

ANC Archive at Fort Hare

ANC funding proposal London 1990 – 30.79

Funding proposal for “Consultative meeting of the Department of International Affairs”. Conference objectives: *“1. To bring together all those structures of the movement in international mobilisation; 2. To bring together experiences of all our missions and other international representatives of our movement; 3. To prepare well informed input to the National Consultative Conference; 4. To identify areas of and donors for training in international relations.”* Total budget: ZAR195,000.

ANC-Germany relations 1990 – Germany 4.24

Budget proposal to the Gov. of the Federal Republic of Germany. Appeal from Tambo and Mandela. *“We know that these formidable tasks require enormous material and financial resources, and can be realised only with your continued support. We therefore appeal for your assistance during this final phase, cognisant of your previous and consistent solidarity. We acknowledge the enormity of our request and would appreciate a phased contribution commencing as soon as possible.”* Funds required for setting up offices, transport, logistics, etc. Grand total of transport request: USD30,726,000. Department of Legal and Constitutional Affairs grand total: USD3,032,640.

Arm Scor deals 1992 – Washington 70.235

Fax from Lindiwe Mabuza, chief rep in DC, to Pallo Jordan. Contents: news extracts on case of James Guerin, former arms dealer, and sentence of *“15 years in prison for smuggling \$50 million in weapons to South Africa and laundering \$958 million in gains... Some components reportedly ended up in the Iraqi army and were used against American forces during the Persian Gulf war”*.

Assassinations 1988-1989 – France 31.47

Translated report on TV programme entitled “Who ordered the assassination of Dulcie S.?”. *“[T]he Frankfurt based journalist Jürgen Roth pounced upon agents of South Africa’s military intelligence service. Their activities... extended not only to France, Belgium, Great Britain and Switzerland, but also to the Federal Republic of Germany.”* Implicates Joseph Klue and Dirk Stoffberg.

Document of “notes taken concerning the assassination of Cde. Dulcie September at lawyer’s office on 19 January 1989”. *“Lawyer informed us that the Dutch journalist indicated that the person who assassinated Cde. is names Tran Lien”*. Other details of people on whom suspicion fell, including Richard Rouget and his former girlfriend Antonia Sotan. *“Both have a history of extreme-right affiliations dating from their encounters as a Paris university”*. Some detail on them.

Belgium memos and circulars 1992 - Belgium 1.0005

June 1992 *"Report on a Belgian government meeting on South Africa and visit by Gerrit Viljoen to the European Parliament... The presentation was based on the finding of the economic prognosis conducted for Nedbank and Old Mutual. The meeting was attended by, apart from government officials, members of Belgian political parties, businessmen, the members of the EC and Southern African ambassadors. The conclusion of Bob Tucker is that South Africa faces grim economic prospects and the situation has to be reversed immediately. According to him the difficulties experienced at CODESA will continue for sometime and it would not serve good to wait for the installation of an interim government... This position was challenged by the ANC and it was argued that an interim government was the only way to restore confidence... "*

December 1992 fax from Mandela to all chief representatives of the ANC: *"A key component of our section campaign is fundraising. Without a considerable levelling of resources, there can be no such thing as a free and fair election in South Africa. I therefore, in my personal capacity, as well as in the name of your organisation, call upon all our Chief Representatives to immediately embark upon major fundraising programme for the elections. ... I call upon you to extend your maximum assistance to the National Elections Fundraising Committee. Please consider this as one of the most important tasks we have ever undertaken."*

Belgium photographs – Belgium 7.64

Right-wing protest, with banner "Geen terroristen in ons stadhuis", brandishing tyres.

Solidarity music concert, with Johannes Kerkorrel?

Alfred Nzo, O.R. Tambo and Thabo Mbeki in serious conversation.

Botha visit to France 1984 – France Add 22.35

Report (presumably Dulcie's) on Botha's visit to France. "At a meeting (17/04/1984), with Comrades Jele, Aziz Pahad and myself, Jacques Hutzinger, head of Foreign Relations, French Socialist party, and Jean-Bernard Curial, French Socialist Party and director of CRIAA, assured us that Botha would not be visiting France. The following week I learned that Botha would be coming to France on a private visit." Various attempts to halt, organisation of demonstrations, analysis of position of allies (esp. Communist Party, which is criticised). Comment on French sale of enriched uranium to Koeberg, on French mineral and economic reliance on SA, on relations wrt nuclear collaboration, oil, and arms. Lists Snias, Matra, Snecma, Dassault "(partially)", Thomson C.S.F, TESA, CNE, CNES.

British gov selling out to apartheid – AAM publication 1989 - Tambo 74.788

Contents: *"Foreword By Archbishop Trevor Huddleston Cr; Introduction -'Good Business To Be Done'; Britain's Sanctions Obligations; Disinvestment Provokes New Trade Initiative; Official Green Light For*

Apartheid Trade; Trade Missions — Favouritism For South Africa; Dti Ignores Nassau Accord; Dti Instructs Staff To Push Trade; Botb Promotion Of Trade Missions; Botb Chief Pays Special Visit To Sa; 'All Other Assistance Continues To Be Available'; Companies Fail To Meet The Trade Mission Challenge; Market Reports From HMG; Mossel Bay — Breaking Two Sanctions At Once; Computers For The Military; Ban On Tourism = Promotion Of Tourism; DTI Doublethink On Namibia; DTI Breaks New Ground And The Cultural Boycott; Conclusion."

Chilean connection 1988-89 – Belgium 2.12

Press release: *"The World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa has been able to confirm that the South African defence minister, General Magnus Malan, left for Chile last week on a two-week visit to promote closer military collaboration between the two countries. One of the projects involves the assembly in Chile of the South African G5 155mm artillery gun in order to penetrate markets which are normally denied to South Africa... The World Campaign believes that South Africa intends to reach an agreement with the Chilean authorities to build submarines there, based on the blue-prints obtained from the Federal Republic of Germany in 1985... Pretoria's links with Chile, Israel and Taiwan are crucial for its military programme."* A few more details of trip.

Fax from Sotiros Mousouris at Centre against Apartheid, PSCA: "The mission of Chile to the United Nations informed the Special Committee against Apartheid on 30 March 1988 that the exhibition of any equipment in the FIDA 88 did not involve any contractual obligation with regard to the purchase or sale of such equipment. It was virtually impossible for the government of Chile to take action against the participation of South Africa at that advance stage of preparation... The government of Chile expressed its emphatic rejection of the policy of apartheid of South Africa."

Chilean connection 1988-89 – Belgium 7.59

Doc on South Africa in Chile. *"The military government in Chile is South Africa's main ally in Latin America. The white South African regime plans its diplomatic offensive and its arms sales for the whole hemisphere from Santiago. And recently these operations have taken on worldwide implications. Chile is about to become South Africa's tool for mocking the UN embargo on arms sales."* Details on FIDA, arms exhibition at which SA was present. *"No other organiser of this kind of event allows Pretoria's presence. Usually South Africa has to deal with its potential clients in hotels and show them catalogues and videos... The North American magazine Time reported in May 1988 that Armscor... 'now has orders worth 4.500 million dollars. Most of these contracts were signed at the international arms exhibition in Chile in March'... A major jump in relations between Cardoen and Armscor (with the blessing of both governments) is the assembly in Chile of the long-range canon G-5..."* Suggestions made for how to protest/counter.

Chilean connection 1988-89 – France 17.84

OCR with OCRkit. *"The Chilean Connection" – "The South African regime has long desired to integrate itself into a South Atlantic military alliance, and it has forged close military links with a number of South American states. Chief amongst these is Chile, which is similarly isolated in the world arena as a result of its repressive and anti-democratic politics... South Africa is not the second largest holder of foreign assets in Chile and since 1984 companies from each country have participated in the other's trade fairs..." Sandock-Austral connection.*

Coded letter 1964 – Lusaka 3.17

Letter in code, with uncoded text worked out. Apparently involves financial arrangements for Rivonia trial.

Conference SA military nuclear build-up 1982 – Tambo 59.559

AAM conference publication. Largely rhetoric, but some detail. *"The Strength of the Military: In the past two decades the regime's annual military budget has increased by over 4000% (from R72m in 1961/2 to over R3,000m in 1981/2). During the same period the total strength of the SA Defence Force has increased by 55% (from 79,000 in 1961 to 515,000 in 1981) and the standing operational force (ie the number of troops under arms at any one time) by over 1500% (from 12,000 in 1961 to 200,000 in 1981). In the past five years approximately R5,000m has been spent on weapon procurement and military capital investments."* Some rough figures of numbers of tanks, aircraft etc. and on operational strength of police.

"The Military-Industrial Complex: In an attempt to render itself largely self-sufficient for its basic weapons requirements, the regime has, in a space of fifteen years, built the largest military industrial complex in the southern hemi-sphere. The state-owned Armscor and its nine subsidiaries have an annual turnover of more than R1,000m. Armscor employs over 20,000 and contributes to the employment of about 100,000 in the private sector where more than 800 companies are involved in Armscor contracts. Joint development projects with countries such as Israel and Taiwan and the continued unrestricted flow of high technology, particularly electronics, into South Africa, are enabling the regime to enter the international arena as a middle-power arms producer and supplier. Despite its claims of self-sufficiency, the armaments industry is highly dependent on the importation of technology and parts."

Some rough details on operations in Namibia, and on nuclear activities. Also on extent of current embargo violations, but largely non-specific. Names only British violations: ICL, Plessey, Cementations Engineering, Marconi, Redifon, Leyland, Rolls Royce, mercenaries.

Correspondence after death of DS – France Add 5.79

1989 Letter from Paul Rechsteiner to Solly Smith, enclosing several letters from Swiss authorities (in German), on Dirk Stoffberg and Swiss connection to Dulcie's murder.

Correspondence after death DS – France Add 6.98

Lawyers' correspondence (in French), on gaining access to the dossier. Letter from Solly Smith to Stephanie Arendse, on funeral costs and need for her to sign a declaration of domicile form for the sake of the civil action. Handwritten notes on lawyer Roland Dumas (*"Can he become part of collective of lawyers?"*) and intention to make civil action.

