnaby, who lives in southern England.

According to other sources, the tank containing the substance — it is not known how many fish tanks were aboard the Helderberg — had apparently been flown across the Pacific Ocean from the United States to Taiwan via Japan.

It appears almost certain to have been destined for South Africa's fledgling-rocket industry. According to the consulting engineer, the SMC on the Helderberg probably ignited when the substance

■ Turn to page 2

# What happened? Questions on Helderberg for SAA

WRITTEN questions on the Helderberg affair have been sent to the chief executive of South African Airways by Weekend Argus and Weekend Star. The questions are:

It would be appreciated if you, as Chief Executive, South African Airways, would answer several questions, detailed below, in regard to the crash of the SAA Boeing 747 Combi airliner, known as the Helderberg, on November 28 1987

1 We have received information that South African Airways "instructed" pilots of planes due to carry so-called embargoed or restricted cargoes to take off from international airports, no matter what, "in the interests of the country". These pilots, who included Captain Dawie Uys of the Helderberg, were told that if they did not do so, their services would be terminated forthwith

It is known that Uys, for example, was told by SAA's manager in Britain on two occasions prior to leaving Heathrow London for Jan Smuts Airport that, if he did not accept the cargo and sign the manifest, he would be immediately dismissed

We are aware that Uys's family was provided with copies of those signed manifests. Does this mean that SAA was aware of any dangerous cargoes being carried by its aircraft and, if this was the case, why was not the public informed of the situation? May we have your comment?

2 There was a problem during the loading procedures for the Helderberg at Chaung Kai-shek international airport, Taipei, Taiwan. It is understood that SAA at the time had only one representative on duty and that the aircraft's crew had to assist local handlers in loading the aircraft. Could you confirm this?

3 SAA dispensed with the services of all the 200-odd cargo forwarders at CKS airport and appointed four local forwarders to handle all its cargo requirements. Two of these forwarders have told our sources that they had no idea there were regulations forbidding the transportation of certain dangerous cargoes. They also say that the manifest for the Helderberg was removed by an SAA representative and "was lost". A replacement manifest was reconstructed

through volunteered information, which, as you will be aware, is open to abuse. May we have your comments on this?

4. Relatives of passengers and crew aboard the Helderberg have told Weekend Star of their displeasure at the attitude of your airline's senior officials following the crash. At least two have told Weekend Star their telephones were "bugged", their movements were followed, and they were refused access to information which they deemed important to next of kin. May we have your comments?

A response was received by Weekend Argus and Weekend Star yesterday from Chris Roodt, SAA's Divisional Secretary and Legal Advisor. It read:

- 1 Thank you for fax of 22 December 1994, the contents of which were noted
2. The Chief Executive is on leave until Tuesday, 27 December 1994, and I know that he would like to respond to your letter personally upon his return.
3. The incident took place seven years ago. South African Airways will need a little time to investigate the allegations that are now being made. I have caused

a copy of your fax to be transmitted to the relevant managers for their comment. It should, however, be pointed out that nothing of the nature of the allegations that are now being made have been seriously suggested during the inquiry before Judge Margo.

4. I would like to take the opportunity, however, to respond immediately from a legal point of view to the allegations contained in paragraph 1 of your letter under reply

5 It is really an incredible allegation against the background of prevailing labour practice in South Africa.

5.1. Firstly, the conditions of service of captains provide that the captain shall be deemed to have assumed command of a flight from the time he signs on for such flight or has been called upon for a decision with regard to such flight, whichever is the earlier. The authority of a captain is defined in the Air Navigation Regulations, the Tokyo Convention and the International Civil Aviation Organisation Annex, which is incorporated by reference into the captain's conditions of service.

5.2. It is really inconceivable how a

captain could be threatened with dismissal if he or she refused to load dangerous goods as cargo of the unfair labour practice of the Industrial Court

5.3. The captain's conduct is clearly provided for in the ultimate responsibility for and its load, and COM staff or agents shall keep of any factors having a flight".

5.4. Thirdly, captains of fleet captains, and no one in the United Kingdom and No. 1 has ever had the authority to employ any pilot employed by Airways

6. Fourthly, South African Airways, especially when the seniority to command among the most experienced pilots in the world No. 1 South African Airways captain will take nature of the allegation anywhere in the world

I will revert to you on this as soon as the information is available

# Communication Channels

CONT



# What happened

WRITTEN questions on the Helderberg affair have been sent to the chief executive of South African Airways by Weekend Argus and Weekend Star. The questions are:

It would be appreciated if you, as Chief Executive, South African Airways, would answer several questions, detailed below, in regard to the crash of the SAA Boeing 747 Combi airliner, known as the Helderberg, on November 28 1987.

