

### Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries

13/12/84 UN Mission review of 3 news highlights: 1. Business Briefing – “Jobs through decentralization”; 2. Star – “Increase in South African investments abroad” – “According to the South African Foundation, South Africa's investment in Europe and the Americas is now believed to have topped R12 billion (R1 = \$ 0.55).” Was R7.7 billion in 1982. 3. Pretoria News – “French export office opens in Durban” – “...France sees Durban as Africa's biggest port and a major concentration of industry, and an important area for building bilateral trade... exports from France to South Africa had increased by 43 per cent in the first half of this year.”

8/3/83 2 extracts from Wall Street Journal: 1. “American Leisure, South African firm plan casino-hotel” – “American Leisure Corp...said Southern Sun Holdings Ltd, Johannesburg, will invest \$40 million for a 60% interest in the new company, to be called Sun Resorts Inc...Southern Sun will manage the casino and hotel, to be called Camelot Hotel/Casino.” 2. “Anglo American unite known as Minorco plans push into U.S.” – “Minerals & Resources, or Minorco as it is commonly known, will make the push through a subsidiary, Plateau Holdings Inc... Currently Minorco and a Minorco affiliate, Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Co., each own 50% of plateau... The executive said that Plateau most likely would expand into oil and gas and precious metals.” More on related corporate structures, e.g. Plateau's holdings are Inspiration Consolidated Copper Co., Inspiration Coal Inc., Terra Chemicals International Ltd., Trend International Ltd.

16/2/83 (file date) News short (from?) – “Mozambique: Private bank records loss for 1981” – “The only remaining private bank, Banco Standard Totta (BST), announced a \$100,000 loss for 1981... BST is 40 per cent owned by Portugal's Banco Totta & Acores; the UK's Standard Chartered Bank has 30 per cent, and Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa and Standard Bank (South Africa) hold 5 per cent each. The remaining 20 per cent is owned by Mozambicans.”

7/6/81 Rand Daily Mail – “SA investment in US a counter ploy” – “Greater investment in the United States by South African corporation could help to blunt the campaign for an end to American involvement in South Africa's economy, according to the SA Foundation's US director, Mr John Chettle... With the election of President Reagan it is no longer imperative that South African corporations have to maintain a subtle, low-key and unpublicised presence.”

1981/07/02 The Citizen – “Anglo American is US No 1” – “Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, is the biggest foreign investor in the United States according to Forbes magazine... Anglo American owns 32 percent of Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals in the US, 50 percent of Inspiration Consolidated Copper and 55 percent of Terra Chemicals, a fertiliser producer. Forbes values Anglo American's total US assets at \$17 600-million.”

18/6/81 Report by A van Zyl, Section 18, to Mr Sheerar, on “Discussion with Mr Brown” – “During my return trip to South Africa on 13 June, I had a very interesting discussion on the plane with Mr Robert C Brown of Robert C Brown & Co., Inc....” Reports that Mr Brown invests millions in SA, is “well informed on the financial and mining situation in South Africa,” and “is very favourably disposed towards us”. They discuss various topics. “He felt that we were not making adequate use of the bargaining power which this [our minerals] gave us.” Discusses how Mr Harry Oppenheimer is being forced to work around exchange controls – that is, “by creating shadow or ‘entrepot’ companies in

*the Bahamas, Australia...and elsewhere with the object of obtaining interests in foreign companies".* Possibility of US returning to the gold standard. Brown considered a useful contact to maintain.

17/6/81 Transvaler(?) – “Hou dié aandele dop” – “*Een van die jongste beleggings-items wat orals gefluister word, is ‘strategiese metale en kritieke materiaal’...Onder hierdie aandele noem Gulian Consolidated Murchison, Impala Platina, Samancor en Highveld Steel...’n Mens moet ‘n ogie op die situasie te hou deur die pers dop te hou vir enige berigte oor oppotting [hoarding]*”.

2/7/75 Memo from Acting Consul-General (?) to Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Pretoria: “Investment in USA by South African company – exchange control” – “*A certain Mr Peter E Heller, Chairman of the Board of FAXON Communications Corporation, called on me and Mr Hattingh, Consul (Commercial) to discuss the possibility of South African funds being made available to develop the process of facsimile transmission in the United States with a view to a South African concern obtaining certain rights and interests therein... It appears that a Mr J Agliotti, the same person who was involved in a controversy concerning land speculation at Jan Smuts Airport, had approached the company to acquire a shareholding therein...*” Members of company came to SA, spoke to Minister of Finance, CSIR, Reserve Bank etc. Agliotti’s application to transfer the required \$2million not approved by the Exchange Control authorities. Offer made directly to SA authorities. More details on case.

21/3/77 Letter from Peter E Heller of Faxon, to Mr Vere G Stock, SA Consul-General. Follow up enquiry to above. [really two years later? Mistake?]

3/9/85 Summary from Jornal do Brasil – Anglo American “*started controlling the whole industrial production of gold in Brazil the second major mine of niobium, 70% of the country’s nickel production, the main producer of ironOnickel, the biggest producer of scheelite (tungsten ore) and a fertilizer company. The operation was made by Anglo American with the purchase of the Empresas Reunidas Sul-Americanas, a holding company established in Panama and which controls the Group Brasimet in Sao Paulo.*” Includes original in Portuguese.

8/9/85 Summary from Jornal do Brasil: “Open doors, but with the key in the hand” – “*...Anglo American has just taken over control of all Brazil’s gold production.*” List of industries/minerals controlled by foreign companies, including various by Anglo. Need to regulate to maintain control. Original in Portuguese attached.

15/7/85 Note apparently from Brazil Consul-General on SA companies in Brazil, to be forwarded to Industries and Finance. Text: “*This list does not show the minority shareholding that Murray and Roberts has in a Bahia based construction company. Because of economic difficulties and lack of work, and because of problems in repatriating any dividends out of Brasil at this time, Murray and Roberts are not actively involved at present.*” Attaches list of SA interests in Brazil, with opening text explaining that Anglo involvement in Hochschild not included, as finalised after list prepared. Also, Gencor investment hoped to grow, but dividends “*will not be returned to RSA but will be ploughed back into new/further mining investments in Brasil*”. Whole long list attached. Includes organogram of Anglo American corporate structure. Includes Barlow Rand, General Mining and Finance Corporation, Gold Fields, AECI Group (with shareholder De Beers), Ibex.

**Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants)**

19/6/85 Message from Cape Town to Washington Ambassador (and PTA). Confirmation to go ahead with dealings with: 1. Thompson, Hathaway and Baldwin – to be appointed for two years at annual rate of \$360,000 plus \$30,000 for expenses, not to take on other clients, to be registered and paid as consultant of SA government. 2. Pearson and Pipkin – to be appointed for one year at \$180,000 plus expenses such as conferences as requested by ambassador, plus \$15,000 for other expenses, to be registered and paid as consultant of SA government. 3. Carbaugh, Guirard and Crommelin – still to be determined.

6/8/85 Letter from Howard Phillips, Chairman of The Conservative Caucus, to Nico van Rensburg, Esq. of van Rensburg and du Toit, Inc. *"We are at a crucial point in the Congressional decision-making process. No final action has been taken on the question of sanctions against South Africa... The purpose of this letter is...to determine whether you will send a generous contribution to support the work of The Conservative Caucus at this crucial moment."* Two copies on file, with handwritten notes [illegible to me].

Attached material "designed to build grass roots opposition". List and headshots of 56 Republican Congressmen who voted on "the anti-South Africa legislation promoted by the extreme left". *"A vote for sanctions against South Africa is a vote to aid the Soviet campaign to place Marxist-Leninist terrorist group – The African National Congress – in charge of South Africa's crucially important mineral resources, naval bases, and sea routes around the Cape of Good Hope."* Also article that spells out why this is the case. Communist strategy is to infiltrate churches, SA proclaims Judaeo-Christian premises etc.

26/8/85 Letter from Dr AWM Burger, Head of Planning, to Mr Joe Batten CPAE, Chairman of the Board, Batten, Batten, Hudson & Swab, Inc. Thanks for letter of 22/7 [below]. Gives details of necessary process of inviting people to visit SA under guest programme. Request for proposals of major decision-makers/opinion formers to be approached.

22/7/85 Joe Batten to Dr Burger. *"...my colleagues and I accept your challenging commission to select noted thought-shapers in the USA to visit anywhere in South Africa for as long as three weeks with all expenses paid by your government. In return, South Africa expects each visitor to candidly report their impressions to the American public. ... I'd like to suggest the name of Mr Hector Sanchez who is Executive Vice President of our company..."* Details of some interviews done on SA trip. Need for final written authorisation.

9/9/85 Letter from H de Lange, Regional Director, to Dr Burger, Department of Foreign Affairs, Pretoria. Confirmation of appointment at Union Building of members of Balsiger-Group, visiting SA. Names of 8 members. Conservative, evangelistic opinion formers.

10/9/85 Joe Batten to Dr Burger. Urgency for Hector Sanchez to visit, to evaluate what has been happening the past few weeks, as *"Although we are behind the Republic of South Africa and look forward to a stable situation, we must be objective in presenting South Africa to the American people."* Mentions Reverend Jerry Falwell.

Handwritten note from Stephen F Riley (card attached) to Dr Burger. Encloses documents regarding US investment in SA and an analysis of procurement bills in the US. This attached in form of 19/9/85 memo from Riley to Counselor Chris C Badenhorst. Lists anti-South Africa legislative initiatives.

27/9/85 Secret memo from DG Foreign Affair, to Chicago Consul-General, with details on Batten and co. Sets out proposed relationship.

24/10/85 Letter from Robert J Becker, the Resource Group, to Rabbi Mordecai Elefant. *"This will confirm the information we have received from Morgan Guaranty & Trust Bank, after your discussions with their Executive Vice President... Morgan Guaranty made it quite clear to us, as they did to you, that they are not in the business of influencing other banks to comply with their restrictive policies... Your communication with the Members of the Senate Banking Committee certainly made the difference in this matter. As a side-note, thank you for arranging for me to meet with the staff of the Committee."* Talk also of Fritz Leutwiler as mediator in pressure against European banks.

25/10/85 More on Batten. Cautions that previous attempts at getting "core persons" involved "to act as generators of tours by 'opinion formers'" have mostly *"proved disappointing as the opportunity was mis-used to build a base for the 'agent' involved and not for South Africa"*. Also considers efficacy of the audio-tape approach, and Mr Forsyth. Suggests that Mr Batten *"be contracted to produce a tape message...featuring either State President Botha or the Minister of Foreign Affair. If this is presented as a direct message from them to the intended listener there is a much improved chance that the recipient will take the time to listen to the tape because of the novelty factor involved."*

22/7/85(?) Column explaining Batten's role, with his justifications. *"He regards South African apartheid as 'lousy and evil.' Yet he opposed 'disinvestment'..."*

29(?) /11/85 Article on "The high cost of SA's public relations campaign in US" – R5m a year being spent on Washington consultants. *"The embassy...prefers not to call them lobbyists because it suggests their assignment is solely to combat sanctions and disinvestment. Which would inevitable imply that the money was being wasted. The fact is – as Muldergate so amply demonstrated – that if it is influence and votes SA is trying to buy, its own bureaucrats might as well pocket the cash for all the good it'll do."* John Sears, Stuart Spencer, James Symington, William Keyes' International Public Affairs Consultants, United International Consultant, Pearson and Pipkin Inc., Michael Hathaway, Joan Baldwin, William Hecht, including how much each is being paid.

10/01/86 Doc with details on Mr William Pickens and Dr Gerald Wiechman of W and P Associates. Consultants with high profile background, e.g. work for National Rifle Association.

16/02/86 Clipping from Washington Post – "Clients pay million for efforts to block administration policies" – "Former officials of the Regan administration and influential Reagan-Bush aides are being paid millions of dollars by foreign governments and corporations, in many cases to help those clients block or counter administration initiatives." Various examples (Japan, S Korea), does not mention SA.

6/12/84 Letter from A Jacobs, of Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) Pretoria, to US Embassy. *"...has the honour to advise that the persons listed in the Embassy's note No 455 of 9 November 1984 have been authorised by the Honourable the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs to testify at the trial of Frederick Ed Soudan Soudan and Abdul Wahab Al Ghazou who are charged with offenses arising out of the 1979 Salem fraud subject to the fulfilment of the undertakings given in the letter..."*

23/11/84 Letter from Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs (DMEA) to Mr Jacobs of DFA, on Salem prosecution. Authorisation given for witnesses to testify, US Ambassador to be informed. Attached letter to those called to testify, informing of authorisation *"to testify at the said trial and to make public during the trial only such evidence at your disposal which has a direct bearing on the acquisition of the crude oil transported to the Republic of South Africa in the ship Salem and discharged in Durban during 1979."*

13/11/84 Urgent letter from Jacobs (DFA) to DG at DMEA, attaching note No 455 from US Embassy. Notice of trial and list of witnesses required, as also transmitted directly from US DoJ to Minister of Minerals and Energy Affairs. Also includes answers to certain questions asked. *"The South African Government is also concerned that the judicial inquiry in the United States will require South African citizens to testify concerning 'current South African procurement' procedures for the acquisition of oil and will grant its citizens release from the secrecy provisions of the Petroleum Products Act only to the extent that they will be permitted to testify concerning the Salem fraud. The Department of Justice would like to assure the South African Government that this trial is solely concerned with the Salem fraud... and will not inquire concerning the specifics of other South African oil procurement."* Gives strongest assurances. Witnesses: HJC du Plessis, Shirley Lorraine Shorrock, Leon Radloff, John Alexander Austin, Daniel Fourie, PC Swanepoel.