Correspondence after death of DS – France Add 6.110

Document on the case against Richard Rouget. Another document (in French, translated by hand) on "Tracks", including of Rouget, Tran Long, Jean Taousson, Victor Kelly, Gary van Dyke, Joseph Klue.

Correspondence after death DS – France Add 6.115

Letter from AAM to Tambo. Complaints about Solly Smith compromising solidarity (e.g. insisting on PAC exclusion from conference). *"We regret that following all these incidents, cordial relations could not be re-established with your representative in Paris. We consider such relations indispensable, but they cannot be established on an authoritarian conception of relations between the A.N.C. and our organizations of solidarity."*

Correspondence on threats to ANC people 1985 – France Add 9.152

Letter to SA morning newspapers from the West European Suicide Squad, threatening violence against ANC members. Claim to be expat Brits, Irish and Dutch.

Message to SG's office with Sowetan extract that *"South Africa's National Intelligence Service has been recruiting mercenaries in France in the past few weeks to attack ANC and SWAPO targets in Europe...recruited mercenaries from among the security forces of extreme right movements"*.

Comments that: *"We have already received a number of threats here and are taking them very seriously"*.

French text quoted above, in Liberation.

Correspondence Ritchie Fauntroy Boesak 1986-87 – Lusaka 3.20

Letter from Peter Ritchie to Archbishop Trevor Huddleson, involving Mr Robert Applebaum, also involved in the Sun City project, who: *"has been advised by Congressman Walter Fauntroy that three major American companies are going to divest themselves from South Africa and would like to contribute their assets to black organisation... Could you assist me in setting up an appointment...between Robert and [either Thomas Nkobi, Thabo Mbeki or Sizakele Segxhashe]?"*

Encloses letter to Rev Boesak from Fauntroy, on *"the establishment within South Africa of a legal entity which could take title to the assets of disinvesting US corporations and either operate them on behalf of the black community or facilitate their re-transference to black South Africans who are capable of operating them effectively"*.

Fax cover page, via Bowman-Gilfillan-Hayman Godfrey Inc., from Appelbaum to Ritchie, indentifying Ritchie as from Capitol Records. Gives details of those to call to check credentials (congressmen Fauntroy and Gray, Tutu, Boesak, Francis Wilson).

Correspondence with banks 1991 – Washington 36.30

Letter to Tambo (cc Mandela and Sisulu) from Napoleon Nobay of First City, Texas. *"Since last year, your son Dali and I have been in discussions on a broad range of initiatives... We determined that one of the more pressing initiatives...is the need for a Commercial Bank owned, operated and managed by the majority of the peoples of South Africa."* Gives detail on similar experience in Kenya. *"At the risk of being presumptuous, I strongly urge your Organization and your Leadership to consider commercial banking in tandem with your political efforts."* Gives the hard sell. *"I do hope that I can be a part of the initiative and play a role in its formation."*

Letter to Sally Bowles (ED, Committee for SA Development) from same as above. *"To reiterate part of our conversation this morning, let me say that I would very much like to work for you setting up the Development Bank."* Etc.

Craig Williamson campaign manifesto – London Mayibuye 31.15

"To a large extent, the battle for political power in South Africa is a battle for economic control... In this pamphlet I expand on my own personal belief in the free market system as the system which allows for enterprising individuals to develop a healthy society that promotes both political and personal freedom. I believe that this can only be achieved if we lobby for, and develop, an aggressive, growth-oriented free market strategy for South Africa." Etc. with lots of rhetoric on lowering taxes, the failures of socialism etc.

De Klerk visit – Belgium 8.68

European trip itinerary May 1990, with AAM plans (i.e. protests) in parallel. Meetings with Mitterrand, Kohl, Thatcher, Andreotti etc. Belgian meetings: BVO ("Employers Organisation"), President of House of Lords, Foreign Minister, PM, possibly King – far more than elsewhere.

De Klerk visit – Belgium 8.74

In Dutch. On VBO (above incorrectly called BVO), and restarting economic relations with SA.

Dissertation French policies towards SA 1989 – France 57.106

Dominique Hudson's University of Southampton 1989 MA dissertation. *"This dissertation examines the relationship between France and South Africa under the Fifth Republic. ... The introduction describes the historical link between the two countries. ... Chapter IV relates how the nuclear and*

military relationships between France and South African pursued under successive government resulted in South Africa's atomic independence and in its ability to arm itself. ... Chapter VI gives a survey of the pro-South African lobby in France. It shows how, allied with the world of business and finance and led by personalities from the right and extreme right of the political spectrum, it has infiltrated French political and economic structures."

Gives names and known details about nuclear and military collaboration. There's a lot here, not so much new facts as useful contents, and in useful narrative form, but some extracts:

"According to the Swedish International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) forty-four per cent of South African weapon imports came from France in the 1960s and between 1970 and 1974 this percentage increased to over half. Innumerable companies, some nationalised, were involved..." (p74).

"On the contrary recent observations confirm that France's involvement in South Africa is the reflection of a policy serving both its interests and those of South Africa, perpetuating the role of South Africa as "gendarme" for the West in South Africa, perpetuating its sense of belonging to the Western camp, of a policy more preoccupied with maintaining and extending French influence in Africa than with dismantling apartheid" (p80-81).

"South African agencies and French interested parties... all have contributed to form a strong pro-South African lobby in France which diligently works at moulding French opinion... A survey of the lobby's activities reveals the impotence of the French government in the face of the immense power of big capital." (p105) Lists institutions involved, including South Africa foundation, Club of Ten, Groupe d'Amitie, Taousson etc.

DS Assassination 1988 - France 32.52

Document "Entries of spies and their helpers", unsigned. Series of statements amounting to narrative of Stoffberg's responsibility and UK and French complicity. E.g. *"An SADF-captain tells somebody that he is being trained by the British Ministry of Defence in Birmingham. MoD denies. ... In 1988 Dirk Stoffberg is stopped and interrogated at Heathrow. A man with him carries a 'hit-list'. After interrogation he is set free. ... Two days afterwards, Dulcie September is assassinated. For months there is no trail of perpetrators. Then, two names come up: Stoffberg and Klue. Both deny any involvement."* Conclusion: *"It seems that not only NIS-officers are involved in spying and other illegal activities in Britain. Also SADF- people, Armscor-people, businessmen from South Africa and ex-intelligence-officers in Britain are deeply involved. ... The only possible conclusion is that political high level collaboration between SA and the UK, with one aim: fighting the 'communist enemy'... Probably, western intelligence doesn't like people being killed by South Africa in their territory. But no authority is prepared to confront South Africa by punishing or preventing its crimes, because of 'stability' in South Africa."* Lists numerous unanswered questions.

Extract from an article in "l'Humanite" entitled "Destination Murder". *"The assassination of Dulcie September, the ANC representative in France, confirms the existence, in spite of soothing statement frequently made to deny the fact, of pursued cooperation between the French and South-African [sic] police and intelligence services... It is an understatement to say that there are links between the assassination of Jean-Marie Le Pen and the Pretoria regime. These links extend to all the small*

neo-fascist groups in France and Europe as a whole..." Some talk of Sun International and gambling as the SA entry point to the European market. Not much in the way of evidence.

"L'Humanite". "...the Home Minister had decided, some months ago, not to extend D. September's residence permit. ... According to Reuter, the adviser in relation with South African might be J.D. Taousson..."

"Le Monde": Quotes South African and French denials of involvement. "...a communiqué from the embassy declares: 'there is no logical reason for South African to be involved in such an absurd act'... 'It is in the interest of the South African government that the murdered be arrested as soon as possible, so as to clarify the case.'" French minister of Justice denounces "the bad habit which consists in exploiting death for political purposes". Mitterrand "declared that he had 'suspicions about the Pretoria regime... as far as D.September's murder is concerned, I can't say anything, even if I have an intuition... Apartheid is unbearable, we must reject it, struggle against it' but 'diplomatic relations don't depend on the opinion we have on a political system'."

"Le Monde": French government "'neither rejects, nor confirms' the thesis about South African responsibility in the Paris murder".

"L'Express": "But to think that he [Botha] can have been tempted to use state terrorism in a country like France, in which he has every interest in preserving as 'respectable' an image as possible... We cannot reject the possibility for South African right-wing extremists to involve their country in a desperate policy."

"Le Point": "...who had an interest in eliminating D.September?... Acute tensions exist within ANC between communists and nationalists. Was D.September a victim of this struggle for influence? This what the Pretoria government is hinting at, and the French police doesn't reject the possibility. But South African secret services are at the same time suspected, in spite of denials..."

Lots similar from news sources.

DS Assassination newspaper clippings – France Add 18.32

"Le Monde", April 6, 1988: "Mr F.Mitterrand refuses to break off relations with South Africa... because they [diplomatic relations] 'don't depend on the opinion we have about a political system'... [This] is a slight reversal of gear, to get out of a minefield." Suggestion again that assassination by right wing groups against Botha's moderate reforms.

"Liberation", April 6: Upcoming non-renewal of September's residence permit. "According to the last issue of "La Lettre de L'Océan Indien", a specialised magazine published in Paris, a member of C.Pasqua's present staff is supposed to have, 3 years ago, recruited mercenary on behalf of the South African secret services, to attack the ACO and SWAPO offices in France and in Europe... doesn't mention the name of the French civil servant concerned but it was confirmed by the Home Ministry that he was J.D.Taousson, official in charge of harkis and rapatriés in the Ministry. The same person, according to "La Lettre de l'Océan Indien" is supposed, some months ago, to have given express orders to services concerned not to extend D.September's residence permit." More on Taousson link.

"Le Canard Enchaîné", April 6: On Mitterrand's reluctance to break off diplomatic ties. "Last example of this friendly atmosphere: on March 12, two weeks before the murder, Pik Botha, South African Foreign Minister, waiting for a plane in Roissy, met several representatives of Chirac and J.B.Raimond. The quartet he met in a reception room at the airport was quite qualified. In the first rank, Michel Roussin, head of J Chirac's office, in charge of delicate missions. He was accompanied by his friend and unofficial adviser J.Y.Ollivier, a 43 years old "pied-noir" who is in very good relations with South Africa. In 1986 and 1987, that man negotiated (in violation of the embargo theoretically implemented from 1985) the import of hundreds of thousands tons of South African coal for French Industry. He participated, with Chirac's special envoy, in discussions which lead to the release of the French teacher P.A.Albertini. In a still more quiet way, he was conferred, on December 17, 1987, the Order of Good Hope by Pik Botha, during a moving ceremony in good old Cape Town."