1 We have received information that South African Airways "instructed" pilots of planes due to carry so-called embargoed or restricted cargoes to take off from international airports, no matter what, "in the interests of the country". These pilots, who included Captain Dawie Uys of the Helderberg, were told that if they did not do so, their services would be terminated forthwith.

It is known that Uys, for example, was told by SAA's manager in Britain on two occasions prior to leaving Heathrow London for Jan Smuts Airport that, if he did not accept the cargo and sign the manifest, he would be immediately dismissed.

3 firm in the cargo area, all the cargo was damaged. The firm told there were several damaged items. The Helderberg representative goes. The Helderberg representative goes.

# 700 deg C heat was generated on board

was exposed to air as a result of the aircraft hitting violent upper-air turbulence over the Indian Ocean. This means that the 159 passengers and crew went to their deaths because they were unwillingly aboard a virtually out-of-control rocket. The aircraft took exactly 36 minutes from the time the first fire bell sounded on the flight deck — 10 minutes before midnight on November 27 1987 — to crash into the Indian Ocean. The passengers would have been watching an in-flight video or preparing for landing at Mauritius' Plesance airport, which was at the time a port of call for SAA on the long flight to Taipei.

Investigative journalist Martin Welz, who went to Taipei after the crash and recalled this week that he had been told by Taiwanese sources that there had been problems during the loading of the cargo and that shipping forwarders acting on behalf of SAA did not have copies of the manifest. They told him the only copies were with SAA. Weekend Argus has asked SAA to confirm these details.

The investigation by Weekend Argus and Weekend Star in Taiwan discovered that, in fact, the manifest was destroyed at Taipei's Chiang Kai-shek Airport and that, when the handling agents were asked for a copy, they had to contact every agent who had placed cargo on board the Helderberg in order to reconstruct the document.

This means that investigators acting on behalf of the inquiry into the accident, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Cecil Margo, had merely seen a reconstructed cargo manifest consisting of volunteered information, a situation unheard of in shipping circles, said sources. It also confirms that no original manifest had been placed on a computer. The loading problems at the airport tie in with information received that the aircraft's commander, Captain Dawie Uys, had declined to sign the manifest and only did so after pressure was placed on him by senior South African government and SAA officials.

It is now known from friends of the family that Captain Uys had telephoned his wife at their former home in Germiston and told her of his difficulties. She had apparently urged him, in view of the pressure being exerted, to be careful.

The same friends told Weekend Argus that Captain Uys had twice before carried "embargoed cargo" from Heathrow London to Jan Smuts only after he was threatened with dismissal from his job if he did not do so.

He took the precaution of posting copies of manifests to his home address. This also ties in with information that Captain Uys received a fax message from Johannesburg ordering him into the air after he had expressed misgivings about his cargo. It is not yet clear from whom the fax was received.

It is surmised, due to lack of information led before the inquiry, that Captain Uys's worst nightmare came true when the turbulence over the Indian Ocean had probably dislodged a tank in the upper cargo hold.

A scenario is that the water and fish spilled out and the deadly granules at the bottom of the tank came into contact with the air. In a matter of seconds, the fire bell sounded and a futile attempt was made to isolate and extinguish the fire.

Captain Uys — according to the cockpit voice recorder (CVR), the famous "black box" which was retrieved from the bottom of the ocean — took emergency action which saw him dive the aircraft.

# Christmas not so

■ Home gatherings are indeed traditional for Christmas Day. But for those looking for something different, there is some entertainment out there in the real world . . .

**IAIN MACDONALD**  
Weekend Argus Reporter

**CHRISTMAS on Sunday** may make one feel as if the world's shut down for the day, but for those agile enough to still swing a cat after the Christmas pud, there's a fair amount on in the Mother City tomorrow.

Movies, for instance, will be open in most areas during the afternoon, with the exception of Stellenbosch and Golden Acre Station of Stellenbosch and Golden Acre Station. Kinekor cinemas All Nu Metro cinemas will be open.