26/10/84 Clipping from The Star – "Judge rejects Salem plea bargain".

4/10/84 From DMEA to DFA, enclosing copies of letters from Stephan S Trott and Robert W Ogren of US DoJ.

19/09/84 From Jacobs to DG DMEA, attaching note No 381 from US Embassy. *"The Embassy wishes to advise the Department that developments in this case are such that it appears there will be no need to travel to the United States."*

4/9/84 Note from DG DFA attaching various documents related to Salem trial. Attached is note in which questions referred to above are posed. That is, whether testimony can/will be limited to Salem, not reflect on other procurement practices, and that witnesses cannot be penalised for refusal to answer such questions. Letter with answers to above, as previously. Letter with original request for help with obtaining witness testimonies for trial. Copy of original indictment, which spells out case at length (34 pages), with some bits of testimony of Shorrock.

4/4/84 Top Secret doc on activities of Seamans Unions. Refers to questionnaire prepared by ITF et al, to be completed by seamen serving on oil tankers, to be returned to Shipping Research Bureau. *"The Shipping Research Bureau can hardly be expected to know the individual names of bona fide sailors. This gives us an excellent opportunity to mount a disinformation exercise."* Sets out details of proposed plan.

30/3/84 Letter from Annette de K Joubert, Ambassador, to DG DFA, on the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, attaching questionnaire as discussed above. *"You will notice that the letter was made available to the Embassy by an anonymous 'friend' of our country."* Cover letter and questionnaire.

19/4/84 Letter from JB Shearar to Mr Franklin, on proposed disinformation campaign. Dirk Neethling of DMEA concerned, as may rebound and complicate situation. State Security Council authorisation required.

10/5/84 Office note. *"SFF explained that, for so long as the present oversupply situation lasts, the RSA finds no difficulty in obtaining all the oil it needs – from a very diverse collection of sources. ...there is virtually no supplier/shipper/country which can safely be 'embarrassed' by a disinformation operation as proposed."* Therefore, SRB and oil situation to be monitored, disinformation project be held back until required. *"NI has a source 'close' to the SRB."*

30/8/84 Clipping from PTA News – *"Witnesses may go to US for Salem case" – "Negotiations between the prosecutor and defence could result in a deal that would not require the court to hear testimony. But if the trial goes ahead as planned on September 25 the South African who will be called as witnesses include:..."*

#### **Dirco 004 – Arms Embargo (General) Regimpex**

?/?/85 Letter from AB Greenham, DG DFA, to Geneva permanent representative, re: Trade offer. Following various correspondence, *"it would be appreciated if you would indicate whether you are now in a position to make a recommendation on Regimpex SA."*

? Cover page of 1983 Report on Arms Control and Disarmament. Handwritten notes on page, say little.

?/4/85 Letter from AB Greenham to Geneva permanent rep. *"It would appear that the offer concerned would be of interest to Armscor and/or the Strategic Fuel Fund."* First, request for as much detail as possible on Regimpex and directors, plus recommendation on that basis.

#### **Dirco 005 – Brussel, Luxembourg & Paris**

4/86 Documents relating to appointment of Ms Elsebie de Jager as member of NI in Lisbon.

2/86 Documents relating to appointment of Col. Pieter Over Verbeek as military representative in Portugal.

12/85 Documents relating to appointment of Miss Maria Magdalena van der Walt, formerly of Belgium embassy, as Military intelligence assistant in Lisbon.

8/85 Mr Jan de Lang Venter, NI rep.

9/85 Discussion of new NI post being created in Lisbon, as result of amount and breadth of work.

8/85 Miss Michelle Bryden of MI to Lisbon, Miss NL Cerette of MI to Rome.

5/85 Mr Jacques Jean Gouws as new assistant Military Air and Naval Attaché, to Lisbon.

5/87 Mr Johan Samuel Frederick Brink to fill a new NI post in Lisbon.

6/86 Ms Marlena du Heaume Fourie of NI to Lisbon, as E de Jager transfer cancelled.

9/85 Mr Mark Allen Verwey of Armscor to Paris to replace Miss Y Swanepoel. Note:

*"Notwithstanding the tense state of relations and the possibility that South African military attaches in France may have their accreditation withdrawn, we have, at present, no indications that any action is envisaged vis-à-vis the technical section...we would advise that, for the moment transfers of Armscor personnel proceed as usual."*

10/85 Miss Marietjie de Villiers of NI to Paris.

2/86 Miss Susanna Petronella Ackerman of Armscor to Paris.

11/85 Mr Jacobus Johannes Steyn of Armscor to Paris.

11/85 Miss Eugene Supra of Armscor to Paris.

10/85 Armscor currently has 4 approved personnel in Paris. Motivation for another 2 as result of expansion in activities there.

3/86 Miss I Engelbrecht as press attaché in Paris. Difficulty of accreditation, as expansion of diplomatic presence will not be expected, so to be presented as replacement of another.

4/86 Mr Adriaan Jacobus le Roux of Trade and Industry to Paris, to replace J Venter.

8/86 Mr Gavin Ford of Trade and Industry to Paris.

10/86 Mr Omar Oswald Searle of Armscor to Paris to replace SJ Landsberg.

10/86 Mr Jan Carel Krynauw of SADF as technical liaison officer, to Paris to replace GSR Bester.

4/86 Gustav Carlson van Brott of NI to Paris, new post

3/87 Johann Havenga of NI to Paris, replacing R Nienaber. Note: *"We presume that like his predecessors his name will remain unlisted."*

8/86 Dr Malcolm John de Bude of Agriculture, economics and marketing to Paris.

9/86 Trevor Gerald Shaefer of Armscor to Paris, replacing HA de Klerk.

2/87 Johannes Christoffel Swanepoel of Armscor to Paris, replacing DCJ van Vuuren.

2/87 Daniel Jacobus Loubser of Armscor to Paris, replacing PC Welgemoed.

3/93 Suggestion of Mr Adrian Doull as honorary consul in France. Reasons not mercantile, as is customary. Formerly of Anglo American, Minorco, now manages elite chateau/conference centre/hotel. Can be useful in terms of "joint ventures/investments/technology transfers". *"...we are*

*hoping that his superior business acumen will enable him to recognise, from time to time, important business opportunities which could benefit South African firms."*

4/87 Hendrik Albertus Geldenhuys and Robert Abraham du Plooy appointed Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of SA to France.

9/81 Johannes van Dalsen and Robert Abraham du Plooy appointed Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of SA to France.

7/87 Miss Michelle Sephton of Armscor to Paris, replacing Miss S Venter.

3/87 Mr Barend Frederik Kotzé of NI To Paris, vacant post under L Steyn. *"Permission has been given for the creation of a new third secretary post..."*

6/87 Mr Emile Hurter of Armscor to Paris, replacing BJ Baker.

? Marinus Leonard te Water Naudé recalled as non-resident Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of SA in Luxembourg, apparently replaced by Annette de Kock Joubert, and Naudé apparently replacing Douw Gerbrand Grobler in 1990.

10/85 Col SJ de Villier accreditation as MA in Luxembourg ended.

11/82 Report on Ambassador Dempsey's presentation of letters of credence to the Grand Duke of Luxembourg. Relations with all very friendly. Discussion of visa issues.

#### **Dirco 006 – Switzerland Berne Embassy reps**

[Notes: - Banking, - Zurich].

3/8/84 Report from Bern embassy rep on relations, notably financial ones, in motivation for need of a highly experienced SA Ambassador to be placed. Discussion of the fact that Switzerland's ceiling on financing to SA is widely and intentionally publicised, but that secret agreements have been made to provide the most favourable conditions to SA. Switzerland's "neutral" position on SA is largely a result of the influence that bankers have on politics, and the social relations that SA ambassadors have with Swiss bankers are thus vital. Understandably, details on this not given. This situation was not raised in the recent general meeting between SA and Swiss government reps and officials, but instead raised in private between the PM and President Schlumpf. The President of the Swiss National Bank, the President as well as the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the "Bank for International Settlements", and the GM of the Union Bank of Switzerland are in on it, among others. Some other reasons for need for experienced Ambassador, including the unusually broad scope of propaganda services, formerly under Department of Information.

17/10/85 Letter from Brussels Ambassador PR Killen to all embassies, plus from RF Botha to DG (presumably DFA) three months earlier, asking for full support for new appointment, Mr C van der Walt, formerly of private sector, to be responsible for relations with European banking community. Clearly well-paid, but all required in name of teamwork and assault on SA.



16/7/85 Ambassador Dennis Worrall to Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis, informing that feedback from bank representatives that the Minister had recently visited in London was positive, but that there were still reservations in the Embassy about Chris van der Walt's appointment. *"...the concern is that somebody, coming in from the outside and unaccountable to this Embassy, will simply introduce confusion."* Questions of seniority, chain of command.

23/8/85 C van der Walt to Minister of Finance, reporting that A Katz of Rothschilds in London had pledged his assistance to SA to Minister Botha, but may actually be posturing, as well as leaking the contents of these discussions. Possibility that Katz is being misleadingly and intentionally discredited with South Africans. Minister of Foreign Affairs comments on the above at 27/8/85. Katz and colleagues Rothschild, John Loudon, Robert Guy, Richard Katz, John Silcock, and Pippa Levin all known, and all apparently positive about SA. Van der Walt role disruptive, possibly wrong.

Various other documents on Chris van der Walt appointment and role.

Documents relating to appointment as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Johan Frederick Pretorius, and after him of Andre Jaquet. CVs included.

#### **Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases**

[Handwritten notes: - Offer from Lengfelder to sell weapons. – Offer: Mr Buch/Buck to supply weapons (rejected). – Exchange of used arms & info (SADF w. German Intelligence). – Export of arms by Rheinmetall to SA (Der Spiegel). – Mr Gerhard Mertens/Merex. – Consideration of business with Adolf von Thadden & Flick Co. not entered into (1977). Right-winger. – Uranium enrichment.]

6/8/84 Letter from RP Pretorius, Foreign Procurement (FP), to DG DFA, regarding Lengfelder offer from Munich. No interest.

31/01/84 Note (from Pretoria to Bonn?) advising that Mr Buch's friendly offer be rejected, as doubt over bona fides, suspicion that offer may involve attempt at immigration. Note also that although SA aware of source of weapons to "freedom fighters", it would be grateful if Mr Buch had such info to pass along.

27/1/84 Note from Hamburg to Pretoria, with Buch offer. Firm called Lisa Koerter, known arms dealer. Willing to give names and addresses of arms dealers dealing with Southern African freedom fighters: Mr Allen, Col Escot, Trentgold (all UK). Offer to make purchases to gain trust, gain complete intel. In exchange, wants SA passports for self and girlfriend, assurance of shelter if things go wrong, anonymity. Asks for info on what Swapo might want, to make purchase believable. Description/impressions of Mr Ingold Buck. He provides some information on shipments to Swapo.

15/12/82 Letter from CSADF to DFA on exchange of captured arms with W Germany. Good ties with German MI led to offer of exchange of seized Soviet equipment. Potential benefits listed, recommendation given. List attached of items to be transferred.

11/8/80 Translated from Der Spiegel – *"Prosecutors and Investigators of the Federal Criminal Investigation Office struck gold: arms of the Rheinmetall concern illegally reached foreign countries... the investigators found Rheinmetall arms...in crisis areas like Argentina, Saudi Arabia and South*

*Africa.*" Many pages on this, on process of getting approval from Bonn, processes of supervision etc. Original attached.

15/8/80 Translated from Frankfurter Rundschau – AAM accuse Rheinmetall of delivery of weapons to SA, reports to UN. Also mentions Space Research Corporation International in Brussels. Original attached.

15/8/80 Reports on Frankfurter Rundschau report. Notes that publicity may raise again the sensitive issue of the SA Military Attaché in Bonn. Also question of how to approach situation, given possible outcome of official investigation.

23/3/78 Bonn Ambassador to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, on meeting with Mr Gerhard Mertins, "head of MEREX group of companies whose main line of business lies in sales of military and related supplies". Explained that *"in March 1978 he had been requested by General van den Bergh to assist in establishing contacts with a view to direct oil supplies with Saudi Arabia as well as overflying rights over Egypt and the Sudan for South African Airways."*

2/2/79 Armscor to DFA, on Adolf von Thadden offer. No interest at present in offered items. Following document, 25/1/78 asks for info as given.