"L'humanite", April 7: ANC says Paris did nothing to protect Dulcie, despite having been warned of danger, and that she was on a list of targets. AAM reps ask Paris to break off ties with SA.

DS Minutes of London meeting 1984 – France Add 13.8

Dulcie's minutes of meeting held in London on 10th October 1984, between TT Nkobi, Joe Jele and Dulcie September. Issues of funding via Jean-Bernard Curial from CRIAA and Socialist Party. "I am agitating that the work here should become more mass-based as opposed to this 'private' affair that the Anti-Apartheid Movement is." Concerns that the country is swinging more to the right. Money is tight. Handwritten notes on issues to be discussed – largely administrative stuff. Note on Nuclear Project: "Name of organisation – Les amis de la charte de la liberte – ANC. More audience. No directives, not even the statement. Unesco – statutes and full accreditation. Full observer state, invalid (?).

DS notes 1985 – France 6.114

Typed record of threats made against ANC and known suspicious incidents. Wire tapping at apartment and office. Office broken into. Harassment by Jean-Paul Horeau. Being photographed in the street. Handwritten notes mention: nuclear collaboration, Thomson (armaments and nuclear technology, communications equipment directly to the SADF), arms and Puma spare parts.

DS Notes on French arms sales to SA – France 15.71

Handwritten notes. Ship name Tine Maru. Names of people involved: Michel Floquet, Pierre Abramovich, Joergen Jensen (*"the later created a false Panamian company in 1980 et resold the ship to himself 15 times its price and gave it the name which it used during the transportation of arms"*), Henri Ferriere, Marc Millac, Tom Roesenberg. American company Commerce International, *"which has an office, rather a mail box in Cagnes sur Mer... in close contact with Australian 'financial group' Nugan Hand"*. William Casey. From Bordeaux. *"Name of ship on arrival in Durban: Nema. Flying under Panamanian flag, made 5 trips. Need to know when they arrived in Durban (dates)."*

Doc from Abdul Minty to Minister for External Relations (as sent to Dulcie). "Your excellency may be aware of reports in Danish media about the supply of war material of foreign origin to South Africa in breach of United Nations mandatory arms embargo. The case involved persons and enterprises in several countries and Danish and Swedish authorities have already begun to investigate matter concerning five alleged shipments of war material, amounting to 2,000 tons, from Bordeaux to Durban during 1981-1982." Hopes the French will help investigate, commit to initiatives to prevent future cases.

Letter to Dulcie in French, saying attached report may interest her, and that Danish comrades may also be encouraged to help with the two journalists' research.

Customs document certifying that the cargo of the tanker Cast Puffin arrived at Verdon from Seal Sands, with crude oil, on 23 September 1980.

Cover letter of Port of Bordeaux, to SRB, of records of English fuel tankers Cast Puffin and Spey Bridge.

Details of Tina Maru ship, Tom Rosenberg.

More handwritten notes, mentions ship Nema, Samik Awad. Notes on phone calls with Abdul, Lindiwe in Sweden.

French article of which first set of handwritten notes are translation.

Notes mentioning Mr Du Plessis, son of rector of Bloemfontein University. Armines. Visit related to arms research.

DS Photographs – France 64.12

Pics of Dulcie and at funeral.

DS Press cuttings 1989 - France 13.60

Three follow up stories, **in French**, on DS assassination. Mention Dirk Stoffberg.

Dulcie report on president's visit to Paris 1986 – France Add 22.39

June 15th to June 20th, 1986. *"The organisation of this visit was disastrous to say the least although I had two comrades to assist me... Together the three of us managed to foul up everything."*

Description of series of mishap involving meetings, transportation arrangements, concert that had to be cancelled, serious damage to reputation etc. Takes extraordinary amount of responsibility, despite it seeming that it was often the fault of one of the others. Disapproves of Breytenbach.

Extreme right international 1987-88 – France 57.107

In French. Headline: South Africa – convergence of right and far right! At the time of the release of Pierre-Andre Albertini there was a violent criticism from some political actors on the right against the activist who we salute here for his commitment to the fight against apartheid. These men are ideologically close to the National Front.

Names of right-wing and other actors' names highlighted. Jean Taousson mentioned.

Extreme right international 1987-1988 – France 57.108

In French. Headline: THE V.R.P. OF APARTHEID. Two French emissaries who negotiated the release of Albertini under exchange of prisoners between Angola and South Africa have recently been granted the Order of Good Hope, one of the highest South African distinctions. ?, it appears useful to return to the submerged part of the Franco-South African relations, namely, the South African lobby in France.

Faxes 1991-93 – France 33.57

From J Tillerson to Nat Pillay, on the Blowpipe affair (21/04/89): *"According to articles of that period, one SA diplomat, Daniel Storm, was not exactly expelled by the French government but after claiming diplomatic immunity in the affair, it was 'suggested' he leave France."* Storm alleged to handle logistics for SA intelligence services, maybe involved with D September assassination.

From ANC Paris to Gen Sec DIA, att Yusuf Salojee, 28/04/92, re: Relations with French Foreign Ministry. *"I have been informed by the French Foreign Ministry that they would like the ANC to prepare a package, listing our needs in the field of constitutional, educational and cultural negotiations. ... My difficulty is that I cannot gauge how far I can make demands or determine what has been and how this has been provided up until now. ... Finally, I would like to make the point that the right-wing opposition attempts, every time it has an opportunity, to change the Government. To me, this means that the sooner we present our package and open a forum for dialogue than wait for another Government the better. Our relations with right-wing political organisations has dramatically improved. ... Their position is that they do not see the present ANC in the same light as the ANC that was once in exile. The RPR-UDF coalition representatives with whom I have already met, say that they are also willing to finance some of our work."*

From ANC Paris to DIA, att Ally Lumkwana, 11/10/1993, re: Programme of SA delegation to France. Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki to meet with: NGOs, Chirac, PM Edouard Balladur, Ambassador Burger and ANC chief Rep Mr Msizi, DG of UNESCO, Minister of Economy Edmond Alphandery, Chambers of Commerce, Alain Juppe, Socialist and Communist Parties, Mitterrand.

Franz Strauss 1988 – Germany 65.65

In German. On Franz Strauss, Airbus deal.

French Connection 1986-92 – France 15.70

Text and translation from Liberation article on Guenon. Salient bits already incorporated into profile.

Document on Thomson financial links. Pretty much illegible. Back up copy slightly better but not much.

Fax from Chief Rep to Jojo Salogee, 29/1/90: *"We are referring to you a request by the advertising agency 'Albacore' to use an image of cde. Mandela made here by one of the television channels during his visit in June in a publicity spot it is preparing for the 'Thomson' enterprise. It should be noted that Thomson has economic, military, financial and enterprise investment in SA. Thomson-Electronics of SA makes communication material for the armed forces and radio. ... After consultation with legal department of another advertising agency here, the office was informed that IF cde Madiba accepts the use of his image, it is not normal practice for an individual to receive payment. However, it was said that it is considered acceptable for a donation to be made to an organisation such as the ANC. ... NB The ANC French Mission has to this date had no contact with Thomson."*

"Liberation", 18/02/92: French enterprises on the SA springboard. "A contract was concluded yesterday between the EDF (electricity of France) and its SA counterpart, ESKOM. The embargo is almost a thing of the past and the agreement, which provides for 'common action' on the whole of the African continent, underlines the importance which French industries attach to the new African economic giant... The historic leader of the ANC recommends waiting further, until the setting up of an interim government... But alongside of this official political position, Mandela's organisation is multiplying its contact with European and American industrials willing to come invest in SA... A visit to the Headquarters of the ANC, in the center of Johannesburg, to meet with its economic experts has become a necessary route for investors."

"La Lettre de L'Indien Ocean", 26/01/92: South Africa – French business expanding. "Several French groups are realising an expansion of the activity in SA." Names Total, Alcatel, Aerospatiale, Alsthom, Bouygues, Bull, Paribas. "On the spot, at the initiative of the French Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Southern Africa (CCISA), numerous SA missions are sent to France." Including Wesgro.

Communique by C.Dufour, Deputy National Secretary for Human Rights, 1/2/91: The Socialist Party is glad about development in SA, encourages more progress.

Notice of nomination of Mme Joelle Bourgois as ambassador from France to SA.

"Agence France Presse Dispatch", 7/2/91: "An important French interministerial delegation arrived in Johannesburg for a visit of one week. Its mission it to evaluate new perspectives in increasing economic and financial exchanged between South Africa and France..."

ANC request to clarify statements in newspaper about expulsion of SA diplomats from France. Illegible.

"La Lettre de l'Océan Indien", 29/04/89: South Africa – the Blowpipe affair. In French. On SA diplomat Daniel Storm etc. Rough translation: "Receiving 24 April the South African Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis, Margaret Thatcher was forced to express "grave concern" while the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe tried to calm the Commons Labour MPs who demanded consultation between/with European countries about expelling all South African spies and arms buyers working under diplomatic cover."

Brief news piece in magazine, 15/5/90, on Sol Kerzner. In French. Rough translation: "South African casino magnate, Sol Kerzner, picked up in France, teaming up with Accor to restart the nicoise Society of sea bathing which operates the casino Ruhl Nice. Accor provided 120 million francs, and Kerzner 60 millions, in a transaction that has received the blessing of his former associates, the Group Lucien Barriere, and the green light of the French economic authorities. We remember that they were opposed it - but that was in 1987 – at the wedding of Kerzner and Lucien Barrier ... Kerzner is also said to have through Royal Resort International, a 34% stake in Casino de Divonne, which Lucien Barriere would acquire."

