

SADF Batch 3 Summary**Angola and Goldstone Commission – AFD INL/203/2/7 Vol.15: (Portugal)**

- Memorandum referencing the Goldstone Commission of enquiry into political violence in relation to DCC activities, sent to Portugal contact to pass on to Portuguese intelligence.
- 27 November 1992 memorandum from D Hanekom in Lisbon to DMI with clippings and information on the situation and events in Angola. Mentions Thabo Mbeki.

Armcor Correspondence – MVV 65/4 Vol.5: (UK; Switzerland; Israel; USA)

- 5 July 1982, PG Marais to Magnus Malan on arms trial in Houston, USA. He has been in contact with Danie Maartens. Lots of further communication between Malan and Marais.
- 7 June 1982 - CHJ van Aswegen (Santam) correspondence with Magnus Malan – refers to his continued stint as Director of Armcor.
- December 1981 handwritten note from 'Pat' (Switzerland) to 'Grobbe' about setting up facilities for manufacturing radar proximity fuses for artillery and rockets in SA.
- March 1982 Correspondence between Malan and Marais about YAMCO (Yarrow Africa Maritime Consultancy) and Sandock-Austral.
- Document criticizing Armcor's relationship with Liebenberg & Stander (L&S).
- March 1982 correspondence regarding Atlas Aircraft Corporation.
- March 1982 correspondence between Marais and Malan about Copper mining as related to arms and ammunition, includes discussion of Phalaborwa mining.
- Series of correspondence in November 1981 between Owen Horwood, Magnus Malan and PG Marais about the Auditor-General and auditing of Armcor and the Special Defence Account (SDA). Includes a 'concept brief' by Minister of Finance and Minister of Defence on the topic of the AG's audit of Armcor.
- 13 August 1981, Marais to Malan on visit of Joseph Maayan, DG of MOD in Israel (Taper).
- August 1981 correspondence between Theron van der Poel, Magnus Malan and PG Marais – refers to external audit.
- March-June 1981 correspondence regarding Project Florin: 'Air Transport License and better utilization of the fleet' – discusses the use of SAFAIR.
- 15 May 1981, Marais to Malan on quotes for Nimrod Promotions.
- 4 May 1981 Marais to Malan on Project Rodent, Mobile radar from Plessey in the UK.
- 19 March 1981 correspondence on visit to West Germany, including meetings with MAN, Munich and RENK, Augsburg. Atlantis and General Mining Connections.

Armcor – MVV 65/4 Vol.8: (ASD Astor Case) (Libya, Russia, UK, USA)

- Correspondence in March 1985 to MoD about documents and visit to Mr. Crozier in State Attorney's office. Related to Project Paradise.
- March 1985 investigation into possible security breach in Astor case.
- Correspondence ranging from 1979-1985 between range of actors regarding case of ASD Astor and its cargo. Armcor wants to keep the cargo that was seized from the ship and is entering into negotiations/legal proceedings with Marseille Fret (Head Time Charterers) and Libyaville (owner of Vessel). Correspondence about keeping secrecy, and documents in possession of Mr. Wiehahn of Castle Estate Agency (Pty) Ltd.
- Includes two reports which gives a useful timeline and details of the events from the seizing of the ship in 1979 to the legal battle in 1985. SA kept cargo without paying and sold some on

to Rhodesia. The cargo was 10 new Russian T53 tanks and 150 tons of ammunition destined from Bhengazi for Mombasa (for Idi Amin) – seized when called at Durban Harbour.

- Correspondence in March 1984 between Pik Botha, PW Botha and Magnus Malan about the arrest of the '[Coventry Four](#)' (who worked for Kentron) in London.

Budgets 90/91 – AMI/504/3/1 (90/91):

- Correspondence on DMI's budget for 1990/1991, includes breakdown for DBB Project, D Teg, HDMI and HDIO, includes specific projects (eg. Project Scraper). Planned expenditure for 1990 is R344 million.

Budgets, Projects, Countries – AMI 504/3/1 (89/90): (China)

- DKI budgets for 1989/1990.
- Budget for Intelligence visits to South Africa in 88/89 from 'Defender', France, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Italy, USA, Singapore, Indonesia, Morocco, China, Portugal, Belgium, Netherlands, Chile, Zaire.
- 3 February 1988 document with budgets for Project Scraper, Head Project Orange and all of their sub-projects.
- 1988 Correspondence between DBB, CSI etc. on intelligence budgets.
- 1989/1990 5 year budget for the Paris office, including school fees for children etc.
- 24 January 1988 – the 1989/1990 budget for DBB, includes breakdown of project spending, including Project Gallery and Project Butterfly (Minorco and Gencor) and project Hansa (Communist China).

Budgets, Questions, Front Organizations 90/91 – AFD INL/504/3/1 (90/91):

- 1990/1991 budgets for payment of monthly operating costs for Counter-Intelligence's Front Organisations – totaling over R5 million.
- December 1989 memorandum from MoD on the implications of cuts in the military budget and of initial military service. Discusses Armscor, SADF and the Private Sector component in terms of budget cuts. Breakdown of the document by Army, Navy, Air Force.
- 22 November 1989 – Summary of decisions by Magnus Malan and General Geldenhuys after joint meeting of SADF and Armscor regarding the 1990/1991 budget cuts.

Budgets, Scraper, Secret Funds – AMI/IO/505/19/3 Vol.1:

- 5 Year budget for Project Scraper from 1988 to 1993 – 1993 annual budget is R245 million.