14/10/77 Bonn Ambassador to DFA, with von Thadden offer. Thadden is former chairperson of the National Democratic Party of Germany, extreme right, makes cooperation a political risk. Firms referred to is Flick. Details of weapons offered. Third country to send weapons through – Singapore.

?/?/? Letter from Paul Koch to Mr von Thadden, making offer of rocket launcher and speedboat to be provided to "an African country", with methods proposed for getting around arms embargo.

24/2/77 Message from Secretary of Foreign Affairs to The President of the Atomic Energy Board, on "alleged co-operation between West Germany and South African in the field of nuclear energy and armaments", attaching docs from Bonn Ambassador. Docs relate to logistical details (e.g. shipping, payment) of sale of compressors for use in uranium enrichment to SA, and of fire alarms for the SADF.

9/2/77 Letter from Ambassador to Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on compressors sale and Dr W Geissler (of Director of Prosecution) case. Involves firm MAN, Escom, STEAG.

#### **Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes)**

[Handwritten notes: - Boeing purchase offer. – Stinger missile sales (April 78). – Offer of weapons from Vigeano (Pty) Italy. – Tanks offered (possible CIA agent). – Various bombs etc. Brussels. – Belgian intelligence – supply of documents. – Purchase of pistols from H Ledent. – Mana Doff Sott of NSports Herstal Weapons sell. – Project Sporadic. – Major Clancey (US Marine) sale of weapons SA.]

8/4/81 Ambassador to DG DFA. Belgian company, Lorrang Aircraft Corporation, offer sale of Boeing aircraft and motors for civil and military use. Not interested. Offer letter attached.

12/4/80 Clipping from De Morgen – Belgium still delivering weapons to SA.

21/10/80 Note on Belgian parliamentary question on Belgium's observance of arms embargo, which it reaffirms. Nothing surprising.

12/4/78 Note from Armscor forwarded to Ambassador via DFA, on offer of Stinger missiles. Asks details of offer (e.g. models, prices, delivery options).

8/3/79 Question from Reginald C Allas, of Italy, *"(at the suggestion of commander J Coupe, close friend in the Pentagon) as to whether the ammunition assembly machines previously ordered from Heckler and Koch GMBH in Germany are still required. German government understood to have aborted previous delivery by that firm. ... Allas is prepared to arrange delivery as per previous contract through Switzerland. Envisages no difficulty."*

11/8/77 Armscor message to DFA, to go to Ambassador – no interest in the tanks offered. Offer attached, from Armaco RS Liege Donnay, and note that it is suspected that Donnay reports to the CIA, and that it first be checked that tanks are actually in Belgium.

24/6/77 Ambassador to DFA, for Armscor, on numerous items (bombs, rockets, cartridges etc.). Cheboub asks for prices (to include 12% commission) to be provided. Cheboub claims that the purchase is for Armscor – please confirm. Note also that the commission will be excessive, as it will be 12% as stated, plus some for middleman, plus 10% for end user certificate Ethiopia (?).

16/6/77 Ambassador to DFA, for SADF. Belgian intelligence refuse to make copies of documents available to MA, but are willing to circumvent the ban, so docs to be left for half hour each with MA, and notes can be made on chapters of interest, and intelligence will then make summary available.

29/4/77 From Armscor, via DFA and Ambassador, to MA. Request for cheque of BF1,946,000 to be forwarded to Col. Lombard in Brussels, for payment for 200 pistols obtained from Mr H Ledent. Transportation arrangement to be made.

10/3/77 From Ambassador to Armscor and CSI, informing that "Doff Sota of FN Sports Herstal called, referring to your visit..." Is 99% sure he can provide 2000-3000 shotguns, with listed specifications.

1/3/77 From MANA (military, air and naval attaché) Brussels through Ambassador to Armscor, on Project Sporadic. *"May Clark and Peletan proceed as discussed... the project is possible. Twenty S plus W can be obtained free on board New York US Dollar 175. Shipment per SAA. ... Confirm quantity N 16 A 1 needed... When replying on telephone please answer numerically i.e. if four is yes just say so."* Lots more in semi-code.

26/1/76 From MANA to CSI. *"Clancey is Major in US Marine Corps. He is member of joint operation group of joints Chiefs of Staff. Probably DODCIA Counter Insurgency Office. ... He will be in Zaire (?) indefinitely and should arrive 1200 hours local time today... He is aware of every transaction that pertains to Republic of South Africa requirement from first transactions with Commerce International and CSF (loan(?))... He must not repeat not be contacted. He will make contact with your liaison officer within five(?) or six days."*

27/1/76 From Ambassador for Armaments Board, asking if arrangement with Frost continues in respect of names weapons.

[Second set handwritten notes: - Purchase of various arms from Belgium companies. – Project Mattbet. – Correspondence from “MANA”. – Project Sherbert. – “Pheasant transaction” (code high seas weapons transfer). – Orion trading, front company.]

17/5/77 Armscor to Brussels MA via DFA and Ambassador. Info for Josef Lambrechts, on establishment of new company Orion Trading Establishment, with share capital FS30,000 (minimum), and “mandatarisse: M Johnson, PR Polansky, JS Cantor, F Neumann”.

28/4/77 MANA to Armscor (via as usual). Partly in code, e.g. “Sherbert Two”.

8/3/77 MANA to Armscor, on Pheasant Transaction. *“Pheasant has indicated that due to early delivery of the goods ex Sofia...he will not be able to visit South Africa as intended to discuss security aspects in respect of two shipments and Kegelraeder flight... The specific request is that SAN unit stand by 600 to 1000 repeat six hundred to one thousand sea miles south Las Palmas to shadow convoy ship...”*

25/11/76 MANA to CSI and Armscor. Project Sherbert, receipt and delivery consignment acknowledged.

19/11/76 To CSI. Project Mattbet members have not received money, cannot draw further from their associate company, required USD20,000 urgently “to save them from embarrassment”.

29/9/76 From CSI to Armscor, on Project Sherbert, air cargo – personal effects for evaluation team. Various cases to be delivered to MJ Smith, CP van der Westhuizen, D Oosthuizen. Also case for Project Burrow to be handed to Mr MJ Smith.

27/9/76 From CSI to MANA. Consignment contents for Project Burrow (sight, lighting instrument, maintenance manual), in Diplomatic bag, to be delivered to Mr Tienie Smith of the evaluation team.

22/6/76 Deprod PTA to Col Lombard, on offer received from Willy Pourtois reference Bruno regarding enquiry for ammo, instruction to check with him urgently whether ammo is armour piercing and confirm price.

23/12/75 From AB, with message to be conveyed to Frost, with list of ammo types (e.g. supercharges, tube vent percussion) and numbers (e.g. 100.000).

### **Dirco010 Switzerland – Defence Purchases**

[Handwritten notes: Alleged Armscor office in Lugano – denied.]

21/02/83 From SECEXTERN PTA to SALEG BERN. *“The material supposedly exported to South Africa to which publicity was given in the Swiss press and on television was not purchased by Krygkor [handwritten note says “Sien 9/56/12 Geheime Leer”]... It is confirmed that Krygkor has no (repeat) no office as such in Lugano... The report of the SAA representative in Switzerland was entirely speculative...”*. Attached, note from DG DFA to CSADF asking for comment on Armscor Lugano office statement.

DG DFA note to DG Transport, drawing attention to points in letter from Swiss Ambassador, attached. 26/1/83 Letter on Lugano office question and SAA activities in Switzerland. Quote from Zurich SAA rep to his head office: *"Krygkor who maintains an office in Lugano have indicated that at present many large shipments of sensitive material were being freighted to South Africa via Milan but that Zurich may be used in future as better security existed"*. Ad hoc shipments from Aeromacchi in Varese moved via Frankfurt. Especially given Swiss Federal AG investigation, this leads to Ambassador's recommendation, as referred to in DFA cover letter, that: SAA HQ *"be requested to remove relevant paragraph from their representative's report and classify information as secret"* and that *"Arm Scor be requested to instruct their representative to exercise utmost care and if absolutely necessary ship only those consignments from Varese to South Africa via Zurich which cannot (repeat) cannot be directly identified as equipment or spares for SAAF. In all other cases Zurich as transshipment airport should be avoided as we are convinced that Swiss authorities are on alert."* According to SAA, person in charge in Lugano is Mr Andre van Ghent.

[Handwritten notes: - Impact of UN arms embargo on Swiss relations. – Bank guarantee in favour of Arm Scor. – Havas submarine Inc Catus France Banque de l'Indochine et le Suez. – Swiss arm Sales – Arm Scor.]

20/4/78 Berne embassy to DFA PTA, on Swiss attitude on arms embargo. In response to question from UN, Swiss answered that they have had arms embargo since 1963, strengthened by *"Kriegsmaterialgesetz"* of 1972, although not part of UN. Fact of response to question *"is vir ons ietwat 'n tergugsiaan"*.

21/6/78 Geneva mission to DFA, on alleged bank guarantee agreement between a French company and Arm Scor. Attaches letter from the Bank of Indochina and Suez (Lausanne branch, Switzerland) and original of guarantee issued by it to Arm Scor. Guarantee *"concerns an agreement which was apparently entered into between Havas Submarine Inc. Catus France and Arm Scor for the delivery of equipment purchased by Arm Scor from the said French entity"*. All attached. Guarantee value of US\$22,600. Also numerous cover letters from various, on this. Many copies of all.

29/6/79 Berne embassy to DFA, on helicopter offer. Graf S von Hallwyl says has had reliable offer of 50 helicopters, shipping guaranteed.

16/2/83 Arm Scor to DFA, on alleged illegal sales of arms via Switzerland. Friendly reminder that Arm Scor is not part of SADF, and that foreign procurement issues to be directed directly to Arm Scor, to avoid unnecessary delays. Page covered with handwritten notes [not legible to me].

21/1/83 Translation. *"It was announced on the main news service of Swiss TV last night that according to a report which appeared in the Wochen Zeitun (a leftwing weekly) 31 crates of arms and ammunition were shipped illegally via Zurich to South Africa in 1980... It was stated that the consignment were handled by the transport firm Kulme and Nagel with offices in the canton of Schwyz and that the shipments were transported by Swissair... mention was also made of an alleged involvement of a relates organisation called 'Red Baron'".* AG investigating transport of rifles from London via Zurich to SA. Reportedly from Colombia and declared to Swissair as hydraulic tools.

[Handwritten notes: – Establishment of Armscor office Israel. – Supply of equipment Gen Shahe of DENIT. – Purchase of 6 navy boats from Israel. – Weizmann relationship with PW Botha.]

5/3/75 Tel-Aviv consulate to DFA, on Armaments Board representation in Israel. To clarify matters across the “several operations going on simultaneously”, Mr Jagoe to be “the only representative of the Armaments Board to be a ‘member’ of our mission”. Reports on high level meetings in this regard with Israeli defence force. Cover to be that of “Consul (Scientific)”. Lists various issues of institutional relationships, cover, security. *“We are asked to furnish our recommendations, but the Department will appreciate that we are under a handicap in this regard as we have not been put fully in the picture regarding the scope and implications of the growing co-operation between South Africa and Israel in the military field, the ramifications of the Armaments Board’s projects, or the dangers facing South Africa in regard to the future oil supply... We only became aware of development on the military side, at a stage when agreements between the two countries to co-operate in this field had been concluded or had at least reached an advanced stage...”* Mention of Haifa project. Have already had to maintain alibis of Col Maree, Mr Rothman and Mr de la Bat of the Armaments Board.

21/7/76 Tel-Aviv embassy to DFA, on offer of supply of equipment. Retired General, Shmuel Gonen, from firm DENIT, claims access to source in Europe able to supply spare parts for Centurion and Sherman tanks, among others that may not be directly obtainable from Israel. Also materiel from Eastern bloc. Enquiries with local MOD revealed Gonen lacks necessary clearance, and that all purchases are to go through Israeli Director of Arms Export.

17/10/76 Tel-Aviv embassy to DFA. Reports that military co-operation is becoming public knowledge locally, primarily via foreign media. Has also been raised in Knesset. More scrutiny expected. Attaches recent news reports from local press. Headlines: “Israel is building missile boats for SA”, “South African sailors are training in Israel before receiving the missile boats”, “50 SA sailors are training in Israel”.

20/10/76 Tel Aviv embassy to DFA. Extract from article in Hebrew newspaper, on missile boats for SA. Includes confirmation from General Dutton, Head of Operations at SA HQ. Israeli Minister of Defence concerned with violation of secrecy agreement, seeks explanation.

? “Extract from annual report Israel”. Notes that UN arms embargo has placed pressure on relationship. Security now at the level of critical importance; US-origin components to be reconsidered or replaced with local substitutes; weaponry ordered by Israel on behalf of SA can now only be made if also required by IDF; US policing of embargo still to be determined – if so, re-evaluation required, if UN special committee instead, insurmountable problems not foreseen. SA is Israel’s best single arms client. Military co-operation not considered threatened at this stage.