"Financial Mail", 29/4/90, The Lubowski affair - White lightning. "Pretoria attorney Ernst Penzhorn was used by Military Intelligence (MI) in October 1986 to evaluate a scheme, designed by a close friend of former President PW Botha, to give MI a foothold in African countries. Penzhorn recently claimed that he had, in early 1986, sold the close corporation which made payments on behalf of MI to slain Swapo executive member Anton Lubowski." A bit more on Project Witblits.

Teleks from Abdul Minty, World campaign against military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, to Mitterrand, 9/11/89. "According to reliable information which we have received the French government has apparently agreed to modify its earlier policy and decided to authorise the delivery of SNECMA Atar aircraft engines to Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) to power the Kfir fighter plans which was unlawfully copied from the original French Mirage. ... It is possible that Israel has mentioned some of these countries as possible customers without mentioning South Africa in view of the firm policy of your government against the apartheid regime. ... We are sending this information and urge that your government order an immediate and urgent investigation..."

"SouthScan", 1/12/89, "U-boat, jet engines, missile technology continues to flow to Pretoria". Germany condemned for sale of submarine plans. France/Israel/SNECMA/Kfir case. US investigating whether Israel gave SA US 'Star Wars' tech. Congress grappling with the implications of Israeli-South Africa military collaboration.

"Le gouvernement Chirac après 90 jours", 24/6/86. In French. Chirac's military advisor, Francois Bujon, has a team of 6, including Jean Pico - formerly of Aerospatiale. Some policy details but no shift on South Africa.

German economic collaboration with SA 1981-1985 – Germany 19.131

"The Independent on Sunday", 30/12/90 – Germany crashes the sanctions barrier. "As South Africa emerges from the era of sanctions, it is clear who its best friend has been. A South African submarine scandal is threatening to turn into the first foreign policy embarrassment for the united German government says it stopped the illegal transfers in 1985 and that South Africa

received too little information to build the vessel. But now an Oslo-based anti-apartheid group says South Africa continued to receive blueprints and expert information from the companies – enough to build the submarine – until at least January 1987.” Indication that Durban harbour was re-equipped and that other work was being done in CT. “But [according to German law] the secret transactions must be shown to have caused ‘sever damage to Germany’s external relations’ before the companies can be prosecuted for having committed a crime. So despite the new evidence, a regional court in Kiel recently ruled that the companies can be charged only with an administrative offence,” with minor penalties. “Anti-apartheid groups say the submarine case is just one example of how German firms have ignored the sanctions, including a voluntary ban on new investment in South Africa. Even some German businessmen scarcely bother to conceal what is going on. ‘The only awareness of sanctions is not to get caught busting them’...The agent says that when equipment or goods cannot be exported directly from Germany, a frequent conduit is Turkey... Austria has also served as a conduit.” Some more details on how it works, including financial mechanisms. “When sanctions-busting requires financing, it is often arranged through banks that transfer funds to South Africa for a legitimate project. The project is purposely allowed to collapse, but the funds cannot be removed from South Africa because of exchange controls. So the money goes to those it was always intended to reach, thus backing a sanctions-busting investment.”

Slip of paper listing number of companies in SA based in other countries – 1980 (source: Apartheid and Business; Business International Multiclient Survey): Britain 1200, W Germany 350, USA 340, France 50, Netherlands 50, Australia 35, Belgium 20, Italy 20, Switzerland 12, Sweden 10, Spain 6, Canada 5.

Unattributed document: *“Action committee reveals methods multinational from stolen documents – South African firm evades taxes via Holland... The South African transnational Anglo American has, through private companies with limited liability and the so called Antilles tax evasion route, evaded millions worth of taxes, which for the most part go to South Africa. This has been revealed from documents stolen a month ago by the action committee Split Apartheid from the office of Anglo American’s subsidiary Plain Holding, situated at the Amsterdam Prinsengracht. The group is of the opinion that Holland and all companies dealing with Anglo are guilty of strengthening the apartheid regime...”* More on the action committee’s statements.

German foundations 1990-93 – Germany 44.25

Report on the Hans-Seidel Foundation, 21/6/90. *“This is one of the most reactionary of foundations, they are attached to the political conservative party CSU... In the last years, the CSU held yearly seminars on military aspects and made sure that officials from the South African embassy are invited but not the ANC... The government here called a meeting of all German foundations some six weeks back and encouraged them to assist the ANC. Discuss the issue with Cds. there especially policy on how to related to such bodies vis-à-vis funding”.*

Policy response. More info on the Hans Seidel Foundation. *“They will NEVER support or agree with ANC policy.....Nevertheless, we will in the light of the above, have to adopt a ‘realistic policy’ towards them.”* A number of versions of these documents.

05/02/91 Letter from HSF to ANC, informing of address and contact details of new office in SA.

22/01/93 Letter from HSF to ANC: *"Unfortunately are our financial resources for the running year already committed to our projects. Therefore we are sorry to confess that we are unable to meet your request of funding your project [International Youth Conference]. We support your idea fully and hope that you will find sufficient donors."*

26/05/93 Fax from Sankie Nkondo at ANC to HSF: *"This is to appreciate and thank the Hans Seidel Stiftung for having availed financial resources to the ANC for training a team of 12 Local Government persons."*

Letter from Konrad Adenauer Foundation to Eva Militz at AAM, providing answer to questions of 28/10/93, which can be published provided done in entirety. Pointing out that, *"The policy of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, as your questions indicate, do not have an integrating effect, but instead they promote social divisions because of their one-sided bias. Furthermore, we have the impression that you are not very familiar with the situation in South Africa, and for that reason we offer you the possibility of speaking with us."* Answers to questions about KAS policies a PR exercise, justifying position on IFP.

24/6/91 Answer of the Federal Government to the brief question of certain MPs on the policy regarding SA. Against apartheid, for democracy and constitution etc. *"The federal government is contributing toward a quicker end of apartheid through its continuous dialogue with all of the politically and socially relevant forces... The federal government believes that it and its European partners must put pressure on SA until apartheid is legally and de facto abolished... The step-by-step loosening of restrictive measures that has been decided on by the Council of Europe makes it possible to continue the pressure on the SA government... The restrictive measures of 1985 are still in force. So far, the lifting of these measures had not been on the programme of the European Political Cooperation. Insofar as these measures coincide with the resolutions of the UN Security Council, e.g. regarding the weapons embargo, they are not within the jurisdiction of the Twelve."* Also policy on Inkatha.

10/10/91 Doc by Hans Brandt: *"You can't blame us for that" – "For years, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation has been spending million to finance the Inkatha party of SA, which has been involved in violence / The main beneficiary: an institute that is close to the Inkatha part and claims to be the 'Ministry of Information' for the KwaZulu Homeland... Kerchner emphasizes that the KAS has recently made efforts to make contact with the whole spectrum of political organizations in South Africa. 'You can't blame us for having worked closely and almost exclusively with Inkatha,' he says. 'Inkatha was the only black organization in South Africa that could survive. What was the KAS supposed to do?'... Nonetheless, the scandal concerning the secret funding of Inkatha by the Ministry of Police is embarrassing for the Foundation. For, after all, the KAS is now supporting an organization that is at the same time being supported by the security police."*

Handwritten notes, **in German**, on KAS.

9/9/91 Letter, **in German**, to Eva Militz of AAM, from KAS. Handwritten note says, "Interview for AAB Bulletin, Konrad file".

10/10/90 Letter from Fritz Pirkel of Hanns Seidel Foundation to Sankie Nkondo of ANC: Invitation to two days symposium on *"the future role of the Federal Republic of Germany with regard to the European International Policy"*. All expenses paid. Info pack for conference participants.

26/7/90 Document addressed to Sankie. *"Hans Seidel Foundation has close contacts with pro-Apartheid forces in SA.... Close contacts to Mangope... funded the DIA and sponsored the Institute for Managementberatung... has long-standing links to UNITA... have been extremely shy on their contacts with Renamo. Nevertheless, there is evidence about such contacts..."*

German military collaboration with SA 1981-85 – Germany 19.132

Public hearings on the activities of transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia, New York, 16-20 September 1985. Paper by Jurgen Datrowsky: West German transnational corporations and military and nuclear cooperation with South Africa. *"South African trade with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) has been reduced considerably... The majority of FRG companies in South Africa, however, are still present and willing to stay according to newspaper inquiries... Between June 1982 and December 1984 West German banks have been in leading positions managing bank loans for South Africa. At least 48 of the international loans in this period (i.e. 63% of all loans managed by international banks) have been managed by West German banks... The majority of loans managed in the RG and by West German banks have been for parastatal companies in South Africa, of the Government itself... An estimated 400 companies of West German origin are active in apartheid South Africa... Various figures are given for total investment in South Africa ranging from at least R2.7bn...to almost R10bn... A number of big FRG companies, several of them TNCs in the true sense of the definition, are directly and indirectly involved in South Africa's armaments industry": Daimler Benz, HASP, Farbwerke Hoechst AG, Klockner-Humboldt Deutz, Sandock-Austral, Renk, Siemens AG, Karcher. In exchange of know how: STEAG, Rheinmetall, Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blom, etc. Lots of examples. Stuff on Silvermine.*

W. Geisler: Military cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the apartheid Republic of South Africa: *"When in films of the racist state there are shown 'Hippo'-vehicles as the most used vehicles of the police in their murderous struggle against e.g. demonstrations of pupils in Soweto, when there are shown 'Samil' vehicles as standard vehicles of the army...then the federal German involvement in supporting the racist rule is immediately evident: the 'Hippo' is an armoured troop carrying vehicle which is built on the chassis of the Unimog military lorry of Daimler Benz."* Gives some indication of basis of illegality under FDR law. *"Clause 26 of the basic law concerning the peace obligation says: Actions which are suited and undertaken with the intention to break the peaceful living together of the peoples, especially to prepare an aggressive war, are unconstitutional."* Sections on breaches of the arms embargo before 1981 and after.

"Military Technology", 1/83, Article on G-5 and G-6: South African does it (almost) by itself. Role of Canadian company SRC-Q (Space Research Corporation of Quebec), in 70s. Mainly quite technical details on technology involved.