Chile Airforce – MI/203/2/12 Vol.13:

- 1989: MA Santiago writes about purchase of Blowpipe Missiles from Chile Air Force, and role of UK and Paris in the transaction.
- 1988 Memorandum on the strengthening of contact between the South African and Chile Air Forces (FACH).
- 10 January 1989 memo on payment of Four Chilean Electronic Listening Operators [?]. Payment of US\$43 350 – Project Elastic.
- July 1988 Memo on liaison with Chilean Special Forces.
- 29 April 1988 handwritten memo on visit of team from Cardoen Industries to USA, Western Europe and South Africa.

Chile MA – MI/203/2/12 Vol.12:

- Feb 1987 telegram on visit of Chile's Minister of Foreign Affairs to Washington. Discuss relationship with Michael Townsley, and mention Pinochet.
- 20 October 1986 Memo on the exchange of information, intelligence with Chile. Indicates work with the Carabineros (Para-Military Police) and the visit by Vlok to Santiago. Also mention Armscor relationship with Chile.

Destruction of Documents – AFD INL/514/2/5/7 Vol.4:

- List of +-3000 files destroyed on the order of National Intelligence (NI). Declaration of Destruction of Archives form signed on 27 March 1992.

Eastech International Investment and Development Corporation Dispute – AFD INL/509/1: (United States)

- Contractual dispute wherein Adrian Stander and Roelof van Rooyen are being sued for US\$30 million for breach of contract. Contract is attached. Eastech and Intercol Companies were involved in SADF Project Hammer. Contract is with Bridge Societe Anonyme in Liberia.
- Includes correspondence between various South African Ministers and Webber Wentzel. Also has correspondence from Debbie and Steven Curtis (US) who are seeking settlement – they claim that the two men have access to over US\$100 million in a Citi Bank Account in New York.

Cooperation Taiwan – AMI/520/3/4/25:

- 26 February 1986 memo Naval and Air Attache Taiwan to Commander off ROC Navy on proposed areas of cooperation after Vice Admiral Syndercombe's visit. Includes designing craft, operations, publications and naval ammunition.
- Augsut 1987 memo on visit of officers to Taipei and cooperation between the ROC and SA Navies regarding a Ship to Ship Missile system.
- 14 July 1987 Memo on Head of Army visit to Taipei – includes invitation from Taiwan.
- 9 June 1987 memo on visit of CSAN and Two Naval Officers to ROC for missile cooperation and 'goodwill'.

FRG Attitudes to SA – MI/203/2/4/1 Vol. 7:

- 8 April 1988 SA Intelligence review on the situation in West Germany, anti-RSA organisations in FRG and current German/EEC actions against SA. Includes discussion of why FRG is against sanctions, the need for propaganda, military cooperation between the two countries and Armscor/SADF relations and projects in FRG.
- Annex to this review discusses the political relationship and the visit of Frans-Josef Strauss to SA, Mozambique, SWA and Bophuthatswana and the tensions this caused in Germany and between German Parliament and anti-Apartheid groups.
- Discussion of connections between SADF and the Bundeswehr.

FRG Visits – AMI/520/3/4/4 Vol.7:

- 28 July 1988 Memo from SA Embassy Bonn on topics for discussion for military visit to FRG, includes NATO codes and other NATO issues.
- 25 July 1988 memo on visit by SSO to Luxembourg, Kiel, Finland and Munich.
- 1 March 1988 memo on visit to FRG for Project Labrador.

- 10 December 1987 visit to FRG by Project Bark team (SAAF and Armscor) to acquire cameras for Mirage III Reconnaissance Aircraft. Tells story of difficulties in securing Zeiss cameras due to export license issues.
- 12 January 1988 – proposed visit by CSI and DBB to BND and Morocco – Project Bark.
- 3 July 1987, overseas visit to FRG for intelligence sharing, based around SA-8 missile system.
- 27 May 1987, proposed visit by CSL to Germany regarding Directorate of Cataloguing and Codification.
- 28 April 1987 Memo on visit to West Germany for Project Lumeen – upgrading of SA Navy Type 12 Frigates.
- 1987 Telegram on SAAF visit to Germany regarding Project Ebula Anti-Radiation Weapon System.
- October and November 1986, Proposed visit to West Germany for Project Loggim – New Tanks from Kraus Maffei.
- 31 July 1986, Proposed trip to see Thyssen in Germany for Project Madeliefie – offer of TR1700 Submarines.

Gallery, Operation Hansa, Kauka – DBB(SK)/311/1/30, Gallery Vol.4: (PRC – China)

- Gallery=Zaire.
- June 1985 report on visit to Zaire in May regarding Air Force Cooperation between Zaire and SA. SA Air Force visited, dealt primarily with FAZA's C130s, the Super Puma, Alouettes and evaluated the Super Frelon, also discussed getting components for aircraft from France.
- 1985 correspondence about Project Hansa and Operation Kauka, including the use of SAFAIR and the purchase of End-User Certificates.
- Included in the above is a detailed report of the planned implementation of Project Hansa and Operation Kauka, including several visits to Zaire, the use of Zaire Containers etc.
- Correspondence in 1985 regarding shipping of equipment by "Rust Enterprises" that is being falsely shipped as Coffee.
- April 1985 visit to Zaire regarding Project Hansa, including meetings with General Kikunda of the Zaire Air Force and General Ngabanda, head of Zaire intelligence.
- Document on Operation Kauka – to "establish the procedure and the security measures to be applied for discharging the cargo on arrival and prepare it for export in such a way that the Zairean government will not be compromised as intermediary". Includes falsified bills of lading and which actors are involved.
- March 1985 visit to Zaire to discuss project Hansa. Speaks to Mobutu's relationship with SA and discussions with AG[?]. Also discussion of war in Angola.
- April 1985 visit request to Zaire for Operation Kauka. More details about the operation.
- Organogram of the organization of the AND in Zaire, with Ngbanda as head. Mentions Ngbanda's stint as ambassador to Tel Aviv and that he is "very pro-Israel".
- More correspondence regarding Gallery, Hansa and Zaire.