7/12/78 CSADF to DFA. Message from PM to Israel given in meeting with Israeli rep, Weizmann. Objects to Israel’s public support for pressure on SA, is siding with SA’s enemies. Deduces that “Israel wants to strengthen her international position at our expense”. Reminder given that both are equally vulnerable, fighting same enemy. Israel expected not to unnecessarily increase the pressure on SA. Israeli rep: *“I accept the message as from a friend that is hurt... Please convey my respects and esteemed friendship to Mr Botha. I will do my utmost to restore relations.”* Further record of meeting. Comment on meeting record: given apologetic reactions, *“bevel Hopper aan dat die laaste*

*gedeelte van Eerste Minister se boodskap nie verder oorweeg moet word nie. Ons moets wag op hul antwoord voordat ons weer saak verder voer.*" Cover letter, confirming this last.

[Handwritten notes: -Letter from SA Emb ref future of Armscor office in Israel (1990).]

10/10/90 From Tel Aviv embassy to Derek Auret, "Roete HDAM". Co-operation between Armscor and Israel extremely important – SA can't get by without it. This to be weighed in issue of closing Armscor office. Nevertheless lays out arguments for closure: that Arab states will not engage with SA while current relationship with Israel continues; relationship a problem for Israel with US, thus constant sword overhead; too many SA kids in local international school, Afrikaans heard in local shops – raises suspicion; "New South Africa" whites might suffer under perception of contrast between pro-Israel old SA and certainty of pro-Arab new SA.

[Handwritten notes: -Future of SA/Israel Arms (1993 meetings).]

8/6/93 From PLU Viljoen, Deputy Director: Middle East, to CJB Wessels, Acting Chief Director: rest of African and Middle East. Report on meeting with DMI on future of existing military contracts with Israel. DMI wants to know what guarantees General Steyn might give his counterpart (at a planned meeting) *"on keeping Israeli military secrets known to the SADF safe after transition"*. Advised that secrecy could not be guaranteed and that *"it would be wise to inform appropriate leaders in the ANC of the nature of these projects and attempt to 'get them on board' before they made this discovery of their own accord..."* Also discussed issues of accreditation of MAs and of contact established with PLO.

11/7/93 Notes of meeting btw DG DFA and Brigadier Clark. Status quo: numerous common areas (historical links, military threats, ethnic division etc.), and sensitive areas (arms procurement projects, MTCR, military representation etc.). DFA position: importance of relationship fading, Arab states increasing; transparency to be promoted. Discusses risks during/after transition. New government not expected to have similar position, and this to be taken into account in meanwhile. But IDF to be assured that new SA will have pragmatic, "SA first" policy, and that the SADF will endeavour to convince "other groups in SA" of importance of link. Relations with other important states like UK, France, US, Russia not be put at risk by relationship with Israel.

7/7/93 Summary of recent annual meeting btw Head of Armscor and Israeli Minister of Defence. MoD satisfied with and grateful for previous relationship, but anticipates shift. Armscor reports that it has already discussed the issue with the ANC, and anticipates acceptance. Difficulty posed by current relationship btw Armscor and US. Building of Israeli relationship with ANC to be done very carefully, with Armscor to help.

18/6/93 CSADF to DFA, advising that Gen Steyn to visit Israel 19-25 June.

21/3/94 PLU Viljoen to Jean de Preez, indicating no objection to issuing of armaments marketing permits for Israel's Somchem, of mixers.

**Dirco012 Iran - military cooperation**

[Exploratory correspondence for arms trade with Iran 93-94]

1993/3/12 Shearar to MFA on arms sales to Iran. Gives Gulf context, risk of Arab reaction with damage to existing contracts (e.g. a gov leader from Abu Dhabi warned strongly against arming Iran, and UAE is a valuable client), risk of Israeli reaction, US, UK. Considered too risky, and given US policy of late Iran best moved from category 2 (non-sensitive and non-identified items allowed for sale) to category 3 (no sales).

1993/5/5 Shearar to MFA. Issue of arms sales to Iran discussed in Defence Foreign Policy Committee. Peet Smith of Armscor made same points as above. *"Hy het bygevoeg dat dit Denel se werkswyse was om van agente gebruik te maak om kliënte vir sy wapenverkope te soek. As dit sou blyk dat die regering miskien geneë sou wees om wapenverkope aan Iran tow tw last, sou hul agente die land toeval op soek na kliënte. Mnr Smith het hier verduidelik dat al word Iran as 'n kategorie II land geklasifiseer, dit in die praktyk nie die agente sal afsit of kliënte vir kategorie I produkte te soek niw, met die hoop dat 'n uitvoerpermit wal later uitgereik sal word as die bedrag geld groot genoeg is."* However will soon be detected by US and Mossad. Discussion of strategic considerations of using as bargaining chip with Americans – i.e. get credit for not doing it. Again advice that Iran be moved to cat3.

1993/5/18 Shearar to US Ambassador. Denel market study indicates possibility of contracts worth between 2 and 5 billion in Iran, likely American reaction asked for. [This most likely the ploy discussed 93/5/5].

1993/5/28 Snyman for Ambassador to Shearar. Gives context to US position, e.g. Iran funds terrorism. *"It is highly likely, however, should the decision be made to sell military equipment to Iran, that Denel would be sanctioned by the United States."*

1993/6/1 Shearar to US Ambassador. Thanks for previous, but asks for Ambassador's views, also on possible US reaction to arms sales by third parties to Iran, how to broach issue with US, and what SA might expect to receive in recognition for any sacrifice.

1993/6/4 Shearer to MFA. Passes on US Ambassador's response *"...it is unlikely that we would escape some form of US action if we were to supply arms to Iran... om samewerking of erkenning te probeer verkry vir iets wat ons eintlik nie behoort te doen nie, nie die gewenste reaksie sal lok nie"*. Basically, don't do it.

1993/5/12 RF Botha handwritten note asking why the Americans can't just be asked directly about this issue. Washington Ambassador to be consulted.

1993/6/2 Ambassador to Shearar, giving response. Not a good idea.

1993/6/15 Viljoen to Volschenk. Gives US policy on Iran, as handed by US embassy in Pretoria.

1993/6/23 D de V du Buisson for Ambassador to Viljoen. Reports that Ambassador from Iran, Behzad Mazaheri, approached SA Ambassador, van Schoor, in Kiev to request contact between Iran air force and Denel, for work on Mirages.



1993/6/25 Viljoen to Auret. Minister has finally confirmed reclassification of Iran as cat 3, so Kiev request to be turned down. But Minister still has hope for reward from US, so docs being prepared for meeting between president and Clinton next week. Such a doc provided, currying favour.

1994/6/7 Nel to Van Schoor. Iranian request noted, but considering that Iran now has a resident embassy in SA, this considered best route for such requests.

1993/2/25 De Klerk to DG DFA. Passes on from US info on its Iran-Iraq arms non-proliferation act. Development noted.

### **Dirco013 SA & Armscor - Cooperation (2 volumes)**

[Manner of sharing info DFA/Armscor. Armscor requests lists of legal reps in Geneva. Purchase of C130 Aricraft (1986). Cad Holleman & Darrel Blomberg.]

[List of SA Govt law firms provided by DFA to Armscor. Secret Telegram: Bonn-PTA re Armscor & legal representative. Note concerning sale of riot gear (cattle prods etc.) to Noriega's Panama in 1986 – DFA denies knowledge(?).]

1985/6/13 Armscor to DFA. Details of classified documentation exchange. How to address envelopes etc.

1986/1/2 Armscor to DFA. Following Coventry affair, thought given to emergency plans. Requests list of states in which SA has representation, and name of person that can be contacted by Armscor personnel in need in each place. Request to give consideration to legal help that can be called upon in each country if needed.

1986/3/10 DFA circular to all heads of missions. Each asked to provide names and addresses of reliable legal practitioners in country of accreditation. Not to contact, merely to advise of ones likely to be willing to defend Armscor.

1986/7/3 SA Consulate-General Beverly Hills to DFA. Documentation on sale of C130 cargo planes. Mentions UAE, Global Aeronautics, Orion Group, Emerald Budda, Blomberg, Bernard Susskin (Orion Group rep in Tel Aviv), Zalman Enav, Rafi Yitzaaki.

1986/5/22 Geneva to PTA. Making enquiries on legal rep question, in meanwhile says Arthur G Long of C & L Consultants has given name of Baker & McKenzie.

1986/5/23 Geneva to PTA. Gives names of Roland Niklaus and Marc Bonnant.

1986/5/1 PTA to Beverly Hills. Message from Armscor: no interest in these planes, but interest in more details on firm in UAE and Darrel Blomberg.

1985/10/11 Wolvaardt to Bekker. Notes some possible oversensitivity in terms of info security, as much of that passed along from DFA is of a general nature.

1985/6/21 Wolvaardt to Von Hirschberg. Reports that Mrs Esterhuysen of Armscor has informed that Armscor, with Ministerial approval, is starting to set up an intelligence/data centre, needs DFA help. Reason: getting intel from MI takes too long, is often out of date.

1986/3/13 Canberra to PTA. Gives details of lawyer Mr Michael Kroger of Melbourne, willing to undertake such representation if needed.

1986/3/5 Vienna to PTA. Gives details of lawyer Dr Robert Csokay RA of Vienna.

1986/3/27 Brussels to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Emile Verrijken of Antwerp, Philippe Vlaemminck of Ghent.

1986/4/8 Sao Paulo to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Hlavnicka, Araujo and Thiollier, and of Dr Carlos Barbieri F, both of Sao Paulo.

1986/4/17 Ottawa to PTA. Gives details of lawyer Mr Donald Wright of Toronto.

1986/3/7 Santiago to PTA. Gives details of lawyer Mr Palo Halpern of firm Errazuriz y Cia, plus list of a dozen possible others.

1986/3/19 Taipei to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Ding and Ding, and 3 others.

1986/4/4 Copenhagen to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Mr Ebbe Høst (Hoest) and Dr Jørgen Hansen, both of Copenhagen.

1986/3/24 Bonn to PTA. Gives details of lawyer Mr Buchenroth. Attaches telex where recommendation is made.

1986/4/18 Hamburg to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Dr Iur Justus RG Warburg and Dr Fritz Lorenzen.

1986/3/24 Munich to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Dr Claus Goebel and Dr Rudolf Noerr.

1986/3/4 Frankfurt to PTA. Gives details of German-South African Lawyers' Association and Frau S Pranschke-Schade of Wiesbaden.

1986/3/6 Athens to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Mr A Cafopoulos, Mr A Arghyropoulos, and Mr JD Fotopoulos.

1986/4/29 Rome to PTA. Gives details of lawyer Mr Anthony V Elisio, of firm A Livingston and Co., (contact person Michael Crichton).

1986/3/23 Advocate Pierantonio Fantaguzzi of Milan offers his services for citizens and companies of SA.

1986/3/21 Tokyo to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Adachi, Henderson, Miyatake and Fujita Law Office, and Anderson, Morio and Rabinowitz Law Office.

1986/4/14 Lilongwe to PTA. Gives details of lawyer Mr RH Savjani and Co., from Limbe, near Blantyre.

1986/3/20 The Hague to PTA. Gives details of lawyer Mr WNJ Russel of Amsterdam.

1986/3/4 Asuncion to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Peroni, Sosa and Altamarino, of Asuncion.

1986/4/7 Lisbon to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Dr Martin Reynolds, Dr Paulo Lowndes Marques, and Dr Carlos Francisco Mendes Costa.

1986/3/20 Madrid to PTA. Gives details of lawyers firm Gomes, Acebo and Pombo, and firm Lupicinio Rodriguez Jimenez.

1986/4/8 Stockholm to PTA. Because of widespread antagonism against SA in Sweden, *"and in the light of Swedish legislation that prohibited the export or importation of armaments to and from South Africa, the Mission does not see its way clear to suggest any names of Legal firms in Sweden, which will be prepared to give Armscor efficient legal assistance if and when required."*

1986/3/14 Bern to PTA. Gives details of lawyer firm Hoffman, Frick, Widmer and Partners (esp senior partner Mr Christoff Hoffmann), based in Zurich but able to refer if necessary to elsewhere.

1986/3/7 London to PTA. Gives details of lawyer firm Jaques and Lewis (helped already with Coventry Four case), esp Mr NIF Benjamin.

1986/3/20 Glasgow to PTA. Gives details of lawyer firm Ronald Anderson and Leonard Turpie, Archibald Sharp and Son, Nicholas Fairburn QC, Alfred Marco, and Nicholas J Scullion and Co.

1986/3/13 Washington to PTA. Gives details of lawyers John P Sears (address from Andre Jaquet), and Riley and Fox.

1986/3/3 New York to PTA. Gives details of lawyer firm Brauner, Baron, Rozenweig, Kligler, Sparber and Bauman.

1986/4/3 Texas to PTA. Is reluctant to comply with request. Handwritten note on page: "I suggest that we simply keep this one away from Armscor".

1986/3/5 Chicago to PTA. Gives details of lawyer firm Collins and Uscian, say it would be an honour to represent SA.

1986/3/27 Beverly Hills to PTA. Gives details of lawyers Dr RN Cleaves, Mr George Caton, and Mr Ansel Slome.