AAM Publication – Plessey arms Apartheid, 20/5/81: *"Plessey Radar Ltd, of Addlestone, Weybridge, in Surrey, a subsidiary company of the Plessey Group, are currently exporting to South Africa an*

advanced military radar system... On 29 April 1981, an Anti-Apartheid Movement member witnessed and photographed the loading of a mobile radar unit and control unit onto a South African aircraft at Hurn Airport in the south of England... The Anti-Apartheid Movement believes that this contract represents one of the most serious violations of the UN mandatory embargo..." More details on the Plessey case.

"The Citizen", 7/1/87 – Kohl denies approving sub plan sale to SA: "West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl yesterday denied his government approved the sale of submarine blueprints to South Africa in defiance of an international arms embargo... West German legislation and a United Nations embargo both forbid the sale of arms to the Republic..."

"Leadership", 4/85 – Interview with Jurgen Schrempp of Daimler-Benz. On Daimler's extensive holdings in SA: "We have always seen and still see great potential in South Africa, and we invest in the country accordingly... And again we have reviewed the situation and have come to the conclusion that while SA might face very, very difficult years politically and economically (as might the company) this country and region has tremendous potential in the long term. That is what counts as far as Daimler-Benz is concerned... The other point is not necessarily a business consideration – call it a moral consideration. We feel very strongly that our presence here will make a major contribution to the wellbeing of, and hopefully peaceful change in South Africa."

German submarine deal with SA 1986-90 – Germany 36.245

"Southscan", 4/5/1990?, Offshore oil project 'used as cover for submarine construction': "Bonn/Mossgas, the Mossel Bay off-shore gas project, was used as a cover for the supply of U-boat plans and the intended construction of submarines, the internal records of the West German firms involved reveal..."

Reinhard Kramer, The Green Party, 7/7/1990 – Most recent developments in the west german submarine affair: "On July 4th 1990 the Regional Court in Kiel... has issued an important decision on the submarine affair. It decided that the delivery of submarine blueprints and know how for submarine building in South Africa does not constitute a criminal offence but can only be prosecuted as a regulatory offence... It has to be remembered that this authority is not independent like the state prosecutor but is a subordinate authority to the Federal Government and that already in January 1988 the OFD (local tax) authorities has decided that no fine at all should be imposed on the companies..." Details on possibilities going forward.

"Frankfurter Rundschau", 15/9/90 – "Strauss was the 'pressing force in the background' of the submarine deal, new documents place also Chancellor Kohl and advisor Teltschik in difficulties... On Friday, the State Prosecutor in Bonn unexpectedly released an investigation file against the ministerial director in the Chancellor's Office, Horst Teltschik (CDU), to the public which had hitherto been kept a classified secret matter. One of these documents... reveals that both Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his foreign affairs advisor Teltschik allegedly knew the planned dates of delivery already before the smuggle of submarine construction plans to South Africa commenced... It was known that Franz Joseph Strauss promoted the deal vehemently..." Other politicians also implicated.

Fax, 20/9/90, From Sankie Nkondo to Cde. Deputy President, enclosing info on submarine scandal.

AAM, 23/5/90, "Up-to-date briefing paper on submarine scandal", on opening of enquiries.

AAM, 10/11/89, "The Federal Republic of Germany's deal with South Africa for the delivery of submarine: a chronicle". Gives detailed account of chronology. Appendices include some key documents from parliamentary investigations.

Press release of Chief State Prosecutor, AG in the state of Schleswig-Holstein, 5/1/90 – "Preliminary proceedings owing to the export of blueprints to South Africa (So-called submarine affair": Reviews legal situation of the case, going ahead.

"Frankfurter Rundschau", 6/1/90, "*Submarine affair now again a case for the State Prosecutor – Investigators in Kiel searched several firms...The new investigations were triggered off by a resolution of the UN General Assembly...*" As a result, case to be assessed anew.

Letter from Ursula Eid, Greens MP, to Public Prosecutor, 19/2/88, detailing "*Suspicion of a breach of the regulations of the Foreign Trade and Payments Act (AWG) and the Foreign Trade and Payments Ordinance (AWV) in connection with a submarine transaction with South Africa.*" Including extensive annexes on "evidence of the completeness of the construction plans supplied to South Africa" and other supporting details. Follow-up letter of 4/3/88 gives new leads and info.

Letter 7/6/88, from Reinhard Kramer to Tony Seedat, **in German**.

Germany-SA relations 1984 – Germany 19.133

"The Star", 11/6/84 – "Botha has 'useful' talks with the West German Chancellor": "*The Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha, left Bonn for Berlin on Wednesday...after talks with West Germany Chancellor Helmut Kohl, which both sides labelled 'useful'...*" Also demonstrations in the street. Highlighted paragraph: "*According to some of the German industrialists who listened to Mr PW Botha's speech the feeling among investors here is that South Africa is a splendid place to invest but the economy is in a recovery phase.*"

Honours Mandela 1985-88 – France 34.68

List of dozens of honours accorded to NM in France btw 88 and 88. Honourary citizenships, streets, squares, halls, youth centres etc.

How Britain arms Apartheid – France 6.28

AAM, Memorandum for presentation to Her Majesty's government. Sections on:

"IV Britain's role in arming apartheid

1) Illegal Exports to South Africa of Embargoed Equipment

- 2) "Dual Purpose" Equipment
- 3) British Subsidiaries in South Africa
- 4) Licences
- 5) Spares, Maintenance and Repairs of Aircraft
- 6) Recruitment of Personnel
- 7) South African Visits, Exchanges, Diplomatic Representatives
- 8) Scientific and Technological Collaboration
- 9) Nuclear Collaboration
- 10) South African Arms Exports
- 11) South African Relations with NATO
- 12) Military Co-operation

V How the UK controls arms supplies to apartheid South Africa

- 1) British Controls [Specific legislation that applies]
- 2) The "Loopholes"
 - a) Britain's definition of "arms and related material"
 - b) "Dual Purpose" Equipment
 - c) Arms Supplies to South Africa through Third Countries
 - d) Manufacture under Licence
 - e) Spare Parts and Components
 - f) Controls over Nuclear Exports
- 3) The Enforcement and Monitoring of the Arms Embargo
 - a) Licensing
 - b) Penalties
 - c) Enforcement Procedures
 - d) Investigations"

Lots of details.

Hungarian and Chilean connections 1988-90 – Lusaka 3.21

Letter from Bernie Grant, MP in British House of Commons, to Hungarian Ambassador, 4/1/90 – Visits by South African ministers to Hungary: *"I understand that Mr Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Secretary, has already visited Hungary and that there are plans for the President, Mr De Klerk, as well as others to visit. I further understand that Hungary is preparing to trade substantially, with South Africa, even to the extent of breaking the United Nations Arms Embargo on South Africa. I hope that my information is not correct and that there is no such intention on behalf of your Government. If this is the case I would be obliged if you could issue a statement to clarify your Government's intentions in this very contentious area."*

"Brief notes of the meeting between Bernie Grant and the Ambassador at the Hungarian embassy in London," 8/1/90. Following questions on the relationship between Hungary and South Africa, "The Ambassador responded by explaining what he saw as the two realities which guided the decision of the Hungarian Government. These were: 1) Hungary is a very small nation with its people spread all over the World. 15,000 Hungarians live in South Africa. 2) The Hungarian Government has now changed its Foreign Policy to what the Ambassador described as a 'realistic' policy... It is better for

countries to talk to each other rather than be 'like ostriches' and refuse to speak." Etc. for many pages of back and forth on this issue.

19/9/89 Memorandum from Mendi Msimang, Chief Rep UK and Ireland, to Secretary for International Affairs Lusaka, CCing many, on the SA arms industry and Chilean connection: *"We attach hereto translations of articles that have appeared in a Chilean journal entitled "DEFENSA" on the question of cooperation between racist South Africa and Chile, circumventing the arms embargo. As you might already be aware, the current SA Ambassador to Chile is General Van der Westhuizen, high-ranking army officer as was a previous SA Ambassador, General Fraser. It seems too much of a coincidence!"* Various clippings attached.

27/4/89, Memo from Chief Rep to Sec for International Affairs, CC various, on "House of Commons debate on Paris – arrests for arms trafficking". Attaches extracts from the debate on Ulster Defence Force member arrests. *"The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Sir Geoffrey Howe): We have been informed by the French authorities of the arrest in Paris of three United Kingdom citizens and one American on 21 April...The Government are seriously concerned at the implications of the charges brought by the French authorities... The South African ambassador in London was today summoned to the Foreign Office to be told of the grave view taken by the British Government of the implications of the charges and of the alleged involvement of a member of the South African embassy in Paris."*

Incoming correspondence 1990-93 – Washington 16.7

Letter 1/10/92 from Onassis Group addressed to 'Military Attaché': Offers tanks, missiles, fighters, ammunition, pharmaceutical and food products.

Incoming correspondence 1990-93 – Washington 16.8

2/12/92 Letter to Lindiwe Mabuza from Vusi Khanyile of Thebe Investment Corporation, to report on Reebok deal. *"I did inform you that we seek to get the agency right for Reebok to be able to distribute the Reebok goods in South Africa and to start producing them once we have established a respectable market share..."* Arrangements to be made.

18/6/90 Letter from Geoffrey Lamb of World Bank to Tiksie Mabizele on proposed meeting between Thabo Mbeki and World Bank officials. Arrangements to be made. Almost desperate: *"If his tight schedule precludes him coming to the World Bank, we would be willing to arrange to meet at some more convenient place - and again we will leave that up to you."* Another letter mentions: *"Thabo and I agreed that he should visit the World Bank when he is in Washington with Mr. Mandela. The purpose of his visit will be to meet some of the Bank officials concerned with Southern Africa, and to discuss next steps in developing working contacts between the Bank and the ANC, including possibly arranging an exchange of visits between Bank and ANC staff."*

1/11/93 Letter from Prof Harold Rogers to Lindiwe Mabuza, re: Letter to Johnson. Should by now have received \$68,000 from Commonwealth Edison, from reception mayor had with Mandela. Suggested text of letter asking Johnson Publication for funds.