Major stores, however, will be closed tomorrow, though, as usual, corner cafes in most areas will be open for limited periods but theatres will be closed tomorrow but

LOW

was made to isolate and extinguish the fire

Captain Uys — according to the cockpit voice recorder (CVR), the famous "black box" which was retrieved from the bottom of the ocean — took emergency action which saw him dive the aircraft from 31 000 ft (10 000 m) in a desperate bid to reach Mauritius. The crew and passengers were incapacitated by the smoke or by the fire — by then a raging inferno and described by a rocket expert as "probably being like a giant welding torch, but with far greater heat" — as it cut through the controls in the tail section and then probably through that section of the fuselage

The Margo Commission inquiry determined that heat of up to 700 Deg C had been generated by the fire

#### ■ From page 1

## Public invited to help probe

We investigated many possible causes which all turned out to be rumours, including the ones about rocket fuel and about Captain Uys

"We found nothing amiss with the cargo. If the Taiwanese now claim there was something fishy, then why was this information withheld at the time? What is worrying is that if there was something dangerous loaded on the Helderberg, was it done with the knowledge of the Taiwanese authorities?"

"I spent three years on this investigation and accept we don't know what started the fire. If you (the Press) can help us solve it, good. And, if the public want to phone my office with information they now may want to pass on, then we will be happy to receive it and investigate it"

Mr Van Zyl, recently promoted to chief director of the Civil Aviation Authority, can be contacted at 012-290-2003

## Nine killed as building collapses

ISLAMABAD — Nine family members, including seven children, were killed on Friday when a

Major stores, however, will be closed tomorrow, though, as usual, corner cafes in most areas will be open for limited periods. Theatres will be closed tomorrow, but there's a full-blooded theatrical season in swing at present that will carry on well into the New Year with events like the Apple-tiser Summer Sunset Concert on January 1 and the Cape Liaison Concert in the Park on January 2, plus children's shows galore, concerts from the CTSO and an ongoing whirl of activities at the V&A Waterfront, to mention but a few

There's lots of arts and crafts things happening, too, including a group exhibition of young black artists at the SA National Gallery, the Simon's Town Jubilee Craft Market, the Muizenberg Antique and Craft Market, the Princess Vlei Flea Market, exhibitions of model flying by the Southern Soaring Club and all kinds of local celebrations

The Day of Goodwill (formerly Boxing Day) will see Jazz in the Park in the evening, the opening of the Disa Society International Disa Show, and a general return to the hustle and bustle

Many restaurants will be open on Christmas Day specifically for lunch, but it's advisable to check by telephone as they're mostly booked up at this time. There may well be no room at

## R5 000 each for

### Weekend Argus Reporter

FIVE readers share the prize from the Charity two mistakes each

They are Mrs E Hopwood, Beach Road, Mouille Point; Mrs P Meyer, Prince George Drive; Mr D Niekerk, Swart Street, A 7th Street, Matieland and Mrs M. Omons Road Sea Point. Jackpot No 489 is 12

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# Med? Questions on Helderberg for SAA

are aware that Uys's family was provided with copies of those signed manifests. Does this mean that SAA was aware of any dangerous cargoes being loaded by its aircraft and, if this was the case, why was not the public informed of the situation? May we have a comment?

There was a problem during the loading procedures for the Helderberg aircraft on the flight from Taipei, Taiwan. It is understood that SAA at the time had only one representative on duty and that the aircraft's crew had to assist local handlers in loading the aircraft. Could you comment on this?

SAA dispensed with the services of the 200-odd cargo forwarders at CKS and appointed four local forwarders to handle all its cargo requirements. Two of these forwarders have sources that they had no idea of the regulations forbidding the transportation of certain dangerous cargoes. They also say that the manifest for Helderberg was removed by an SAA representative and "was lost". A reconstruction of the manifest was reconstructed

through volunteered information, which, as you will be aware, is open to abuse.

4. May we have your comments on this? Relatives of passengers and crew aboard the Helderberg have told Weekend Star of their displeasure at the attitude of your airline's senior officials following the crash. At least two have told Weekend Star their telephones were "bugged", their movements were followed, and they were refused access to information which they deemed important to next of kin. May we have your comments?

A response was received by Weekend Argus and Weekend Star yesterday from Chris Roodt, SAA's Divisional Secretary and Legal Advisor. It read:

1. Thank you for fax of 22 December 1994, the contents of which were noted.
2. The Chief Executive is on leave until Tuesday, 27 December 1994, and I know that he would like to respond to your letter personally upon his return.
3. The incident took place seven years ago. South African Airways will need a little time to investigate the allegations that are now being made. I have caused

relevant managers for their comment. It should, however, be pointed out that nothing of the nature of the allegations that are now being made have been seriously suggested during the inquiry before Judge Margo.