Gallery, Zaire, Armscor – DBB/SK 311/1/30 Gallery (China and Norinco):

- 28 September 1984, invoice for the "gift for Zaire" which consists of rockets and ammunition totaling R436 934.
- 26 January 1982 Memo from MA Paris on Gabon, President Bongo, Equatorial Guinea and France.
- 5 October 1984, DBB Memo to CSI on project Marionette, Canteen and Gallery.

- 9 May 1984 memo on visit by Major Kotzé to Zaire, references DFA officials. Meets with Mr. Atundu, the deputy head of Zaire Intelligence.
- Intelligence report 1984 indicates that SWAPO officials were ignored on recent visit to Zaire and given cold shoulder by Mobutu and Zaire government. At meeting with Mobutu, when asking for assistance, Mobutu simply handed over some US Dollar notes from his own pocket. "SWAPO felt unwelcome and warned ANC what to expect from Zaire".
- 5 March 1984 report on visit to Zaire to purchase end-user certificates (EUC).
- Handwritten list of weapons, 250kg bombs, and ammunition – says "EUC needed".
- 25 February 1984 Invoice for EUC for 'Adam Export' for \$567 500 – Payment to be made to Kredietbank Luxembourg account. This is signed. Another Invoice with same details for \$2 million.
- January and February 1984, series of correspondence (usually by D Kotzé) regarding transfer of weapons, ammunition, mortars and bombs, along with discussion of EUCs. Much of this correspondence is in French.
- 23 February 1984 – Major Kotzé travels under false name of Mark Roberts.

Glazier, Swaziland – MI/309/1/Glazier:

- Two January 1988 memoranda on establishing a 'Safety Committee' between South Africa and Swaziland, similar to the one between SA and Lesotho – would involve SAP, NI and SADF. Would be called Operation Glazier. King Mswati III.

GSK77 – Thesis by Col. AJ Liebenberg – Paper examining the SADF's primary responsibilities for Urban Counter-Terrorism Operations in South Africa after 1976.

Informal Audit Queries – AMI/505/1/3/1 Vol.2: (AG/Audit Secret Projects)

- May 1989 Memo: "in view of the fact that special arrangements have been made with the offices of the AG and IG SADF regarding the audit of sensitive project managed by this staff division, it is accepted that the present modus operandi of handling queries/answers relating to these projects will remain unchanged, i.e. on the "need to know" principle. However, all queries/answers related to the "open" budget will be processed in accordance with your above-mentioned instruction".

Lisbon, Portugal, Project Tirade – AFD INL 203/2/7 Vol.8:

- Documents of payment of 95 703 Escudos to Col. E Silva de Sousa for salary and petrol – he is listed as an "overt co-worker" working in Lisbon for MI. Project Tirade.

MA London Budgets (UK) – AMI 504/3/1 (89/90):

- 5 year budgets from 1989/90 to 1993/1994 for the MA in London. Budget goes up from R361 700 to R529 600 in that time.

MA Taipei, Events (RO China) – AFD INL/203/2/7/1:

- Quarterly report for July-September 1991 that lists events hosted by MA in Taipei. There is a list of 64 different events with various purposes. They host all divisions of ROC military, Intelligence.
- Includes note on "invitation from Armscor agents in Hong Kong to discuss matters relating to CSH-2" – Raymond Pretorius is present, along with J Eksteen and TR Gibbon.

Madagascar Coup – MI/203/2/4 Vol.16: (ASD Astor Case Connection) – West Germany and USA.

- February 1988 - Dr. Roland Hoederath (German Citizen) and Mr. Leinhasen approach Ambassador Retief (FRG) and is passed on to MI – they request SA assistance (an airfield) for a coup they plan in Madagascar. It is said that Mr. Leinhasen is an arms dealer out of Paris and he claims that he was “involved in getting tanks to Durban from Libya aboard the Astor in 1979 and is thus known to Armscor”. Leinhasen says that the group they plan to insert in Madagascar are sympathetic to SA and would return SA assets confiscated previously. MI thank them for information but say SA will “never be involved in internal affairs of another country”.
- 27 October 1987 memo to ‘Vespa’ (FRG?) regarding ‘submarine enquiry’ – meeting with ‘Lormy’ and involvement of Armscor.

Mobutu (Zaire) – AMI 35,20: (UK, Belgium, USA, French connections)

- Collection of intelligence gathered and news clippings on Mobutu from 1963 to 1968 by SA Intelligence.
- Includes June 1967 report on Bob Denard’s connections.
- 1965 intelligence on how Belgian, UK and US officers operate squadrons and battalions of soldiers in the Congo. Includes report on Paul Daniels, MD of chemical factory in Hackney who is recruiting Britons for Congolese Army, and that he was commissioned by Mobutu.
- March 1965 report on outer circle in Congo politics, includes Maurice Escu – French, director of Sosomex; Jules Linkin – Belgian, interests in Air Charter company based in Liechtenstein and has sold trucks and cars to Congo military (Mobutu); Less Daffs – diamond trafficking.