Internal correspondence 1990-93 – Washington 15.1

25/8/90, Letter from William Womack to Nelson Mandela, suggesting the creation of “Nelson and Winnie Mandela dolls”, with *“the profit potential and royalties [foreseen] as being virtually unlimited”*.

Letter from Justin F Beckett, with draft sent to Lindiwe and intention expressed to meet with “Tabo and Tito”. Issue of New Africa Advisers, which *“would be South Africa’s first Black owned research, investment banking and portfolio management company”*. Request for letter of invitation from ANC.

5/2/90 Letter from Lindiwe to Zwelakhe: Had looked forward to seeing, *“Especially because the arrangement we worked out over the phone turned out to be superb, as you probably know by now”*.

9/3/90 Letter from Lindiwe to Zwelakhe, on concern *“about impression being created by this William character. Connection with Robert Brown bothersome as it seems to give authenticity because of family connections”*. Also Prof Ted Rabb request to interview Madiba for PBS.

28/2/94 Letter from Lindiwe Mabuza to Kingsley Sithole, DIA: *“We are in contact with the Royal Saudi Arabian Embassy here, regarding the President’s proposed visit to their country...they are working on our request, and should have a response soon.”*

Memorandum from Lindiwe to various top ANC, on 1/11/93 visit of Mannie Jackson, *“one of Honeywell’s top black executives...”*. To discuss fundraising, *“black participation in Honeywell’s engagement in South Africa,”* and plans for Harlem Globetrotters to come to SA as part of elections campaign.

9/10/93 Memo of meeting on “Mission to South Africa by USA delegation led by Secretary of Commerce, Hon Ron Brown”, which *“should be planned around working substantive meetings, business talking with business and possibly arriving at closure on relations and future arrangements”*.

12/10/93 Letter from Mannie Jackson to Mandela, on trip to SA.

21/10/93 More on Mannie Jackson visit. Including bio, and press release on re-establishment of SA subsidiary.

18/10/93 Letter from Wingate Lloyd to Madal Mthembu, regarding visit of Mr Araskog to SA, request for appointment with Mandela. Bio of Araskog.

1/4/92 Letter from Zola Skweyiya to Lindiwe Mabuza, regarding elections funding. Welcome announcement that foreign funding to be allowed as advantageous, but suspicious of motives. *“While we shall demand public disclosures of such funds, we should be grateful if some information could be gathered on”* possible US funders for other parties. Request for doc on party funding disclosures in US which can be copied in SA.

18/6/93 From Tladi Ditshego to Carol Taylor, on Mandela and his delegation being hosted in Beverley Hills. Also to Joey Henriques for provision of a limo free of charge, and special rate for other vehicles, for same trip.

15/7/93 Letter from Carl Ware, President of Coca-Cola International Africa Group to Lindiwe Mabuza, thanking her for making Mandela's trip to Atlanta such a success.

Internal faxes 1990-93 – Germany 43.21

20/6/90 Fax from Sankie to Maledi Tsiki, on the Hans Seidel Foundation. Covers extreme right wing support and record, policy against ANC. *"Of course, we will be able to judge this shift in policy on the basis of their response to our political demands i.e. sanctions and our request for material aid..."* As previous document on Hans Seidel.

Internal faxes 1990-93 – Germany 43.22

9/10/92 Fax from Sankie Nkondo to Bjorn Engholm or Ollenhauer Klaus (?), expressing condolences following death of Mr Willy Brandt. Ditto from Mandela.

News extract, "German funding for Inkatha Institute, by Joachim Becker" on CDU, Konrad-Adenauer issue.

18/6/91 Fax from Sankie Nkondo to Shaheed Rajie at Projects Dept, on development aid meeting in Cotonou, Benin Republic. Hosted by Hans Seidel. ANC invited. *"The HSS seems to be coming closer to the ANC, we should give it a try."* Conference details.

19/8/92 Letter from Jessie Duarte to Gregor Gysi, informing that *"due to time constraints, comrade Mandela will not be able to accept your invitation"* – but maybe Mbeki.

30/10/92 Letter from Sankie Nkondo to Dr M Kramer, informing that Mbeki will not be available upon Kramer's visit to SA, but other ANC leaders *"informed on business and political matters will be quite happy to receive you"*. Attached letter informing of visit, private business interests represented.

15/10/92 Fax with Mandela's condolences for Willy Brandt.

Internal faxes 1990-93 – Germany 43.23

13/4/92 From Sankie to Yusuf Saloojee, regarding funding. FES comfortable with funding political projects like seminar. HSS should be asked to buy Combi. *"There are political considerations on the matter"*.

11/3/93 From Sankie to Shaheed Rajee, re possibility of project funding. *"The doors for funding direct ANC projects are shut out here, not as per emphatic policy but by individuals who are against the ANC and just refuse to relate to our needs. Anyway, there's a possibility of acquiring funding for a project in the informal sector."* Details of process, through German embassy in Pretoria. *"Act now and lets see how 'someone' will react"*.

1/4/92 From Sankie to Zola Skweyiya, DLCA, re elections. Importance of funding, nervous of what will be required.

8/9/92 From Sankie to Mandela, att CD Tladi, re communication line with Chancellor Kohl. Message passed on of Mandela's wish to have communication link smoothened. Personal line to be used.

Israel 1985-88 – France 17.83

Collection by I Shahak of pieces on Israel-SA relations, *"and the services of Israeli individuals and specially of the kibbutzim and Histadrut to the Apartheid regime...[and the] necessary connection between the attitude of kibbutz movement (and all Zionists really) to the Blacks and to the Palestinians."* Takes position overall of Zionism=racism. Various issues covered, including: Israeli investment and employment in Ciskei, secret scientific technological cooperation, Denis Goldberg, Herut Lapid's intercession on Goldberg's behalf (*"In a radio interview 'This Week Diary', that Herut Lapid was asked, whether by influencing Goldberg to accept this condition of the racist regime and to sign an undertaking not to act against it, he did not serve that regime and harmed the struggle of the Blacks for their rights. To this responded Herut Lapid in about the following words: Those niggers don't interest me in the least – so far as I am concerned they can go to the devil."*), whether Israeli ballistic missile intel given to SA was of US origin, nuclear cooperation, Jesse Jackson.

Links between Eastern Europe and SA 1990 – Belgium 9.75

9/1/90 AAM document by Lotta Johnson, Stockholm. *"This is the first report concerning the work and the monitoring of the situation in East Europe in relation to the links being developed with South Africa by Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, the former GDR and the Soviet Union."* Each country section contains assessment (e.g. of policy position, agreements, record of visits) and AAM actions in response (e.g. protest letters).

Meeting btw ANC and Consultative Business Movement 1990 – Netherlands 42.8

Schedule of meeting, 2-4/3/90. List of CBM delegates includes Chief Execs of numerous major economic players (e.g. of Premier Group, Gencor, Barlow Rand, Caltex, Siemens, PG Bison). Agenda (e.g. *"The role of business in current and future change... ANC perspectives"*). Prospectus of Consultative Business Movement, which *"is a voluntary grouping of senior business leaders who, from a business perspective, acknowledge and support the need for constructive transformation of South Africa's political-economy"*. Spells out mission, vision etc. *"Q: Does CBM have any direct influence on any political movement or organization? A: No, but CBM's method of Process Consultation has in the past proved to lead to better understanding and changed perceptions on all sides of the political spectrum"*.

Meeting with French Socialist Party 1982 – France Add 13.13

Meeting 2/3/82 with Sec-Gen, Lionel Jospin. Chairman: *"Now that Socialist Party is in power, you are in a position to do much more"*. Jospin: *"There is no basic difference on apartheid in the*

coalition...But there are right parties and there is a political struggle...Time is short and there are some negative trends.” Broad political negotiation.

Mission correspondence 1989-90 – Lusaka 4.22

31/5/89 Memo from Mendi Msimang to various senior ANC, re ANC/IRA allegations. Reports on demonstration against alleged links to IRA. Attaches letter from Rev Martin Smyth MP of Citizens Against Terrorism, which makes allegations.

14/11/89 Memo from Mendi Msimang to various senior ANC, re “The new interim agreement between the banks and South Africa: 1 July through 31 December 1993”. Document attached from John E Lind at CANICOR Research on the implications. *“The international banks agreed on 18 October 1989 to a South African proposal for rescheduling the approximately \$8.5 billion of South African debt falling due in mid-1990 under the second interim agreement... Thus while the repayment rate under the interim agreement nearly doubles in 1991, it does not increase fast enough to maintain pressure on the South African economy because of the rapid decline of the repayment of debt under guarantees. To force South Africa into a difficult economic situation, there should be an additional net flow out of South Africa of at least \$0.5 billion in 1990 and of at least \$1 billion in each of remaining years of the 3rd interim agreement...”* Lots more on the economics, the banks etc.

Motsepe report on Benelux countries – France ADD 13.6

“The political situation in my area is characterised by the general crisis of capitalism, raging inflation, high unemployment, chronic economic ‘booms’ and ‘slumps’.” Result of right wing popularity, Christian Democrats. Belgian elements against ANC *“are activated by economic factors and the so-called ‘Soviet influence in Southern Africa’*. Mention of Vlerick, Protea. Etc with more political analysis.

Oil embargo newsletter 1987 - France 58.113

Jan '87 SRB publication. *“Brunei Shell. How Brunei oil ends up in South Africa: Shell sells to Marubeni. Marubeni resells to March Rich. Marc Rich supplies South Africa.”* Details. Update on International Campaign against Shell. Role of John Deuss. Israel accuses Arab nations of fuelling South Africa. Calls for international monitoring. All the latest in oil sanctions busting.

July '87. *“Oil to South Africa: the key to the Iran-contra Affair?”* All the latest in oil sanctions busting.

Oil embargo newsletter 1987 – Germany 24.180

October '87. John Deuss.

Outgoing correspondence 1991-92 – Netherlands 23.5

23/10/91 From Zolile Magugu to Neo Mnumzano of DIA, requesting that he *“try hard to get Cde. Thabo to come this side to meet the business people – people who can even help the ANC in the future”*. Also record of visit to the Dutch Foreign Ministry, in which this possible visit was raised, and a list of organisations and political parties met with to discuss SA political situation and ANC needs.