1986/5/23 DFA to Armscor. Passes on all details as requested (all as above plus many more).

1987/7? P Erasmus to J van Deventer. Reports that we have handled no deals or quotes for Panama. US influence and economic situation make it an unattractive market.

1987/7/23 US to PTA. *"A reliable contact of the Embassy informed us this afternoon that he was approached by Knut Royce of News of Newsday (Hearst Newspapers) for comment on an 'imminent' sale by South Africa of riot gear to Panama...[various reasons] The Embassy would therefore advise that the sale (if it has been concluded) be cancelled".*

1986/7/16 PLU Viljoen of Brussels to PTA. To pass on to Armscor that Philippe Vlaemminck has changed address.

1986/6/3 Berne to PTA with details of lawyers Bar and Karrer, Von Erlach and Partner, Homburger, Ackerman, Muller and Heini, and Niederer, Kraft and Frey.

### **Dirco014 Diamond smuggling & illicit diamond buying**

[Handwritten notes: - Allegations of SA's involved in gold and diamond smuggling, - Sharon Lee (UK), diamond king leutre, Hurlansky & Oosthuizen, DB Fourie (courier), Hanief Edwards and M Farid Edward.]

24/5/82 DFA to Vienna Ambassador, cover letter of offer (from SAP?) of provision of info on diamond smuggling. Not attached.

8/9/82 Washington embassy to DG DFA, attaching anonymous letter, postmarked Columbus, Ohio, with info on alleged diamond smuggling of Hanief Edwards and M Farid Edwards, MD. Two, brothers, said born in CT, of Asian origin, now US citizens, *"have a great deal of unreported (for taxes) annual income for several years"*.

24/2/84 London embassy to PTA, giving text of anonymous letter ("which may be of interest to the SAP"): that Hurlansky and Oosthuizen, Diamond Ring Centre, via courier DB Fourie, are "not helping the South African economy by smuggling out gold and diamonds".

2/3/84 London to PTA, for Commissioner of Customs, advising that: *"An allegation has been received from HM Customs that a person names Sharon Lee or Lea is attempting to smuggle diamonds into London on a direct flight from Jan Smuts or via Geneva from same they request flight details and possible travelling companions the journey is believed to be imminent."*

### **Dirco015 Eschel Rhoodie files (4 volumes)**

[Handwritten notes: - Harry Schwartz & Geneva connection / DoI (frequent visits). – Eschel Rhoodie – revoking travel documents.]

19/12/78 Circular on Rhoodie travel docs, revoked. Local authorities wherever he is to be informed, Rhoodie to be given emergency certificate for direct trip to SA. Press not to be informed.

3/10/78 Geneva mission to DFA PTA, on secret activities of former DoI. Harry Schwarz of Progressive Federal Party called on other matters, reported that DoI had frequently secretly visited Geneva. Geneva permanent rep asks if department has any knowledge, would care to comment. Handwritten note indicates department has no knowledge at all.

8/5/78 London ambassador to DFA CT, attaching British press clippings on DoI. Astonished by comments (presumably from Rhoodie) criticising AG. Damage to DoI image caused by AG's revelations of irregularities considered justified.

[Handwritten notes: - Withdrawal of passport: Rhoodie & General van der Bergh. – US investigation in DoI. – Return of Rhoodie passport.]

1/12/78 DFA to SA missions in Europe and Americas, informing that all travel docs of Rhoodie and van der Bergh withdrawn by DFA. Rhoodie currently thought to be abroad.

1/2/80 Washington to SexExtern CT. Confirmation of Dekker's trip? Dekker assumed to be up to date on US and especially DoJ investigations into former DoI. Aircraft registered in name of US corp, possibility of link btw it and those subject to US investigation, possible re-registration. Complications involving export restrictions make necessary to seek legal counsel in US.

4/12/78 DFA PTA to SA missions in Europe and Americas, informing that it has been decided not to withdraw passport of van den Berg, who is in SA at moment. *"You will realise this is a top secret matter."*

[Handwritten notes: - Rhoodie & gold bullion to Canada & Robert Smit. – SAA pilot mentions German gunner & Smit. – News report: SA bribes to UK politician. – ITN interview with Gen vd Bergh. – US probe of Rhoodie & Belgium (Article) - + cover note from SA embassy.]

20/3/79 SexExtern PTA reports that the foreign news editor of the Toronto Star has contacted embassy and informed that Rhoodie *"was offering to sell his knowledge of the Information Scandal to the highest bidder. He also said that there might be a connection between an illicit gold bullion transfer to Toronto and the murder of Robert Smit."*

21/3/79 Information attaché, Canberra, to SecExtern PTA, informing that news broadcasts *"have quoted a SAA pilot as having given evidence to the Erasmus Commission to the effect that two West German gunmen were brought in to silence Dr Smit and his wife after he has threatened to publish certain irregularities he had uncovered in the use of public funds by the former Dept of Information."* Guidelines requested for comment on anticipated barrage of enquiries.

21/3/79 London embassy to DFA CT, on ITN interview with vd Bergh, in which VdB insinuated that Rhoodie tapes could damage SA relations with certain countries. On request of Peter Hain, High Jenkins, left-wing PM and AAM supporter, to request asylum for Rhoodie and investigation by British security services into activities of SA agents. Attaches transcript of interview and two clippings on Muldergate, Peter Hain matter, and possible SA involvement in false accusation of bank robbery against him.

4/4/79 Brussels ambassador to DFA PTA, on further Rhoodie disclosures. Attaches, with concern, most extensive article. Mentions *"dangerous allegation"* of Smit's investigation of secret funds. Profiles journalist Colette Braeckman. Weighs risks, concludes: *"Hoe gouer die saak egter oorwaai hoe beter vir almal."*

[Handwritten notes: - Letter SA Embassy Tel Aviv (1981). Rhoodie threatens to reveal secrets of SA Israel relations if they don't allow him entry into Israel. Reference to his son, who is on an American passport. Find his son.]

? DG DFA to DG Home Affairs, confirming that Rhodie was held in Israel on SA request, as without valid travel docs. To prevent a repeat of such an incident, Missions to be kept informed of the latest position on the matter.

27/7/81 Tel Aviv ambassador to DG DFA, on same incident, in which son – on US passport – was allowed entry into Israel, but father “was being held in terms of a instruction issues by the Embassy and which had never been retracted”. His release quickly arranged. Rhodie wanted to know who was responsible, given that he had been acquitted by SA courts. Said if he wasn’t allowed entry, he would release details of Israeli-SA secret projects, and said he had already contacted Shimon Peres and Gen Rabin. *“Should he contact the Embassy to ask for details of our correspondence with the Israeli authorities in this regard we will of course refrain from divulging the contents.”*

### **Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum**

[Handwritten notes: - The Cercle – Algerian. – SA involvement (since ±1973). – Link to French Algerian community in Algeria. – Chirac & others invited to Washington meeting. – SA asked to host (1983) at the Carlton Hotel. – Reports of Cercle meeting in Paris, Wahsington (1970s). – 1978 meeting attended by Donald Sole.]

5/11/74 Geneva Mission to Brand Fourie, DFA, on travel issues. Notes that next Cercle meeting will take place in the first few days of December in Washington. SA issues expected to be discussed are: Simonstown agreement; developments in Portuguese regions; South-West Africa; relations with Africa, esp. Kaunda... Second page illegible.

17/12/74 Geneva Mission to Brand Fourie, with report from HLT Taswell on Washington Cercle meeting. SA issues subject to much interest and much good will. 1975 meeting in SA not considered a good idea by Maitre Violet, but perhaps '76. December meetings almost always in Washington. Contributed R5000 in early '74, very welcome – another contribution, of R7000, recommended for Jan '75. Gives address for donation: Instituut fur Forschung und Enwicklung Anstalt, Liechtenstein. Mentions that German member had commented on SA Postmaster-General ending phone contract with Siemens – contract to go to French, as they the only ones willing to sell SA aircraft (namely Mirage).

11/6/75 HLT Taswell report on June Paris meeting. Information supplied by correspondent, Hans, destroyed as requested. Report in envelope addressed to self, doesn't wish to take to US. Other details of document security. *“PS. Maitre Violet thanked me for our contribution to the Cercle which they were very pleased to receive.”* Another recommended. *“M Pinay asked that his compliments be conveyed to the Prime Minister for whom he has a very high regard.”* Attached report on what was said at the meeting on South Africa's position – well received. Other speakers (with content of presentations): Mr van der Byl, Rhodesian Minister of Defence and External Affairs; Mr Brian Crozier, Director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict, in London; General Gallois, former member of French arms forces; “a member from a Middle Eastern country”.

? Confirmation to Manager of Hamsin Hotel, Pretoria, of reservation for HL Taswell from 30 November to 1 December 1975, account to be sent to DFA, attention Mr de Goede.

23/11/78 Secret note: *"The Minister has asked if he could get an evaluation of the value to us of the CERCLE as he recently had a visit from one of its members and would like to consider helping them."* Handwritten note mentions that person in question thought to be the one that was recently here with General Fraser.

4/12/78 Washington ambassador Sole to Brand Fourie (cc Bert Hattingh), report on meeting of Pinay Group. Included "old friend" Charles Malik. Need for fresh blood and thinking from younger men, in 40s and early 50s, such as Senator Jackson's young aide. Group is preoccupied by Soviet threat – summarises related discussion. Ambassador invited to next meeting in '79, in Bavaria, under sponsorship of other "old friend" Frans Josef Strauss. Program attached. Named speakers: Right Honourable Julian Avery; Brian Crozier; Donald Jameson; Charles Malik; Alvin Cottrell; James Crutchfield; Francois Vallett; General Graham; Nicholas Elliot; Dr FJ Bach; Dr Marshall Shulman; Richard Perle; Crosby Kelly, John Shad; William Francois; Dr Alfredo Sanchez Bella; Dr Alfredo Oaechea; Sr Alvaro Gomez Hurtado. Full participant list (45ish) attached – industrialists, defence analysts, political aides etc. Cover letter forwards all to J Dalsen at DFA, given Brand's possible absence.

27/12/79 Marseille Consul-General to Paris and DFA, on meeting with "Cercle Algerianiste" (CA). Visited by Mr Villard, VP of CA. Described, sympathetic to pieds-noir cause, in import-export firm dealing in building materials, with a Mr Chambert. Discussed Consul-General's impressions from CA meeting in Narbonne and Montpellier, various issues concerning pieds-noirs and Algeria. Mention of Mr Troise (at CA meeting). CA's publication is Achaba, on two-monthly basis.

? Madrid embassy to DG DFA, cc to Ambassador Sole. Confirmation that Sanchez Bella has given information next Circle meeting is 5-7 December 1980 in Madison Hotel, Washington. Bella gives list of possible participants: Jacques Chirac, Andreotti, Franz-Josef Strauss and Dr Bach. 2 or 3 of Regan's personal staff to attend, and private conversation with them as good as with Reagan himself, so vital to send SA rep. Meeting hosted by Dr Bach in Europe and Dona DF.B. Jameson in US.

5/3/80 Paris embassy to DFA, on publishing in Cercle Algerianiste publication.

18/5/83 CT to Ambassador van Dalsen, Paris, on Johannesburg meeting. Gov to keep low profile, so not to deal directly with Carlton hotel. Rather to be their contact in SA, General CA Fraser of Stellenbosch. Question of who in SA to invite to speak, and travel costs (arranged with Frans Swarts, via SAA).

12/5/83 Paris to DG, CT. Enquiries from Joannon and former Ambassador Bach on time and place for November meeting. Questions to which directly above are answers.

14/6/77 HLT Taswell to J van Dalen, DFA PTA, with report on May meeting of the Cercle. To be sent via Washington dip bag. Mentions daughter Barbara Burger. Report attached. Group very well-disposed to SA. Doesn't name speakers.

4/12/76 HLT Taswell to van Dalen, with report on November 1976 meeting in Madrid. Includes claim for expenses and R250 for attending meeting. *"How can we in the Cercle assist you in South Africa?" This question was put by Maitre Violet at a special meeting of the Cercle in Madrid...Replying, Mr Fourie made a number of points which included the following..."* Others: Mr van der Byl, Rhodesian Minister of Foreign Affairs. *"The Cercle has excellent contacts in a variety of fields in various*

*countries, both in the government and in the private sector. Its aim is the preservation of western ideals and standards and the combating of communist influence and subversion. One of its big problems in carrying out its objectives is that of finance...*" New member: Robert Moss, Editor of the Foreign Report of the Economist in London. Question of joining with the Centre Européen de Documentation et d'Information (CEDI). Spoke to Mr Miguel A Marupa, former member of Frelimo. Others: Crozier, Amery, Fernandes de la Mora (former Spanish Ambassador).

12/4/76 Sec DFA to Accountant, requesting that R2000 be transferred to HLT Taswell from the Secret Fund.

8/2/74 Van Dalen to Taswell, about R5000 to be contributed to Cercel from Secret Funds.