MV 65:6 – SDA, Countries where Armscor can Market Weapons. Israel.

- 30 December 1982 memo from Malan to Horwood on AG questions on 1981/1982 Special Defence Account.
- 7 August 1981 correspondence from Armscor to Malan – includes list of countries approved by the SSC to market weapons: Sri-Lanka, Burma, Australia and New Zealand; North Yemen, UAE, Jordan, Iraq and Iran; Italy; Zaire, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Gambia, Botswana and Lesotho. Also mentions role of Israel with middle Eastern countries and their sale to SA neighbours [?].

Njoma and Mobutu – DBB (SK) 311/1/30 Minorco: (Namibia, Angola, Zaire).

- 6 June 1987 – Ngbanda (Zaire Intelligence) meets with Dries Putter. Reports on meeting between Mobutu and Sam Njoma – they discussed the USA and Soviet Union role in Namibia, Angola etc. Mobutu promised to speak to Bongo, Houphouet-Boigny and PW Botha.

Nyerere – AMI 35-20 – PRC China and Southern African states:

- December 1964 report on clash between Nyerere and Nkrumah at the OAU regarding the Committee of Nine. Discussing the disappointing state of revolution throughout Southern Africa, and the aid of the Chinese (PRC) in this regard. It was agreed unanimously that boycott of SA should be brought into effect immediately. Only President Banda disagreed, and Kaunda said he agreed but was a ‘victim of circumstances’.
- “It was also disclosed at this meeting the Red China sent a cable to the committee of Nine suggesting a plan to free the prisoners SA is keeping on Robben Island. It is to be an attempt

by Submarine action, and if successful, the rescued people are to form the nucleus of a SA Government in Exile.” China sees this as a possibility for a great propaganda victory.

Operation Colley, Zaire – DBB(SK) 311/1/30 Vol.1:

- 12 June 1991 – instruction for Operation Colley – the training of officers for the Garde Civile in Zaire by SA Special forces who are not to have contact with any other SADF members in Zaire, except CSI. Budget is R120 000. CSI is providing weapons (Rifles, Ammunition, Pistols, Pyrotechnics) that will be left in Zaire for the Guard Civil afterwards.
- Appendices to the operation instruction speak to a visit by Cmdt. Power to Zaire and his meeting with several Zairean businessmen (Botuli Ekofamankasa and Kenneth Pedro) on the flight. They find out his real purpose (there is thus advice for stronger cover stories) – these business men introduce Power to a South African working for Atlas in Zaire (it is later suggested that this man must not be allowed to know about Special Forces projects in Zaire).
- Another Appendix mentions the precarious political situation in Zaire at the time and the need for caution.

Pilgrim Budget (Israel = Pilgrim) – AMI 504/3/1 (89/90):

- 5 year budget for military intelligence office in Israel (Pilgrim) which has 4 staff [?]. Financing is done in US\$. Budget is R240 547 in 1992/1993, up from R163 752 in 1988/1989.
- Codewords:
 - Argentina = Bonnie?
 - France = Snuffy
 - Israel = Pilgrim
 - Italy = Monza
 - Lesotho = re..?
 - Morroco = Portnet?
 - Munich = Flexor/n?
 - Moazmbique = Pressman
 - Portugal = Thema
 - Swaziland = Flounder
 - Zaire = Minorco
 - Zimbabwe = Observer

Project Bolster, DBB/SK 311/1/41 Bolster: Seychelles – Denard.

- Undated Signal Message – Captain Bennet – flight to Miami, Johannesburg and Panama via the Seychelles
- June 1982 Correspondence between Raymond Pretorius, CSADF and Nimrod Promosies regarding payment due for Project Bolster.
- 2 June 1982 operation instruction for Operation Bolster: Project/Operation Bolster involves SAFAIR¹ C130s flying ‘Cigarettes’ (Arm Scor weapons) to the Seychelles[?] from Waterkloof Air Force Base. Bob Denard (Bako) is involved. June 1982.
- The End User Certificate indicates was purchased from Pakistan.

Project Budgets, AMI 504/3/1 (90/91): (France – Paris)

¹ See John Nash – US Indictment for supplying aircraft parts to SA and Iran from Florida – Dirco33. See Nash and SAFAIR in ‘SA’s hidden hand in Angola’ document.

- November 1988 memo on Head Project Orange – contains at least 25 sub-projects (such as Showbiz, Alldays, Stripper, Ovenware – these sub-projects have their budgets included here too). 5-year budget with expenditure of around R20 million per year.
- May 1989 memo from 'Welcome' to 'Joiner' on 1990 budget.
- 5-year budget from 1990 to 1994 for the Paris office: Includes approximately R400 000 a year for school fees. Total annual budgets average over R2 million/year.

Project Control Committee – AFD INL/521/3/6/2/12/1 Vol.10:

- Meeting minutes of Project Control Committee meeting in July 1992. Lists projects, some descriptions, their status and updates and who is responsible for them.
- Agenda of Project Control Committee Monitoring Working Group meeting in August 1992. Discuss a list of around 15 projects that are considered for termination. They also list 50 projects to be discussed at the following meeting in September. Some of the projects include brief descriptions.