8/11/91 From Zolile Nagugu to Yusuf Saloojee, re visit to the SA embassy. SA ambassador offered embassy space for use of ANC, turned down. Thabo to come with urgency. Allowance not being paid.

8/1/92 Zolile to Yusuf. Again urgency of Thabo’s visit, or Trevor or Cyril. Frustration about Thabo not being at conference.

6/1/92 Zolile to Max Sisulu, asking for funding proposal to present to officials from the Dutch private sector and from the Foreign Ministry.

12/2/92 From Zolile to Max, seeking clarity on funding proposals, and providing program of visit of Mrs van Rooy to South Africa.

Outgoing faxes 1993 – Washington 15.4

25/1/93 From Lindiwe Mabuza to Ingrid Sanders Jones, VP of Corporate External Affairs, r students assistance. Thanks for help with Mandela visit. Gives details of student to be helped by Coca-Cola Foundation.

9/11/93 From Lindiwe Mabuza to Mbeki and Duarte, re Anthony Robbins. Has requested interview with Mandela, recommended. Is an acquaintance to CEO of Sony Pictures, *“and contributed handsomely during the President’s June/July 1993 visit to the United States.”*

20/10/93 From Lindiwe to Barbara Masekela, noting that no information has been received, as requested by Mandela, from his office to pass on to Prince Bandar Bin Sultan, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the US.

Outline of Brussels mission 1990 – Tambo 44.403

16/7/90 Ted Pekane’s assessment for fir 6 months of 1990 of personnel, premises, finances, activities etc. Money is tight. Security not great, but no sense of threat. Rise of the right wing, splits from Protea. Sense of being isolated and very badly informed on current developments.

Paris office 1991-92 – France 20.101

10/1/91 Situation of ANC mission in France. Serious question of whether to continue existence of ANC office in France, given lack of interest and funding.

15/6/92 Letter from Michael Msizi to Jean-Bernard Curial, on desperate need for funding – personnel unpaid and electricity to be cut off due to non-payment.

Reports on situation in France 1987-88 – France Add 22.30

Most of the docs in this file are undated, unsigned, rambling, hard to make sense of. Possibly just written/kept for office's internal files.

"I arrived in Paris on the 29th of March 1988 – the day comrade Dulcie was assassinated..." Report on funeral and financial arrangements etc. Difficulties getting Socialist Party and Communist Party to agree on anything. Includes thanks to all those who helped, including Jacqueline and Pierre Derens. Financial troubles.

19/11/88 Report. Largely on Communist Party, Socialist Party troubles.

11/12/87 Report. Largely on rise of right wing in France, and other political issues.

"Summary of findings until now", mentioning Dirk Stoffberg, Joseph Klue, etc. "Stoffberg and Klue are the tip of the iceberg. There are various levels of 'dirty work', including recruitment of criminals, the creation of covers, the entry of spies and their commanders (SA security police), dealing in arms, gathering of intelligence – often with help from right-wing institutions in the UK – and collaboration on a high level with political authorities, businesspeople, police and intelligence." Various theories ramblingly laid out, with little support. BOSS, Leslie Aspin, Gary van Dyk, Craig Williamson, Niemoller etc. Conclusion that there is a lot of illegal activity going on in Britain by SADF, Armscor, NIS, businessmen, ex-intelligence officers etc. The *"only possible conclusion is that political high level collaboration between SA and the UK, with one aim: fighting the 'communist enemy'...makes it possible..."*

Some documents in French, on campaign against Apartheid.

More reports on general French political situation, financial strains, lack of proper clarity or financial procedures.

SA embassy in France 1992-93 – France 38.94

4/6/92 Letter from Ambassador Dr AWN Burger to M Msizi, re visit of ANC reps to France. *"I wish to confirm that I shall be pleased to receive you and your colleagues at a mutually convenient time.... I will be pleased to try to answer any questions they may have on South Africa's foreign relations, the role of an SA mission such as the Paris Embassy, etc."*

12/10/93 Letter from Ambassador Burger to Mandela, giving list and description of each of *"cross-section of personalities representative of French politics, business and the media"* who will be present at the luncheon: Pierre Mauroy, Edmon Alphonso, Jean Matteoli, Jean Marc Rochereau de la Sabliere, Michel Francois-Poncet, Pierre Guichet, Francois de Gorouvre, Pierre Bilger, Anne Sinclair, Jean-Yves Ollivier.

Notes with basic chronology on Kamil, Anglo etc. *"Kamil was hired by company men to do the work company men couldn't do...He was in a position to possibly see more of what was really going on in the diamond business than few other people... Mr Kamil does not see his quarrels with the Corp as a 'political issue' but firstly to right a personal wrong".*

SA presence in France 1978 - London Mayibuye 31.10

One page list: SA Embassy, SA Foundation, SATOUR, SAA, SAFMARINE, Charter Consolidated (Anglo), Induscom International, Outspan, Standard Chartered Bank, Journalists James Tomlins and Richard Breeze. Etc.

Sanctions busting 1987-88 – France 21.114

News clippings.

25/10/90 Extract from "Afrique du Sud en direct", listing 89 French companies as collaborators with Apartheid, plus list of French investments in SA (many) and SA investments in France (Anglo various and Cape Wines and Distillers).

27/11/87 Southscan article: "Greek connection in SA arms deal with Tehran" – *"South African business interests have been secretly buying arms and military supplies through a Greek front company and trading them for oil from Iran... Using a loophole in the UN embargo on arms sales to Pretoria, South African business interests secretly bought into a leading Greek munitions manufacturer and used the company to purchase Western military technology and high explosives, legally forbidden to both South Africa and Iran."* Case involves Hellenic explosives and Ammunition Industry (Elviemek), Ion Vorres, Christakis Xenopoulos.

6/89 ? article in French, on link between arms traffic and French embassy.

26/06/88(?) Guardian article: "Greens accuse Kohl of lying about SA submarine deal" – *"The Green party is to lay charges tomorrow with the Bonn public prosecutor, alleging the Chancellor knew of plans by the state-owned shipbuilder Howaldswerke Deutsche Werft, and the designer, Ingenieur-Kontor Lubeck, for a deal to supply submarine blueprints and knowhow to South Africa in the summer of 1984..."*

9/7/88 Indian Ocean Newsletter article: "South Africa/France: meeting between secret services" – *"...General CJ van Tonder...spent several days in France during the week of June 20. In particular, he had meeting with both the current and former chiefs of the French DGSE... Francois Mermet and Rene Imbot, respectively..."* Mentions Chirac, Mitterrand, Patrick Ollivier.

Long article in French by Kenneth R Timmerman.

Sanctions memo Ngombane 1990-92 – Belgium 1.4

Sisa Ngombane document "Our hope lies with sanctions". Rejection of Hugo Young's statement that sanctions, although previously the correct strategy, are no longer necessary or justifiable by the ANC. *"We black South Africans do not imagine, even once, that when apartheid is removed, all of a sudden we will own vast tracks of land and move about with pockets full of money to live in the so called white residential areas. All we need is a decent life, where blacks can be recognised as human beings and truly say they have a country to which they belong and can defend, that is South Africa. Finally this means the right to decide by vote who our leaders should be or not be. This is what the sanctions campaign is all about."*

SRB 1985 – France 58.110

1/85 SRB Publication on John Deuss/Transworld Oil: "South Africa's main supplier of crude oil". Long and detailed. Gives quantities suspected of being delivered by Transworld, commissions believed to have been paid, the falsification of documents etc. Full report partly in Dutch. Mention also of Marc Rich. List of other related SRB publications.

SRB Egypt 1992 – Netherlands 18.87

29/9/92 Confidential SRB report on flow of oil from Egypt to SA since late 1987. Before that, only one odd shipment of crude (Mospoint case), investigated fully. Change: *"There is no indication that the Egyptian Government has ever seriously checked the destination declarations given for all cargoes shipped to South Africa since December 1987 (in most cases, 'Singapore' was given as a false destination...)... In several instances, the trading company selling the Egyptian oil to South Africa has been identified by the Shipping Research Bureau as Marc Rich..."* List of vessels, dates, stated destinations, involved companies in suspected cases of oil provision to SA. Numerous Alandis.

Survey on French situation and solidarity 1989 – Tambo 62.611

6/89 AAM publication: "Survey on the French political situation in regard to the anti Apartheid solidarity" – *"Whereas international popular consensus condemning a regime recognized guilty of committing a crime against humanity is becoming ever more important and powerful, the antagonists between French organizations appear increasingly deep and hard."* Identifies contributing trends in French politics – e.g. infantilisation of population, polarisation, fatalism, individualism. Traces history of anti-apartheid mobilisation from 60s. Changing roles/positions of various organisations/characters. Provides list of links with other organisations.

Swiss AAM meeting mentioning March Rich 1988 – France ADD 13.15

7/88 meeting in Geneva, in French. Largely general statements of intent etc. Final page has some info on recent development in Swiss-SA relations: trade figures, imports of diamonds, carbon, iron

and steel etc. Note on Marimpex, of Marc Rich, and provision of oil to SA. Note on Richemont and Anton Rupert, and on Minorco and Harry Oppenheimer. Just mentions.

Tambo correspondence 1988-89 – Tambo 62.611

16/6/88 Letter from Francois Mitterrand to Tambo, in French. Thanks for congratulations upon re-election, gives assurance of commitment to democratic future for SA.

27/6/89 Letter from Mitterrand to Tambo, in French with translation. Invitation to bicentenary of Revolution. *"I wish that those who, like you, have waged and are still waging a struggle for human rights should be associated to this celebration."*

5/7/89 Letter from Anthony Mongalo, secretary for presidential affairs, to Jean-Charles Demarquis, deputy head of French mission in Lusaka, requesting visas for Temba Safa, Kingsley Phomolong and Thami Sindelo, who will accompany Tambo to Paris.

Telexes 1987-88 – France 65.5

29/6/87 From Dulcie to DIA, reporting that delegation of 9 right-wing deputies currently in SA on fact-finding mission. *"IT is clear that there is more and more contact between SA and present French government"*. Film entitled Good Hope being produced, despite protest, with SA director Elmo de Witt.