23/11/76 Arrangements for next meeting, 25-28 November, in Madrid. In partnership with CEDI.

13/5/76 Note and cheque from Taswell, paying back R2000 advance to Department.

[Handwritten notes: - Cercle meeting Stellenbosch – Jan 1984. Arrangements set-up. Invitees – Nixon, Oppenheimer, politicians, businesspeople. – Payment of flight tickets for French politicians. – Guests booked at Rupert farm. – Invitation to Anglo American, Anglo Vaal etc. – Herson & O'Reilly letter to Franz Josef Strauss to say they can't attend. – Subsequent meeting in Munich, Bonn, Washington. – Participation in S'bosch by Lord Kim??? – head of Arms Committee in House of Lords.]

23/4/85 DG to Paris Ambassador, noting no objection to latter's attendance of Cercle meeting in Bonn, 27-30 June. 3/4/85 Letter asking for above.

1983? Doc with flight details for, from US: William Schneider, Richard McCormack, Prof Dr Robert Pfaltzgraff, Dr Jim Lucler, Rr Adm Robert J Hanks, Theodore Shakley, Robert M McKinney, Donald Jameson, John Barron, Sen William V Roth, Ian Butterfield. From Europe: Phillippe Malaud, Mme Monique Garnier-Lancon, Francois Lacoste, Phillippe de Villiers, Bertrand de Villiers, Pierre Joannon and partner, Dr Werner Marx, Peter Petersen, Dr Jost Pfeiffer, Dr Rof Gartner, Lothar PG Domrose, Jim Spicer, Lord Kimberley, Frank Steele and partner, Brian Crozier, Basil Takos, Kol Fuad Malek, Jaime Nogueiro Pinto, Guillermo Kirkpatrick, Carlos Robles Piquer, Sanchez Bella, Condessa de Romanones. Also Frans Josef Bach, Nicholas Elltio, Hans Graaf Huyn and partner, Peter Jungen, Julian Amery, Amb du Plooy and Gen Frazer, Sir John Killick.

8/10/84 Paris Ambassador to DG DFA, Mr von Hirschberg. Issue of his or Ambassador Fourie's attendance at next Washington meeting – Fourie not a member, so would be there by invitation. Asks whether Department would pay travel costs. Attaches own member's letter of invitation from Julian Avery.

2/10/84 WF Schoombie to Mr Schutte, asking for list of attendees of July Wildbad Kreuth meeting, as requested by Mr Franklin and Mr Dietrichsen. List attached with names and positions: UK: Amery, Sir Philip Goodhard, Lord Cranborne, Lord Kimberley, Neil McLean, Nicholas Elliot; USA: William Schneider, Rr Adm Robert J Hanks, John Carbaugh, Arnold Silver, Margo Calisle, Jeffrey B Gayner, Amb Douglas; Turkey: Eymen Topbas; Spain: Alfredo Sanchez Bella; RSA: Hans van Dalen, Robert du Plooy; Portugal: Jaime Nogueiro Pinto; France: Mdm Garnier-Lancon, Francois d'Orcival, Pierre



Joannon, Phillip Malhaud; FRG: Dr Jürgen Warnke, Dr Alois Mertes, Dr Karl Heinz Narjes, Hans Graf Huyn, Otto von Habsburg, Dr Hans Rühle, Franz-Josef Schulze, Günter Poser, Dr Franz Josef Bach, Peter Jungen; Belgium: Senator Close, Armand de Decker, Luc Beyer de Rycke, Paul Vankerhoven, Maître Jonet. Attached is meeting programme and Ambassador's impressions.

1/12/83 Paris to PTA, with details of attendance for Stellenbosch Cercle meeting. E.g. Joannon can't attend as not sponsored. Suggestion to invite as special guest – to be paid from funds usually reserved for Pinay guests. Also mentions Francois Robinet, Thierry de Montbrial.

29/11/83 Paris via PTA to Bonn. Request for decision on flight costs for Cercle meeting. For discussion with SAA.

22/11/83 Paris to PTA, correction to message directly below: *"Personal contact is being made with Mr Harry Oppenheimer, but if the Department or General Frazer could assist in getting Mr Thebehlali or a coloured leader to address members, it would be appreciated."*

21/11/83 Paris to PTA, with list of persons who have confirmed attendance at Stellenbosch meeting: William Schneider, Richard McCormack, Rear Admiral Robert J Hanks, Theodore Shakley, Robert McKinney, Donald Jameson, John Barron, Prof Dr Robert Pfaltzgraff, Juliam Amery, John Biggs-Davidson, Neil NC Lean, Frank Steele, Brian Crozier, Nicholas Elliot, Dr Werner Marx, Peter Petersen, Hans Graf Huyn, General Franz Josef Schulze, Dr Panz Josef Bach, Dr Jost Pfeiffer, Peter Jungen, Sanchez Bella, Condessa de Romanones, Manuel Fraga Iribana, Guillermo Kirkpatrick, Carlos Robles Piquer, Laime Noguiero Pinto, Frans Otten, Mme Garnier Lancon, Francois Lacoste, Philippe Wlaland (?), Basil Takos, Colonel Faud Malek, Robert du Ploor, Allan Frazer, Dr Friedrich Konig. Also interested to attend: Richard Allan, Senator V Roth, Ian Butterfield, Pat Bellestreri, Richard Nixon. *"If the RSA government is interested in having them [Senator Roth and his aide] attend and is prepared to pay their tickets they would be invited but do not wish to appear as guests of the South African government. Richard Nixon wishes to be invited but has never attended a meeting and is probably unlikely to do so."* Also Schmidhuber, Dr Franz Heubl, Dieter Schmidt, Dr Karl- Heinz Narjes, Ambroise Roux, Francois Robinet, Serge Dassault, Jacques Fouchier, Philip Kallaut, Maurice Ligoty, Olivier D'Ormesson, Jacques Bloch-Morange, Everofp. List of possible ministerial speakers: Minister Foreign Affairs RF Botha, Minister of Defence General Malan, Minister of Commerce and Industries Dr de Villiers, Minister of Mines and Energy Mr Steyn. Frazer also to invite Mr Stegeman of Sasol, Mr Pistorius of Uscor, Mr J Smith of Escom, Mr Gorki of Iscor, Mr Killen of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hattingh of Foreign Affairs "who is known to a number of members" – this last name scratched out. Wives to be assisted with tourism or whatnot.

6/12/83 PTA to Paris – SAA has agreed to upgrade all attendees by one class. Fraser to inform SAA reps J Retief and J van den Heever of which foreign offices tickets will be purchased at, so that local reps can be prepped.

6/12/83 Paris to PTA, on Philippe de Villiers, of Radio Alouette. Gives overview of political position, activities. Very conservative.

6/12/83 Paris to PTA on accommodation arrangements (Lanzerac Hotel and Fleur du Cap – "Rupert se tuiste"). Ambassador Bach reminds that meeting to receive no publicity, and that DFA not to show

patronage openly, although Gov. participation essential. Provides suggested programme. DFA advised to give banquet, in a prestigious location like the Castle.

21/11/83 Paris to PTA, on flight arrangements. John Barrow from US also to attend.

7/12/83 PTA to Rome, on Stellenbosch meeting arrangements. Copy earlier. Handwritten note mentions Dr Jan du Plessis.

7/12/83 Paris to PTA. "*Hans Graf Huyn – MDB – Speaker of the CSU for foreign and defence policy (to be accompanied by his wife).*" Correction to 7/12/83 Longer message with list of participants. No new names.

? To Lötter, PTA. Request to change classification from top secret to confidential, due to requirements of organising such a large event. It should be considered what response will be if leaked to press – possibly designate one participant as spokesperson. Question about Fleur du Cap – in his house or a company guest house? Question of exactly what costs will be borne by department, and what is meant by Pinay allocation.

20/12/83 Paris to PTA. John Biggs/Davison/UK no longer attending, Lord Kimberley to replace. Manuel Fraga Iribana no longer to attend. Philippe de Villiers to be accompanied by his brother, Bertrand de Villiers. Besides John Barron, Senator William V Roth also to attend.

5/1/83 Bonn to PTA. About possible meeting between Count Huyn and DG DFA. Huyns to be guests of Helmutt Bischoff. Also meeting with Minister of Defence.

5/1/84 London to PTA. Amery, Earl of Kimberley (president of the Monday Club), and David Storey (Chairman of Monday Club) to attend; not Jim Spicer. Advises that "*it would be counter-productive for our interests if the Monday Club were to become preoccupied with South Africa.*" Storey "*is inclined to be rather fanatical and we feel that it would be discreet to restrain contact with the Monday Club to some extent*".

3/1/84 Paris to PTA, on Ambassador Bach's travel plans. More prominent persons to be placed at Fleur du Cap, others at Lanzerac. Minor changes to arrangements.

12/1 Note paper of The Carlton, listing names of those arriving from various locations on various flights.

16/5/84 Paris to PTA. Next meeting in Munich in July. Requests that "*Gavin Relly of Anglo American, Basil Hersov of Barclay's Bank etc. as well as pop Fraser be informed that they will be receiving invitations.*"

10/1/84 Former minister Philippe Malaud of France also to attend.

List of arrivals, dates, flights, at Jan Smuts.

25/6/84 Paris to PTA, reporting that Gavin Relly of Anglo-American and Basil Hersov of Barclays have received letters signed by Franz Josef Strauss inviting them to the July Cercle meeting in Wildbad Kreuth, as guests of the Hans Seidel Foundation. Relly conveys regrets, can't at this late stage be in Germany then.

**Dirco017 SA Ministers - visits abroad**

[Visit of Gen Malan to Switzerland 1981.]

[Visit Min Horwood to French Min of Finance 1981 (report). Visit to Switzerland (1982-83) - Leutweiller etc. Meeting with Belgian MoF (Willy de Clercq) at his own request (1983) at IMF meeting.]

[Report of 1983 visit by Horwood to NYC (8/11/83) + lengthy list of people who attended/met (very senior bankers etc.). Meeting with Swiss banks May 1984. Report of meetings Horwood and German bankers (30 May 84) from SA consulate Frankfurt.]

[Meeting Strauss & de Klerk. Strauss: you must hit back hard if 'terrorists' from Zim attack. Met as Min of Energy Affairs.]

[Summary of meeting du Plessis in New York with 120 Bankers etc 4/10/84. Du Plessis meets American officers on margins of IMF meeting Seoul 1/10/85.]

1981/9/23 Cover note from DG DFA to Mr von Hirschberg, Union Buildings. Encloses: 1981/9/16 Telegram from Ambassador in Berne. Dr Ernst Neier invited Min Malan to address the Swiss-South Africa Association. Swiss government say no problem, thanks for asking, avoid publicity, will provide security.

1981/7/13 Embassy Paris to DG DFA. Reports on Minister Horwood's 7-8 July visit to Paris. Discussion theme the implications of the change in French government – all the bankers and finance people are worried. Possible attempt at manipulation from a journalist and possibly AAM. Mr Philippe Malaud, a friend of SA, reports that Mr Michel Jobert, current Minister of Foreign Trade, has no intention to cut back on trade with SA, is totally aware of use of third party end user certificates for some goods – PM, Mr Mauroy and Mr Jacques Delors also in support. But this may change now with regime change.

1982/10/15 Minister Horwood Swiss trip itinerary. Includes Dr Leutwiler, president of the Swiss National Bank, Dr Ernst Meier, Credit Suisse, UBS.

1983/9/16 Brussels to PTA. Mr Willy de Clercq, Belgian Minister of Finance, told Ambassador he wants to meet with Horwood during the IMF conference in Washington.

1983/8/31 Washington to PTA. Request confirmation that Horwood will be addressing the National Committee for Monetary Reform.

1983/9/28 Bern to PTA. Horwood trip itinerary. Includes visits Swiss Bank Corporation, UBS, Leutwiler, Credit Suisse.

1983/11/11 Washington Amb to PTA. Report on Horwood visit to New York. Addresses National Committee for Monetary Reform in New Orleans. Had fancy lunch where he talked about SA. Invitees who attended: Joseph Gordon, Arthur Lipper, David Meachin, Clarence Morrison, John Whitehead, Bruce Knight, EA Renna, Elliot Janeway, R Wagner, Paul Cody, B Fitzgeralds, Andre Jansma, M Hachon, M Soloman, Garry Southern, R Spikerman, Barry Swart, Thomas Timlen, Walter Weiner, Herbert Coyne, Nicholas Deak, R Stewart, J Torczyner. Senior at Standard Chartered, Goldman Sachs, Barclays etc.

1984/5/2 CT to Bern. Meetings for Horwood to be arranged with Credit Suisse, Swiss Bank Corporation, Union Bank of Switzerland, Swiss National Bank (Leutwiler), Volksbank.

1984/5/2 CT to Brussel. Meetings for Horwood to be arranged with Kredietbank, Societe General Brussels, Banque Bruxelles Lambert.

1984/5/2 CT to Vienna. Meeting for Horwood to be arranged with Central Bank of Austria (Dr Koren), Oesterreichische Laenderbank, Creditanstalt Bankverein (Dr Hannes Androsch), Girozentrale und Bank der Oesterreichischen Sparkassen.