4. I would like to take the opportunity, however, to respond immediately from a legal point of view to the allegations contained in paragraph 1 of your letter under reply.

5. It is really an incredible allegation against the background of prevailing labour practice in South Africa.

5.1. Firstly, the conditions of service of captains provide that the captain shall be deemed to have assumed command of a flight from the time he signs on for such flight or has been called upon for a decision with regard to such flight, whichever is the earlier. The authority of a captain is defined in the Air Navigation Regulations, the Tokyo Convention and the International Civil Aviation Organisation Annex, which is incorporated by reference into the captain's conditions of service.

5.2. It is really inconceivable how a

captain could be threatened with dismissal if he or she refused to accept dangerous goods as cargo in the context of the unfair labour practice jurisdiction of the Industrial Court.

5.3. The captain's conditions of service clearly provides: "The captain has the ultimate responsibility for his aircraft and its load, and COMPANY staff or agents shall keep him informed of any factors having a bearing on his flight".

5.4. Thirdly, captains report to their fleet captains, and no manager in the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland has ever had the authority to dismiss any pilot employed by South African Airways.

5.5. Fourthly, South African Airways pilots, especially when they have reached the seniority to command jumbos, are among the most experienced captains in the world. No South African Airways jumbo captain will take anything of the nature of the allegation from anybody anywhere in the world.

I will revert to you on Tuesday morning as soon as the information comes to hand.

# Thomas action does

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# Some TBVC military face income cuts

CT 28/12/94  
Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The income of many former TBVC defence force members will be decreased from January 1 — to bring their pay and benefits in line with the SA National Defence Force.

Although legitimate basic salaries would not be reduced, certain allowances received by members of the TBVC defence forces would be cut, according to an SANDF internal bulletin released yesterday.

These included board and lodging allowances, housing and transport subsidies and the favourable tax rates applicable to some former TBVC states.

The adjustments were in line with the new Constitution and the Public Service Act of 1994.

SANDF chief General Georg Meiring said the defence budget could not be stretched to bring everybody up to the former TBVC levels and that the constitution determined that what was generally applicable must be used as a basis.

"As such the RSA Public Service is used as a basis for remuneration in the SANDF," Gen Meiring said.

Where former TBVC defence force members legitimately received a higher salary the member would retain the scale as a "personal scale".

Tax arrangements in former TBVC states would remain until the end of the current tax year.

November 27 1994

# 'No explosion' on Helderberg

DT 27/12/94 (254)

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A RE-OPENED Margo Commission into startling new claims about what caused the Helderberg airliner disaster would probably focus on non-explosive fire aboard the aircraft, Mr Justice Cecil Margo said yesterday

The head of the inquiry into the 1987 disaster re-iterated his finding that no explosion took place

He was reacting to new claims that the aircraft was secretly carrying hi-tech air-combustible rocket fuel immersed in water "fish tanks", which spilt during turbulence around midnight on November 28

All 159 people aboard the Helderberg died

Weekend reports claimed the pilot's misgivings were overridden by an order from senior SAA management to fly. This had apparently happened twice before

Judge Margo said yesterday that cockpit voice recordings of communication between Plaisance Airport in Mauritius and

## Fire the factor to reconsider — Margo

the flight deck and on-board radio discussions showed there had been no loss of pressure on board

A Canadian scientific inquiry had found there had been no shockwave, and post mortem X-rays of the bodies showed no "opaque substances" — which would have indicated an explosion — lodged in the flesh of victims

All this contributed to his finding that no explosion took place

But Judge Margo added that "combustion without an explosion" could be reconsidered

The prerequisites for any inquiry had to be "an absolutely

fearless approach. I'll listen to anything and evaluate it fully"

Asked if he would be prepared to head a fresh inquiry after Transport Minister Mr Mac Maharaj ordered that the claims be fully evaluated, he said: "I've devoted a great part of my life to aircraft accident investigation and my interest remains at the highest level."

The original inquiry found that smoke, which probably caused the crash, emanated from a pallet at the right front of the upper cargo compartment in the Boeing 747 Combi aircraft

SAA has denied the "order to fly" allegation, saying it was "inconceivable" that a captain could be threatened with dismissal if he or she refused to accept dangerous goods as cargo, in the context of prevailing labour practice in South Africa

Armcor has denied that any material aboard the aircraft was destined for them and refused to confirm a claim that they sent a team to patrol Mauritian beaches the day after the disaster