Telexes 1987-88 – France 65.6

30/10/87 From Dulcie to Cde. Johnny/DIA, reporting that she has been informed *"by the police that on the request of Pasqua, minister of interior, that they are invoking the law prohibiting foreigners from demonstrating in front of embassies against me."* Risk of residence permit being withdrawn if continue to demonstrate outside SA embassy.

30/10/87 From Dulcie to Cde. SG, asking if it would be possible for Pierre-Andre Albertini to visit Lusaka in November. Some more notes on this, not very legible. Invitation for Albertini to conference.

Telexes 1987-88 – France 65.7

14/1/88 (?) From Dulcie to DIA, with urgent request from GDR for confirmation of details so that she can take holiday. Also, *"We know that SA+France planning to celebrate arrival of Huguenots 300 years ago"*. 200 French youth to go to SA. *"Far right here very involved"*.

8/2/88 From Dulcie to Pallo. Report on being attacked, tear gassed, injured, bag stolen. Office entered at night, light left on.

15/2/88 From Dulcie to Johnny/DIA, on SA, French, Israel collaboration. *"Israel decided in August to abandon plans to build Lavi combat plane because of high costs but envisage: 1. Selling technology to SA; 2. Sending technicians to SA. Haaretz reports that SA would be buying motors for Lavi from*

France... Motors originally constructed by French company – SNECMA – which is under control of ministry of defence. SNECMA is same company which is/has concluded contract to provide SA with spot satellite”.

17/3/88 From Dulcie to Sindiso, asking for urgent confirmation of holiday.

19/3/88 From Dulcie to SG’s office, giving report of actions taken re Sharpeville Six: demo in front of SA embassy, letters, sit-ins, little press coverage.

?/3/88 From Dulcie to Gert, re local women’s group collecting money to help Somafo mothers.

19/3/88 From Dulcie to Sindiso, more urgency on holiday plans, and who is to be second person.

21/3/88 From Sindiso to Dulcie. *“It is arranged as requested for May... Return ticket will be sent.”*

29/3/88 From ANC Paris to NEC, confirmation of Dulcie assassination.

Top Secret magazine 1992 – Germany 52.36

1/92 Article: *“Operation Thunderstorm’s bloody balance sheet, by Billy van der Merwe, Jack Umshini Wkubhala, M Opperskalski”.* *“Operation Thunderstorm was born in the summer of 1990, after the balance of power within the South African secret-service community — especially the balance between NIS and DMI — had clearly tipped in favor of the NIS. Operation Thunderstorm is headed by an ultra-secret team consisting of the top leadership of NIS and DMI... Describing the core of Operation Thunderstorm, a senior official of the ANC Intelligence Department says: »Every plan and action — particularly on the question of violence — is aimed at weakening the ANC so that it is eventually forced into a constitutional coalition. At the heart of the plan is the NP (National Party — The authors) goal to be the main partner in a future government, controlling all levels of power — particularly the army, police and intelligence. « These plans call for the systematic buildup of not only smaller groups and organizations but also the major partners of the white minority regime...”* Gives details, including of Ciskei Massacre, the strategy of infiltration of the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, PAC etc. Also insert on Craig Williamson advising Mozambican president Chissano. Also list of who’s who in SA security system – Tony Vermaak, Ockert Swanepoel, Dewalt Swart etc.

USA Israel SA missiles 1991 – London 54.74

24/5/91 Article from Financial Times: *“CIA ‘knew’ of illegal US missile deal” – “US ballistic missile technology and military equipment was shipped illegally to South Africa between 1984(?) and 1986(?) with the full knowledge of the Central Intelligence Agency, according to American officials... The illegal missile technology shipments to South Africa and other violations are expected to result in indictments in the next few weeks...”*

17/5/91 Article from “SS”(Southscan?): *“Israel anti-missile missile stalls on issues of South Africa sales” – “A disagreement over technology transfer has stalled negotiations on a US-Israeli ‘Star Wars’*

project... Israel is helping South Africa on a number of missile projects, receiving in return funding for weapons development, primary materials and use of South Africa's Arniston testing range."

10/5/91 Article from Soutscan: "SA prepares launch of intermediate range missile" – "US officials say one of their spy satellites has photographed preparations for the test launch of an intermediate-range ballistic missile from South Africa's Arniston test range... The officials said that the missile is a version of the Israeli Jericho II IRBM, a product of Israeli-South African collaboration... At that time, it was Israel that came in for the opprobrium – and considerable pressure to terminate its military contracts with Pretoria. This time South Africa is likely to be the one in the spotlight..."

11/1/91 Article from Southscan: "Israel rapped by US after SA missile test?" – "When Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir visited Washington late last month, Secretary of State James A Baker warned him about Israeli exports of technology... The US sources who disclosed the warning said they surprised, because there hadn't been any recent reports of Israeli military sales to South Africa. However, observers here believe Baker may well have been reacting to reports of a South African missile test in November that was almost certainly a joint venture with Israel. The Post also reported that as soon as Shamir returned from Washington he gave orders to the Housing Ministry not to order prefabricated housing from South African companies..."

20/1/91 Article from "S. Star": "SA-Israeli anti-Scud missile" – "An Israeli-South African missile will be used to shoot down Iraqi scud missiles... The news came out during a debate over whether Israel had the American Patriot rocket which has shot down scuds in Saudi Arabia. The commentator said that Israel possessed a weapon like the Patriot which had been perfected with South African co-operation."

Western countries military collaboration with SA 1987 – Germany 39.269

7/5/87 Letter from Ursula Eid, Greens MP to "Your excellency", enclosing speeches of Abdul Minty as delivered at a workshop. "As you may have learned from reports in the press, the Bundestag has decided to re-establish the investigative commission on the sale of submarine construction plans from the FRG to South Africa."

Text of Abdul Minty speech of 9/2/87 Bonn attached. Deals primarily with case of provision of submarine plans. "It is important to recall that the original arms embargo was first adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations during 1963/64. At that time the Federal Republic of Germany was not a member of the United Nations but it gave both written and verbal assurances both to the United Nations and other organisations and governments that it would comply with the resolutions – letters and other documents to this effect are in the files of the United Nations and there is no dispute about it. As a result of those early decisions of the United Nations, Britain, the major arms supplier to South Africa, was replaced after a period of years by France. As the FRG moved into the South African economy during the 1960s... your companies also began to participate in the newly developing internal armaments industry in South Africa... A simple examination of the South African military inventory reveals a wide range of items that have their origin in the Federal Republic of Germany. The discretion exercised by the government is the main problem since it is unilaterally

interprets and implements the mandatory embargo itself. The regulations also show that the penalties for breaching the mandatory arms embargo are not severe..." Some useful narrative detail and quotes. No idea how many other major cases have skipped through the cracks. Significance of submarines.

9/2/87 Green Party in the Bundestag public technical discussion on military cooperation btw FRG and SA, paper "The supply of military electronics from the Federal Republic to SA" by Ulrich Albrecht. Sections on: 1. The importance of military electronics in modern armaments, 2. Current procurement of electronics by South Africa and possible participation by the Federal Republic, 3. Seven methods of evading the embargo.

World campaign against military and nuclear collaboration with SA 1983 – Tambo 86.913

23/9/83 Text of statement by Abdul Minty "to a closed session of the Security Council Committee on the arms embargo against South Africa": *"Indeed, during the almost six years of operation of the mandatory arms embargo, we have witnessed an ever-escalating expansion of the South African military and para-military forces, with a commensurate addition of equipment acquired from abroad. During this period, we have also seen substantial evidence of its enhanced nuclear weapon capability, to such an alarming extent that even the major western powers today concede that there is the real danger of nuclear proliferation arising out of the South African nuclear programme... In earlier representations we have raised the question of examining the relevant legislation of Member States in implementing the mandatory arms embargo. This still remains one of our major concerns and we hope that the Committee can also give attention to it. However, due to lack of resources we are unable to make a comprehensive study, but if other Governments could provide the Committee with the text of their legislation, it would assist us all in enforcing the embargo more effectively..."* Lists some recent examples of sanctions busting, e.g. Marconi, pistols from Austria, Trigon. Difficulty in getting information from countries/companies. Appeal for help. *"There is one other problem to which we should like to draw the attention of the Committee, namely the role of South African diplomatic missions in violating the laws of host countries."* London and France mentioned. Long speech.

World campaign against military and nuclear collaboration with SA 1987 – France Add 9.158

22/5/87 Cover note from Abdul to Dulcie, noting: *"If there is anything I should know please drop me a note"*. Attached, 24/2/87 campaign newsletter. *"We are enclosing some information about this case [sale of submarine construction plans to SA] which has not received much publicity outside West Germany and hope that you will be able to take some action to support our efforts..."* Attached document gives details on case, as might be given to media, form basis of campaigns, letter writing etc.

3/6/87 Reply from Dulcie to Abdul. *"Also, could you investigate the constant reports of France's arms sales to South Africa. I know that it is not easy because of the secrecy surrounding this matter, but I think some means have to be found to embarrass France. I feel that it is too much silence regarding military collaboration with the apartheid regime."*

World conference against apartheid etc. 1977 – Tambo 58.553

16-19/6/77 World conference against apartheid, racism and colonialism in South Africa, Lisbon. Paper on “South Africa’s military build-up” by the British AAM. 15 page document on failure of embargo, military collaboration with SA by Britain, France, USA, FRG, Italy. Good basis for 1970s state of play.

Resolutions of Economic Commission. *“Without the support of the imperialist state and their agents the racist, colonialist regimes would have long crumbled... The multinational corporations have, until now, been able to evade all form of international sanctions with the aid of the hypocritical policies of their governments which while proclaiming moral condemnation for the racist regimes at the same time permit and even encourage their corporations to collaborate with them.”* Multinationals condemned, called to stop economic collaboration with SA, stop extension of loans etc.

Zille on sanctions debate 1986 – Germany 33.226 Extract from The Black Sash, in which Helen Zille summarises the various positions for and against sanctions. Gives lots of space to liberal position, but proffers no personal opinion. Great pic of her.