Project Gallery Visits and Intelligence – Zaire – DBB(SK) 311/1/30 Gallery Vol.5: (France and Zaire):

- February 1986 memo on visit by three members of the CSI to Zaire to meet with Longombe of the AND (Zaire Intelligence) regarding the placing of an SA operative in Zaire. Longombe is very eager, the South Africans agree to carry all of the costs, discusses logistics such as housing the operative ("it will be difficult to find for a European and very expensive"). The SA contingent reports that they are concerned about the long term possibilities and that the AND are just trying to get the necessary equipment set up by SA – desire a more senior connection than Longombe. Mentions that cooperation with the Air Force is very good.
- 1986 memo from CSI to Minister of Defence and CSADF. South Africans in Paris (part of DKI) were asked by French Secret Service if they could assist in a medical emergency in Zaire where a baby born prematurely to a woman who was a close relative of Mobutu. The child was flown to Jan Smuts airport on a commercial flight to receive treatment at a Johannesburg Hospital. It was unsuccessful [?].
- October – December 1985: Memos on cooperation between SA and Zaire Air Forces (FAZA) – includes quotes from NAPCO International, Transair Afrique and Afronix, for repair of Allison-engines that SAAF is repairing for FAZA[?].
- Handwritten image linking FAZA, MRG and Geneva (Switzerland) – detailing procedure for quote, order, payment and delivery between DOLF, Cefig, Gicers, MRG and Bas-Zaire. Purpose is to obscure the transaction. Contact person is Mr. W Greenwood (Afronix – Randburg).
- September-November 1985 – Memos on the establishment of a MI listening station and intelligence officer in Zaire as the ideal place to listen into Brazzaville, Angola, Cabinda etc. Alternative place given is 'Canteen'. Propose to do this based on the listening station model in Malawi.
- 27 November 1985: Handwritten and signed invoice for US\$2 661 237 for purchase of End User Certificates.

Project Gallery, Zaire – DBB/SK/311/1/30 Gallery Vol.2: (France, Belgium and Zaire)

- February 1984 – Zaire MoD Admiral Lomponda visits Simonstown, then meets Magnus Malan.
- February 1984 organogram of Zaire Intelligence Structures.
- 10 February 1984 – Memo on visit of Lompondo, Lt. General Kitundu (FAZA), Mr. Atundu (Zaire NI) and secretary to South Africa.

- 20 January 1984 – note of restaurant bill for DBB when meeting with Zaire Liaison (R34,62).
- 31 August 1983 memo on visit to Zaire to discuss SA Air Force Cooperation with FAZ and particularly the provision/help with parts for aircraft – Mirage, Macchi Puma, Alouette, Impala and Gazelle Helicopters. Detailed breakdown of needs under each of these. Meetings with both Zaire Air Force and Zaire Intelligence. Again SAFAIR used. Attached is an invoice for Mirage Air Craft Parts ordered from Dassault – prices given in Rand.
- 7 September 1983 - Handwritten memo about DBB and Zaire intelligence meeting with Mr. Cheboub – Belgian/Libyan arms dealer. Cheboub to help with purchase of Helicopters. Cheboub has SA telephone number/Johannesburg [?].
- Above aircraft cooperation discussed in Telegram from SADF to MA in Washington.
- July 1983 report on visit to Zaire to meet with Mobutu and Zaire Intelligence. Discuss role of Zaire in conflict in Chad, including dynamics with Sudan, Libya (Ghadaffi), Gabon, Morocco etc. and the role of the French in the region. Also discuss SWA and Angola.
- June 1983 report on visit to Zaire, meet with Atundu (intelligence) to discuss CSI visit to Mobutu and intelligence cooperation, including the purchase of End User Certificates from Zaire.

Project Gallery, Zaire, End User Certificates – DBB/SK 311/1/30: (PRC – China – HANSA, France, Paris – Armscor, Gabon, Kenya, Chad and Habre, Indonesia, Brazil, Belgium, Le Cercle).

- Correspondence and memos from 1983 that discuss visits to Zaire to discuss project Hansa. Project Hansa is the purchase of weapons and ammunition from Norinco (PRC) with a Zaire End User Certificate (EUC). The first visit in February 1983 was to ensure that the accreditation and documentation was prepared as the Chinese demanded it. Col. Pretorius and Mr. Otto of KTK (Armscor Technical Council) will enter into agreement with Norinco on behalf of Zaire with front company 'Adam Export'.
- 31 January 1983 – Memo on visit to Zaire: the situation in Angola/UNITA is discussed, and intelligence cooperation is planned – including placing a MI operative in Kinshasa. Discusses relationship between Mobutu and SA (CSI).
- 10 February 1982 – Telegram from MA Paris – Armscor is anxious to confirm the EUC from Zaire. Another telegram on 21 January 1982 from MA Paris – about CSI visit to Zaire (SAFAIR).
- 14 January 1982 – memo on obtaining aircraft for President Bongo (Gabon) – discussion with Charles Gijsselaar of Nimrod for Impalas for R26 million. Zaire EUCs.
- 13 January 1982 memo on visit by CSI to Gabon and Zaire and maybe Equatorial Guinea. Discuss Operations Distemper and Sextan to bring equipment (vehicles and aircraft) to Gabon with SAFAIR.
- January 1982 and December 1981 telegrams from and to MA Paris about EUC from Kenya.
- Two Kenyan EUCs, one for Red Phosphorus Grenades and Hand Grenades from Armaturen-Gesellschaft M.B.H Austria, and the other for 60mm Mortar Bombs and White Phosphorus Grenades from Honos Ltd. Portugal. Both are from 1982 but are unsigned, unstamped.
- One Zaire EUC for Mortars, Grenades etc. from Greek Powder and Cartridge Company. Also unsigned and unstamped.
- Jan 1982 Telegram to MA Paris about visit to Gabon and Zaire and transfer of equipment to Gabon with SAFAIR.
- December 1982 telegram from MA Paris saying that the Technical Council in Paris needs EUCs from Kenya and Zaire for purchases from Portugal and Greece.