1984/5/30 Frankfurt to PTA. Report on visit to Frankfurt of Horwood and DG of Finance J de Loor. Met with banks Deutsche, Dresdner, Commerzbank, Hessische Landesbank-Girozentrale, Berliner Handel und Frankfurter Bank, Deutsche Girozentrale-Kommunalbank and the Deutsche Bundesbank – “all as usual received the visitors as old and respected clients”. Discussion of loans.

19?? CT to London. During his visit to Germany, Minister FW de Klerk met with opposition chancellor candidate Franz Josef Strauss. Hearty good wishes, understanding, support all round. Strauss gave views on SWA, Zimbabwe, German-SA relations (no change under SPD/FDP coalition, but CDU/CSU would be more pragmatic), Soviet policy, USA etc.

1984/10/4 New York to PTA. Report on Minister Barend du Plessis visit to New York. 122 Bankers, financial types, senior diplomats etc. attended a luncheon in his honour. Speech extremely well-received. Whole long list of attendees attached.

1985/10/1 Washington to PTA. Embassy reports that it was contacted by State Department about a meeting between Minister Barend du Plessis and Ambassador Nickel, informed that Secretary of the Treasury James Baker will not be available at the IMF meeting in Seoul for talks on US/SA financial matters (as will then have to do the same for all other delegations). Advises for contact Eleanor Constable and Bill Milham, both will be at Seoul.

### **Dirco018 BELGIUM Economic & Financial Situation**

[Reports of trends in Belgian Banks 1977.]

[Overview of Belgian SA relations in run up to visit by Botha “all going smoothly”. Overview of Belgian political parties’ views of Belgian SA and Africa Policy.]

1977/8/2 Brussels to PTA. Report on trends of Belgian banking: internationalisation (outwards and inwards), delayed European integration due to recession, increasing share of public sector intermediaries in the mobilisation of resources and granting of credit, strict government supervision: *“it also becomes progressively more evident that the day has practically arrived where the banking sector can be effectively employed as an extension of political power and policy by the Belgian and, ipso facto, European Community governments.”*

1984/5/2 Brussels to PTA. Belgian DFA say they have no problems with relationship with SA, but don’t approve of SA domestic policy and are a bit anxious about SWA – may arise in discussion during possible PM visit to Belgium.

1984/5/15 Brussels to PTA. Report on parliamentary positions in terms of Africa policy. Position of Minister of Foreign Affairs (SA a bone of contention – support SWA independence but want to keep ties), Christelike Volkspartij (CVP) (among other things, strong weapons boycott), Volksunie (SA not as bad as other Africans), Agalev (a Green Party), Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang (PVV), Staatsekretaris vir Buitelandse Handel, Socialistische Partij, and Staatsekretaris van Buitelandse Handel. Overall, very strong positions against SA taken.

#### **Dirco19 BELGIUM relations with SA**

[Interview with Belgian MFA official off the record briefing on SA/Belgian relations (18/3/83). Assessment provided by major employee of SA/Belgian relations to MoF Min Tindemas. He is critical of anti-apartheid stance.]

[Belgian policy towards SA. Anti-SA activists in Belgium. Meeting Societe General de Banque SA. Fonde de Pouvoir Principal (general manager) at the Societe Generale. Overview of Foreign attack on SA (Belgium).]

[Page 2 and 3 Secret notes by “source” (?) on anti-apartheid meeting in 1984 incl mention of Motsepe – proof of infiltration.]

1983/3/18 Handwritten note. Note illegible to me except something about sensitivity of the source. Presumably cover page to attached: 1983/3/18 Brussels to PTA. Report on official Belgian policy towards SA following request from Belgians in SA to establish a Belgian-South African Trade Association in SA. Belgian Consul-General in SA strongly in support, gives reasons – pragmatic. Employee within Belgian MFA is source, is SA supporter, is working quietly from within.

1983/6/23 Brussels to PTA. Provides copy of document from Belgian friend of SA for Belgian MFA, critical of Belgian policy to SA. Position biased, based on false info as pushed by Mr Perdieu, head of Southern African desk, who has good relations with ANC rep. Other officials not so strict, but Perdieu too influential. Doc in Dutch attached.

1980/12/9 Brussels to PTA. Overview and assessment of economic relations. Various anti-SA actions intense, trying to damage relations, and although the banks dislike this publicity, no concrete results so far. Belgian government position also unchanged, despite pressure from left, still refuse to interfere in private sector, and refused Dutch request to help form oil boycott. Domestic politics dominate.

1982/3/10 AC Morton, Brussels to AH Peacey, of Public Finance, PTA. Reports on meeting with Mr Mondron, GM at Societe Generale de Banque. Is travelling to SA, would like to see Peacey, Dr Brandt. Has recently granted SA a large line of credit.

1982/3/19 Brussels for JH de Loor at CT. Further on Mr Mondron's visit to SA, asks if meeting possible with De Loor and/or Mr GP Croeser (deputy DG).

1982/5/5 Brussels to PTA. Report on anti-SA activities in Belgium. Groups more active. Mention G Motsepe. Apart from ANC, Brussels has reps of PLO, RoC, Quebec – TBVC states possibly to be encouraged to open offices in Europe? Could be helped by SA. Brussels good starting point, due to

moderate Belgian stance to SA. Attached handwritten note suggests some merit seen in idea, should be raised.

1982/8/24 Brussels to PTA. Report on meeting with Mr Van Steenberger, Belgian Director for Africa of the Ministry of External Trade. Extremely well-disposed towards SA. Says he "saw a submission made by the Ministry of Finance to the Foreign Minister stating that Belgium should not support anti-South African resolutions passed by the various international organisations as this would harm our bilateral relations". Another one to the Foreign Minister from the Foreign Ministry, advising "that nothing should be done to encourage relations between the two countries". Outcome of conflict is neither to encourage nor discourage. Mr Lebrun of the Foreign Ministry also well-disposed to SA, but not in a position to influence official policy.

1984/? Fragment of document from unnamed source. Report on anti-apartheid movement meeting, clearly from source that was present.

### **Dirco20 BERMUDA political situation & Development**

[Allegations of financial dealing possibly involving SA companies (Hemerdon Mining) 1978.]

1978/1/6 London to PTA. Has received several visits and calls from a Mr Douglas Riley, freelance financier with interest, inter alia, in Bermuda company called Hemerdon Mining and Smelting Ltd. Gives details on company, including promoter – eccentric Canadian, William Richardson. In business fallout, made accusations of financial dodginess, tax evasion, against partners including My Harry Oppenheimer and Minorco. May have given confidential testimony to a US sub-committee investigating cartels (name Zbieg Garanski mentioned). Says he has lots of details on the illegal banking, trust and cartel-forming and tax evasion activities of Minorco. Motivations questionable all round. Attaches some newspaper clippings on Hemerdon, and the telex in which Richardson made his accusation, which he sent to Jimmy Carter.

### **Dirco21 Ciskei Economic & Financial situation**

[Handwritten notes: - Meeting B du Plessis & delegation and Oupa Gqozo & delegation. – Mention of corruption in Ciskei.]

Summary of January 1991 bilateral meeting between SA and Ciskei on financial relations. B J du Plessis's synopsis of the RSA economic situation mentions: *"We are overspending – you and us. We are wasting a lot of money. We must get rid of corruption, both of us. Gaps in your tax system and in ours, are being exploited. That is why we must co-ordinate our efforts today to secure a stable economy."* Gqozo: *"I have no intention to allow my Government to become corrupted. I can control each item of expenditure and I would welcome any arrangement which will ensure financial control and discipline. I cannot accept the responsibility for squandering money."*

### **Dirco22 FRANCE – relations with SA (8 volumes)**



[Handwritten notes: - Murder of Henri Curial in 1980 by right wing (check with Maggie Davey). – Former French Amb, to SA Michel Legendre (retired) offers services to SA, he is working for French companies and will travel to SA every 2 months – they include Air Liquide, Spei Batignolles, Societe Nationale des Industries Aerospatiale.]

[Establishment of ANC office in Paris (1981) & SA concerns. – News clipping on end of arms exports to SA (1981). – Memop from Etienne Roussouw (Min of Foreign Affairs Cheyson is present) Federale Volksbeleggings after a meeting in Paris with international economic advisory committee (unclear what??). Air Liquide is discussed. Also from Amb to SA Legendre (works for Air Liquide) as well as Robert Mitterrand (President's brother) who also works for Air Liquide is conservative & said to have influence on his brother. – Replacement of Armscor officials.]

[Proof of sources for SAG within the French AAM. – Djillabi Chead of Social Liberal Party Parti Social-Liberal de France to PW Botha requesting financial support in return for promoting SAG (Party funding). – Chiracs RPR party want to meet with SAG to discuss co-operation but not in France (funding?) 1983. – RPR support also funding for Comores coup.]

[8/3/84 Owen Horwood signs agreements with Banks. Bottom of pg 1: Indication of growing trade links btwn SA & France.]

[Tambo accompanied by Dulcie September visit French govt. officials incl. Min of Foreign Affairs (1984).]

[Intelligence sources suggest France sold 37 helicopters to the Angolan govt. (1984). – 'Source' provides embassy with assessment of France SA relations. Suggests cultivating relations with Chirac's party & industry. Chirac important for military relations. – Reports (misleading??) in 1984 that Slovo was to settle in Paris & ANC to use it as its primary base.]

18/7/80 Paris to PTA: Note on French parliamentary question from Socialist MP Jean-Yves le Drian to Minister of Interior, regarding claims in South African 'Sunday Times' of 3 February 1980 that Henri Curial was killed by French police. Reply was that judicial investigation still in progress.

7/7/80 Paris to PTA: Note on letter from former French Ambassador Michel Legendre, now retired and in French business, has friendly relations with SA PM, places himself at SA disposal for relations with French business. Firms are Air Liquide, Spie Batignolles/Empain Schneider and SNIAS (Aerospatiale). To visit SA every two months. Also letter a few days earlier from Legendre asking for appointment with SA PM and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Includes Legendre CV – granted Order of Good Hope for role in connecting SA and French business.

14/9/81 Paris to CT: French DFA has announced that SWAPO and ANC have been given permission to open offices in Paris. SA embassy not informed, found out from press releases. Note that decision is not surprise, but that ANC and SWAPO decision to open offices in Paris provides insight into their reading of the French situation since the political change.

24/8/81 Rand Daily Mail clipping: Not one rifle for SA, says France. New socialist government to ban all arms sales to SA, but will honour existing contracts. No comment from SADF.

15/6/81 Chairman of Federale Volksbeleggings Beperk, Dr Etienne Rousseau, to RF Botha, MFA. Wishes to give background to letter that he gave to Ambassador van Dalsen in Paris last week. Reports on meeting with Claude Cheysson, later French MFA, who indicated that L'Air Liquide would not be prevented from expanding its SA investments. Doesn't believe that sanctions are effective. Letter writer consider Chesson dangerous, opportunistic. Also reports on meeting with Robert Mitterrand, and that Legendre suggests that private messages from SA PM outside diplomatic channels can reach French President through his brother Robert.

29/6/81 CFG von Hirschberg, DG DFA, reports that van Dalen sees no merit in sending message from SA PM to Mitterrand through brother Robert. Van Dalen also reports that the threat that Ambassador Dorin may be recalled and not replaced is not to be taken too seriously. This possibility also mentioned by French MA though, so may have some substance. I Kroucamp in this series of correspondence also suggests caution on Robert channel of communications, as it would give impression of massively deteriorated relations, no need for this kind of communication at this point anyway as message of importance of trade is already going through French industry, Legendre unsubtle.

25/6/81 Beeld clipping on trade with France – no real change.

24/6/81 Paris to PTA: No indication yet that new French government will make any politically-motivated personnel changes in embassy necessary. Normal transfers to go ahead.

11/6/82 Paris to PTA: Embassy has recently received copies of internal AAM documents from a good source. From this is gleaned: AAM serious financial difficulties; has appointed contact people for 50 organisation including political parties, unions, religious orgs; has close cooperation with SWAPO Paris rep; etc. Financial distress not seen as cause for optimism, as such movements often exist from hand to mouth.

21/1/83 Letter from William Djillali, Social Liberal Party of France, to SA PM, forwarded by Ehlers to DFA. Requesting official recognition, pledging support for SA for anti-communist stand, offering to undertake global campaign "to convey true information on the noble Republic of South Africa" in exchange for material and financial help to make his political party better known in France plus a free trip to SA.

5/4/83 JP Schutte to von Hirschberg, reporting on a conversation with Mr W den Dulk and Y Pintore. Pintore informed that Mr Ferdinand Serre (Africa advisor in Elysee palace in place of Mr Focart), Mr Pons and Mr Michel Levi (Deputy Mayor of Paris) are all leading figures in the RPR, and one or more told Pintore that governments of certain Francophone African states have informed them that they are ready to cooperate more closely and openly with SA. Pintore claims that this went through roundabout channels as RPR are unwilling to discuss this opportunity with South Africans in France. Side mention of Mr Babb.