- December 1981 memo to MA Paris about French translated documents on Operation Protea to be handed to the contact people to Gabon and Zaire in Paris. Bongo has requested better information on the operation.
- 2 February 1981 memo from DST to CSI on liaison with Michael Jordaan and Eben du Plessis in a Volkskas Office. Jordaan has had contact with Indonesia and General Moerdani – the liaison is managed by Teddy Rusdy in Germany. Jordaan and du Plessis will help SA with non-traditional trade between Indonesia and SA, with Suharto's approval [?]. Jordaan also has helpful contact with Paul Aussuaires, French Intelligence and MA in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil imports Phosphate from SA). Also has contacts in Zaire.
- 22 December 1980 report on meeting about the "Katanga Problem" between CSI (Knoetze), Nkema (head of CND), Mr. Le Cerf (Belgian Journalist), Baron du Bonvoisin (Defence Advisor Belgium) and Mr. Kalubi (Katanga representative). Discuss Angola, Sudan, Congo, Zambia and role of Soviets with the Libyans.
- 25 November 1980 – Plan for above visit and meeting – indicates the Baron Benoît de Bonvoisin is part of Le Circle and works closely with the DFA. Discusses his connections to UNITA and Paris.
- 23 October 1980 – memo to CSI, allowing family members of SMA Kanganjo (AG of SWA) to join him there [?].
- 11 November 1980 memo to Director ST about meeting with Baron Benoît de Bonvoisin and Mr. Pierre Joannon in JHB. Joannon is also in 'Le Cercle' and also assists the DFA – in France and has contacts with FLEC in Congo. Discuss the Katanga issue again.
- October 1980 visit to Zaire – CSI was to meet Mobutu, as organized by the MA in Paris and the Zaire CND, but Mobutu was still in Europe, so met with Nkema instead. They discussed the support to the FNLA, UNITA Air Force, the FLCE, the Kanganjo case, upcoming events and general intelligence.
- 20 February 1980 memo to CSI on visit of DS Hamman and Kol. Knoetze to Zaire to meet with Mr Ekema (CND), Mr. Seti (Defence advisor to Mobutu) and Mobutu himself. Predominantly spoke about Southern African issues – especially Zimbabwe (Nkomo and Mugabe), Zambia (Kaunda), Angola and SWA (Namibia).

Project Scraper, Audit – AMI/IO/506/1:

- September 1987 Audit Questions on Project Scraper and its classification. Question about Mr. De Klerk of 'Wonder Air'.

Project Spending 89-93 – AMI 504/3/1 (89/90) Vol.5:

- 30 April 1987 – a series of 5 to 6 year budgets for Secret Projects from 1988 to 1993. One page per budget with the Project Name, Project Code and a 'Target Code', examples:
 - Gallery – R5 million/year
 - Minorco – R200 000 a year
 - Hansa – R50 000 a year
 - Ibex – R25 000 a year
 - Alborak – R1 – 1.5 million a year
 - Kabala – R2 million a year
 - Baffle – R1.5 million a year
 - Scraper – R250 million a year [??]
- Includes memo on budget for Project Leghorn/Vatika, Project Drake and Project Hubert.

Propaganda Italy, AMI/10/203/2/5/1 Vol.1:

- 1989 Memo from IC Little to CSI – formation of new political party in Italy; “The founders... have hinted that they would not object to receiving covert funding in return for using their influence. Perhaps you might care to discuss this with your own friends when they call on you in the near future”.
- List of Pro-RSA in Italy – anti-Winnie Mandela. Also: “Nearer home our own Comops ring is flourishing and there are a number of pro-SADF magazine articles on their way down to the RSA which have appeared in the Press this month. We have also managed to bring a strategic magazine named “Geopolitica” into our field of influence.
- November 1988 – Report on visit by Mr. Fenili and Mr. Poggiali of the ‘Pavilion’ and their comops visit to SA. They have already agreed to publish 18 articles for SA in 5 different publications in 1988 and 1989.
- 3 October 1988 memo on Pavilion – Fineli to meet Scot Finch, a Brit who works in France (described as “a friend of ours”) who manages a foreign consultation company with an office in South Africa.
- 12 October memo titled ‘Stukke van Blackie’ from CSI to Ivor Little.
- September 1988 Memo from Ivor Little on Mr. and Mrs. Fenili’s enjoyment of recent visit to SA and their praise for the SA Air Force.
- August 1988 Comops Review speaking to Comops “disaster” in Italy (Monza) – “there is no doubt we have been absolutely hammered and the whole thing can be summed up in one word – Mandela”.
- 15 April 1987 letter from Luca Poggiali to Mr. Ivor Little and SADF Memo on 5 June 1987 about a Comops plan for SADF and SA Air Force drawn up by Poggiali. Lists the Italian publications to be used and their circulation and readership to use as an “information campaign to re-establish the truth regarding the present situation in South Africa”.

SADF Accounts London (UK) – AFD INL 505/8: Request from London Embassy to SADF to give them permission to close two Bank Accounts at Barclays Bank, Cockspur Street Branch described as ‘SADF Military Attaches (London) Fund’. The accounts section of the embassy has no record of them and “it is assumed that the accounts were administered by Military Personnel stationed in London”.

Spain, Liaisons with other countries (Egypt), MI 203/5/SK 211/B Vol.1:

- 25 January 1988 memo from Coverit to Dreamer about National Intelligence’s representative in Madrid – a Mr. Rothman. Cooperation with CECIED.
- 10 December 1985 letter of thanks from Francisco López de Arenosa, Spanish Navy Captain, to Chief Director of MI, Major General Groenewald – saying “our exchange of information is mutually beneficial”.
- 1 February 1983 – MA Madrid met with Egyptian MA – Mohamed Hosney Amin – positive meeting.

Useful Titles: List of military titles as a reference.

Visit to Taiwan Report – AMI520/3/4/25 Vol.8: (Taiwand and USA).

- 10 August 1988 – Report from Captian PC Potgieter (Naval and Air Attache) to DBB on recent visit to ROC – Taipei. Discuss ROC and USA relations quite extensively and the impact of this on the ROC relationship with South Africa and the SADF. Also discuss weapons technology

and Armscor, and generally the role of the Military Attache and his activities, including logistical information like the schooling of children of Ambassadors and Attaches (American School). Discusses Attache links with the Ambassador, Military Intelligence etc.

Visits to Chile 2 – AMI520/3/4/18 Vol.10: (Chile and France – Thomson CSF)

- October 1988 memo by CSI Putter – report on intelligence visit to Chile. Says that an annual intelligence conference between the Chile and SA military has been happening since 1981. In 1988 – five officers attend. The report covers what was discussed, general relations and the role of the MA in Chile, as well as the role of Chile in propaganda/comops operations. Discuss political situation in South America and the actions of the USSR and Marxist groups. Annexure D discusses Air Force cooperation and Project Bracket – building 16 Mirage Aircraft [for Chile?]. Appendix I has a list of Comops operations/themes to discuss. Appendix J is a speech by Major General Le Roux that thanks Chile for the visit. He says “we are living in the era of the Big Lie – where facts are less important than unsubstantiated impressions, propaganda and disinformation. This leads the West to believe that the RSA is destabilizing the Southern African region where in fact we are being destabilized by terrorists, aided and encouraged by both Super Powers to operate from neighbouring countries...” He goes on to compare Chile and SA’s shared experience of hypocrisy and “Selective Human Rights”.
- Signed agreement from the above September 1988 conference – signed by both Chile and SA Intelligence officers. They “reconfirm defined principles and concepts for both countries and their respective armed forces relative to the consideration of the common enemy, international Marxism and their subversive and terrorist actions”. They also agree to “increase bilateral relations in area of intelligence by means of permanent contact via the respective Military Naval and Air Force Attaches”.
- Undated document which appears to be intelligence from Chile on the USSR (Soviets) using their fishing fleet in the Pacific for political and military purposes by spying on Australian Navy and positioning itself in South America, Australia etc. as a means for warfare and controlling Western communication lines. It suggests that Chile requires assistance to prevent this.
- 17 August 1988 – report on visit to Chile where Chile have offered 3000 Crotale Weapons Systems (Missiles) to SA. Project Flywheel will involve cooperation between **Thomson CSF**, Armscor, the SAAF and Chile.

Visits to Chile – AMI 520/3/4/18 Vol.9: (Chile and USA and Armscor)

- 1987 invitation from Chile Air Force General to CSADF Geldenhuys inviting him to a Chilean International Air Show – Chile will cover all costs.
- 10 February 1988 memo from Air Attaché Chile about 1987 visit of three SAAF officers to advise the Chief of Chile Air Force (FACH) on firing Crotale Missiles. During the visit, they also met with a company **Enaer** and discussed obtaining computerized programmes of simulated scenarios.
- 11 February 1988 request from CSI to CSADF for a visit to Chile by SAAF Electronic Warfare Team to Chile in March regarding electronic reconnaissance. Chile has advanced system developed with Americans but no sophisticated threat. SA does and it is suggested that SAAF installs entire system on an aircraft and tests it in trials and operations. CSI says “this is a golden opportunity to expose the SAAF to the best American technology currently available” given the “continuing isolation of the RSA from high technology military equipment and intelligence”.

- 27 January 1988 Operation Instruction for Operation Estralita – primary goal is to transport Armscor's cargo between Chile and South Africa, secondary goals are related to comops and joint naval operations. Armscor to visit the FIDA'88 Air Show in Santiago – take the SAS Drakensberg and the DFA wants to use the ship for a conference of SA Ambassadors.

Visits to Zaire and Ivory Coast_Project Gallery – DBB(SK) 311/1/30/Gallery Vol.6: (France – Jacques Chirac and Tegniese Raad, USA and UK, Armscor, Israel)

- June 1986 report of CSI's visit to Zaire and Ivory Coast in April and May. The report covers the meetings between the CSI and the Zaire AND (Mr. N'gbanda) as well as the meetings of CSI with President Boigny and Jean Kakumba (Unita representative in Abidjan).
- Discussion with AND covers military cooperation with Zaire (mainly Air Force) as well as the political and military situation in Angola and the region – covers the Soviets (USSR), UNITA, Savimbi etc.
- Discussion with Boigny in Abidjan covers a range of political topics, but focus is the Namibian and Angola situations. Boigny also mentions that Jacques Chirac had approached him to propose a meeting with Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
- Meeting with Kakumba – discuss the role of the French, USA and UK in relation to UNITA and Savimbi. Focus is on Jacques Chirac. French and USA will help but UK not. It is suggested that a meeting between Boigny and PW Botha would be helpful.
- September 1986 report on CSI and others visit to Kinshasa to meet with Zaire AND in August. Lists discussions on range of subjects and has list of gifts exchanged between the delegations.
- 1986 telegram on SA Clandestine Trade Relations with Africa – all African states know that each is doing it.
 - SA Chesterfield company is working with the French to build a landing strip for wide aircraft in Leconi, Gabon.
 - SAA flights regularly land in Cape Verde – SA capital built the Amilcar-Cabral Airport.
 - Zaire and Ivory Coast have open relationships with SA. Zaire has 57% of imports come through SA and 45% of Copper exports through SA ports (Copper accounts for 85% of the export income of the country – also sends 60% tin and zinc, 40% cobalt through South Africa.
 - Zaire diamonds all go through Britmond, company that is affiliate of De Beers Mining Company. SA also mine diamonds in the CAR.
 - SA have established a vast cattle farm in Equatorial Guinea.
 - Pik Botha visited East Africa, including Somalia and the Comoros where he met Bob Denard.
 - Strong relationship with the Seychelles which is dependent on SA tourism.
- 7 July 1986 – intelligence memo to DBB about PLO contact with Zaire rebel groups in Zimbabwe.
- June 1986 report on visit of Mr. N'gbanda (AND) to South Africa and the meetings he had with MI, Minister of Defence, PW Botha and the CSI. The SA goals from the visit where to discuss the MI listening station in Kinshasa, intelligence and air force cooperation and assistance, and the purchase of EUCs from Zaire. List of gifts given to Zaire delegation, including a Kruger Rand to N'gbanda. Annex sums up meeting of PW Botha and N'gbanda.

- 30 May 1986 report on visit of Kol. Krige to Kinshasa and meeting with General Kikunda and Kajor Pohl in the Inter-Continental hotel Kinshasa. Krige is concerned with the leaked information about SA's Puma Upgrade Project. The Meeting is to discuss Air Force Cooperation [?]. Zaire already in contact with the Armscor Technical Council in Paris through their Air Force representative – contact with Eric Bestbier and Tonie De Klerk. Aerospatiale is involved through Tony Dreuil. Dreuil has agreed with Tonie De Klerk to charge 8% commission because it will be cheaper than using the channel of Israel (Lanvin).
- April 1986 summary of SADF activity in Zaire from DBB to CSI. Discusses Air Force cooperation, Project Hansa and the role of the French DGSE. Report says "All costs are paid by DMI from an account maintained by Armscor (the Zaire End User Certificate Account in Switzerland).
- 1 April 1986 – Joint Agreement between the AND of Zaire and MID of SADF to cooperate. 4 specific commitments – share information and documents at all times and at regular conferences; cooperate regarding technical expertise, including a listening station in Kinshasa; liaison officers to be placed in both countries; cooperate in any matter of importance to intelligence or safety of either.

Visits, Monza (Italy): MI/203/2/5 Vol.16:

- 18 March 1988 memo from Ivor Little in Italy – provides information on upcoming arms shows in Italy, and suggests SA Navy attends Genoa Naval Exhibition. Also says: "Visits to Monza are fraught with danger as "the left" is gunning for us. Nonetheless Monza is the world's 5th industrial power and the level of technology is high. Visits carried out have always been of value. Visits by CSI personnel to SISMI and vice versa are well worthwhile. Visits to suppliers are a dangerous and embarrassing business and should be left to Armscor or else carried out extremely carefully in a covert manner. Factories are carefully watched for a SA connection".

Zaire – Military Aid to Zaire + UN Resolutions 1977 – MV/56/28 Vol.1: (USA – CIA)

- 25 September 1981 letter from Barnard (NI) to PW Botha about problems with the export of Zaire minerals via Zimbabwe and South Africa, through East London – to do with South African locomotives. Reference to the CIA. Zimbabwe and SA are in dispute. Mobutu sends message through NI that he is very concerned.
- Telegram on 28/3/1977 from SA permanent representative in New York to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Message is about the Africa Group (Libya, Ghana, Kenya, Mongolia, Algeria, Zaire and Indonesia and Togo spoke) at UN and their reactions to the proposed resolutions in UN on arms embargo, sanctions and isolation of SA. Zaire representative said "I believe that the Security Council should also adopt resolutions inviting states to enact legislation not only banning the sale of arms to South Africa but also banning any transfer of capital to that country, because lending money to South Africa when one knows that that money is going to be used to perpetuate Apartheid is even more criminal, if anything, than financing trade in drugs".
- 29 March 1977 – Telegrams to SADF Cape Town indicating that the Zaire MA in Rome has requested from counterpart that SA provide military aid to Zaire: they desire maintenance of Impala aircraft A/C; Napalm, Bombs, Rockets, Armaments for Mirage, Mortars, Ammunition, and training of troops. The SA military cannot offer servicing of aircraft or loan of Impalas for fear of political fallout with Rhodesia + risk of no recovery. Is willing to provide a range of Mortars and Bombs – suggests that Zaire gets ammunition from USA. "Due to budget cuts, no funds available and assistance must therefore be funded from sources other than defence budget". Another Telegram on same day says that SA Army "prepared to step up 3" mortar

help if it can be used as lever to try and get 120mm Mortar Ammo from US in exchange for 3" Mortar help to Zaire".