4/5/83 J van Dalen to Paris Ambassador du Plooy, provides extracts from telegram from RP member(?). Mr Pons from RPR opposition in France wishes to have a lunch or dinner to discuss possibility of SA help with electoral campaign, with offer of reciprocity. There is a willingness to improve all trade links between France and SA, French Ministry of Commerce to meet with SA reps non-officially to arrange official meetings etc. Comment from that the first point seems highly



unlikely, and the second unnecessary. Non-extracted version also says that one member of RPR advised that there is a coup d'état anticipated in the Comoros Islands, by a powerful group of exiled people headed by Ferdinand Serre, which had wanted SA help but then gone for North African.

8/3/84 Paris to PTA: Min of Finance Owen Horwood today "signed a financial agreement with a consortium of European banks, led by the Credit Commercial de France for ECU forty million retractable bonds. This is the first time that the Republic of South Africa has raised financed in the ECU market and it is indeed an important field which has opened itself to the RSA as far as borrowing is concerned..." Banks are Credit Commercial de France (CCF), Banque International a Luxembourg, Banque Generale du Luxembourg, Banque Nationale de Paris, Genossenschaftliche Zentralbank A.G. Vienna, Kredietbank SA Luxembourgeoise, Nedbank, Banque Indosuez, Berliner Handels- und Fankfurter Bank, Hill Samuel & Co, Societe Generale, Swiss Bank Corporation International Limited. "It is of interest to note that Madame Cresoon, the current French Minister for Foreign Trade, recently informed Mr Stegmann, Chairman of SASOL, of the French desire for expanding trade relation with the RSA. There is also a rash of French trade missions to the RSA which underlines this desire... The very powerful French employers associations (the Patronat) is also preparing to invite leading SA businessmen to France with this purpose..."

31/7/84 Report on Oliver Tambo reception at Elysee Palace, accompanied by Dulcie September. Offer made for French gov (in person of French advisor on Africa, Guy Penne) to act as intermediary between SA and ANC – comes as surprise given tense relations with France. Warm welcome to Tambo (including offer of non-military material help) in contrast to recent refusal to officially receive SA PM, but not considered that significant, as other similar orgs get similar treatment and anyway Tambo did not meet head of State or Government. Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique reps also at press conference. SA NI rep reports that there is a rumour circulating that Mitterrand has approached SA about possible exchange between Mandela in SA and Sacharov in Moscow, causing concern in US and Arab circles. Comment also that the Elysee may have heard of the proposal by Mrs Garnier-Lancon and Tatiana Yankelevitch (daughter of Sakharov), which may be why Tambo visit was initiated.

24/3/84 Source reports that "well-informed sources believe that 37 helicopter-fighters of the French Army have been offered to the Angolan Government". Objective of offer is to allow Angola to face the increasing pressure from Savimbi-led Unita. Helicopters believed to be being armed in Lisbon, and that Angolan pilots were trained in France. If confirmed, raises question of French role in Southern African conflict.

5/3/84 Report from source on French relations. Relations have reached a low point, and possible turning point. Socialists have so many domestic and foreign problems that SA is low priority, making it a good time to prepare for swing to right expected in 1986. Already been shift since '83, and Chirac not expected to lose again. Recommended SA action apropos gov: survival and patience; apropos opposition: tighten and strengthen ties, among Chirac's people and throughout French administration and especially on military front – with an eye to weapons, and balancing out leftist influence. Relations with private sector also to be strengthened e.g. by expanding contact points through SAA, SATour, SA Foundation. French influence on third world countries not to be underestimated. Investment of energy required, rather than money.

**Dirco23 ISRAEL – relations with SA**

[Handwritten notes: - Israelis facing currency fraud charges in SA &].

{Future of Armscor reps in SA Emb in Tel Aviv. Agreement that they would be involved in 'buy-back' process to settle Armscor debt worth as much as \$300 million a year.]

4/7/93 Faxes from Ambassador MG Ferguson to Mr J de Goede, on Israelis facing currency fraud charges in SA. Text of article in Ha'aretz, 24/6/93: *"The Israeli Ambassador to South Africa, Dr Alon Liel, assembled the leaders of the Jewish community in South Africa in order to brief them on the developments regarding the suspicions of smuggling money from South Africa to Israel through senior envoys of the security branch, an affair which was revealed yesterday in 'Yediot Ahronot' and caused a stir also in South Africa... He stressed that...neither the embassy nor any other reliable source from the Israeli government had any connection to those actions and did not know about them."* Gives full details of the allegations, involving: Brig. Ge. Haggai Regev, Aharon Dagam. Also named: Peter Allen-Frost, Don Lavi, Derrek Miss, Zvi Gov Ari, Yitzhak Rabin, Galei Tzahal.

Quoted reporter Allen-Frost clarifies that his source was Galai Tzahal, that he had no private evidence that there existed a network of Israelis illegally transferring currency out of SA.

24/6/93 Tel Aviv embassy press release. Allegations don't amount to broad conspiracy involving SA or Israeli jews – *"Two swallows to not make a summer."*

7/7/93 To D de Goede through PLU Viljoen, compiled by AB Greenham. *"Following media reports on the Reserve Bank investigation into alleged illicit currency transfers by officials attached to the Israeli Embassy in Pretoria, Mr D Auret, AADG, discussed the matter with Mr A Ellis of the Reserve Bank..."* Report of discussion. Also mentioned: Aron Dagan, Mr Kapelovich.

23/6/93 Tel Aviv ambassador to DG DFA, with translation of article entitled "Defence Establishment Emissaries in Trouble in South Africa", by Shimon Shiffer, from Yadiot Ahronoth. Full article with details.

?/8/93 Report on state of relations with Israel. Israeli Foreign Ministry adopting a policy designed to sideline SA Gov wherever possible. Reports from Ambassador Ferguson in Tel Aviv of some concern. Was informed by a senior official in Israeli PM's office that "over the years they had deliberately kept the Foreign Ministry in the dark about the nature of relations between the Israeli and South African Security Establishments. This was due to fears that such information would be leaked to the media." Current security cooperation projects for next four years valued at R6 billion. Concern that foreign policy (including contacts with ANC) is being conducted with no knowledge of vital relations with SA. Ambassador Liel doesn't seem to have a good sense of what is going on. Also discussion of the Bilateral Financial Agreement, under which South African may invest up to R175million in Israel annually. "This preferential arrangement, which goes beyond normal Reserve Bank guidelines, was renewed by the Department of Finance in 1992 without consultation with this Department. There is no doubt that the Agreement has the potential of evoking considerable criticism once other parties are made aware of its provisions."

*"During a discussion with Dr Ehud Kaufman, Director of the Israel Investment Authority in June, Amb Ferguson was informed that Amb Liel and Deputy-Minister Beilin were thinking of ensuring the*

*Agreement's continued existence inter alia by offering the assistance of the pro-Israel lobby in the USA in discussions to be conducted exclusively with the ANC. It would appear that they are specifically targeting the ANC in the hope that the Agreement's favourable provisions can continue beyond the transition."*

There have also been delays in the ratification of other agreement, most likely in an effort to gain goodwill with the ANC.

#### **Dirco24 LUXEMBOURG – relations with SA**

[Handwritten notes: - Visit to Lux by Amb to Belgium (17/10/83). Especially pg 4 meeting with Minister Krieps, Min of defence etc.]

17/10/83 Brussels embassy to DG DFA, with report on visit to Luxemburg. Also Capt PJ Penning (MA) and J van Tonder (trade). Background given on Lux (e.g. size, politics). Reports on meetings with Lt Col, Garmain Frants, Emile Krieps (MoD), DFA officials: Jean Wagner (SG of DFA), Jean Mischo, Paul Faber, Julien Alex. Reports on general goodwill towards SA, good relationships, regular trips to come.

#### **Dirco25 SWITZERLAND – relations with SA (2 volumes)**

[Handwritten notes: - Academic article on the Swiss banking system & relationship with SA, August 1983.]

[Secret departmental note on role of SA Amb in Switzerland in dealing with limits placed on loans to SA (only country with which Switzerland does this.)

10/83 Paper by Dr Bettina Hürni, of Neuchâtel University. Lots of background on Swiss banking and secrecy. Section on "The activities of the Swiss Transnational Banks (TNBs) in South Africa": *"Switzerland is the sixth largest investor country in South Africa...Total lending of the three largest Swiss banks to South Africa was SwF200 million in 1979 and SwF375 million in 1980...As the Swiss authorities forbade public bond issues in South Africa, the Swiss loans are all private placements, with relatively short maturities, mostly up to five years... From 1971 to 1974, Swiss capital exports to South Africa increased rapidly and were criticized nationally (in Parliament) and internationally. In 1975-1979, therefore the authorities set a maximum level of up to SwF250 million for capital exports to South Africa for which official authorization was needed to control the financial flows to South Africa. For 1980, the authorities no longer fixed a maximum level but introduced a more flexible, realistic notion..."* On the role of the Zürich 'gold pool': *"The fact remains that the "Zurich gold pool" no longer has a quasi-monopoly position in the sale of South African gold."* Extensive appendices with countries' assets and liabilities abroad, numbers of banks, names of banks, and various financial indicators.

1/8/84 Secret memo, with handwritten note to Mr Schutte. Basic elements of relations between SA and Switzerland, limits on loans. *"Daar is verskeie instansies wat 'n intensiewe belangstelling aan die dag sou lê indien dit aan die lig sou kom dat die Siud-Afrikaanse Ambassadeur deur voortdurende be-*

*arbeiding daarin slaag om die Switserse Regering te beweeg om Switserse banke toe te laat om die mees voordelige voorwaardes vir lenings aan die RSA, wat in die omstandighede moontlik is, toe te staan. Onder dié instansies tel o.a. die Switserse parlement self, met spesiale verwysing na linksgesinde persoonlikhede en partye...Dit sal begryp word waarom gedailleerde besonderhede in hierdie evaluasie nie verskaf word nie... In dié scenario geniet die Suid-Afrikaanse Ambassadeur die vertroue en welwillendheid van o.a. die President van die Switserse Nasionale Bank, die Voorsitter van die Raad van Direkteure van die 'Bank for International Settlements,' die President van laasgenoemde Bank en die Algemene Bestuurder van die Union Bank of Switzerland."* Gives some indications of sensitivity of financial relationship, e.g. WCC withdrawing business from UBS as result of SA link, Swiss unions making trouble. All amounts to recommendation to upgrade rank/status of Amb.

### **Dirco26 PORTUGAL – relations with SA**

[Handwritten notes: - 1983 Notes from SA consul to Madeira + list of influential politicians.]

[Notes of Madeirans living in SA 300,000. – Possible funding of politics in Portugals – options (reference to SARGO who approached US consulate in NYC). – Size of Portuguese community in SA.]

22/10/83 Ambassador W Pretorius's report on the Funchal mission. General impressions, facilities, activities etc. Visits to General Luis Correia da Cruz, Bishop Teodoro da Faria, Brigadier Lino Miguel, Dr Alberto Joao Jardim, Dr Joao sa Fernandes. Friendly reception from all. 343 visas between 1 Jan and 31 July 1983. List of locally recruited staff.

19/10/79 Translation from Jornal de Madeira article. *"In connection with the visit of the South African Ambassador, Mr. Wouter Malan, to the Autonomous Region of Madeira, some considerations have occurred to us regarding the migration problem which is part of the life of the people of these islands in the Atlantic."* On the struggles on Madeirans abroad. *"Nearly three hundred thousand Madeirans make it [South Africa] their home, their land... Madeira cannot turn its back on that Country which, in a certain measure, has become its continuation in Africa's farthest point. Nor should it remain indifferent to the policy of abusive interference in South Africa's internal affairs, carried out by national politicians who do not have the science nor the ability to solve all the many problems that afflict and suffocate the internal life of their own country – Portugal."*

12/6/80 Secret message from Lisbon to PTA, but apparently from NY. *"'n Ene Sargo, 'n Portugees, met publisiteitskontakte het my vanoggend kom sien om te vertel dat hy met wete en aanmoediging van Portugese Eerste Minister ons kontak ten einde te verneem of Suid-Afrika fondse kan gee vir komende verkiesing wat hy reken sy gespreksgenote in Lissabon kan wen. Sou ons geld gee, wil hulle weet wat ons in ruil vir daardie steun wil hê... Al sy kontakte met allerlei persoonlikhede en verbintnisse met Madeira maak vir my geen sin nie. Dit lui alles klockies by my, maar dit is al."*

16/6/80 Follow up message that it has been established that the AD gov. has no shortage of election funds, and that they have many friends in Europe who could help. Possibility of it being a political ploy.

12/6/80 From Malan to AA Mare, attaching Eksteen's text regarding Sargo. No wish to meet Sargo at all. Uncertain of bona fides or claim to PM instruction. Other suspicious issues. Nevertheless, if other channels can be found, it might be considered, *"natuurlik op die veronderstelling dat die hulp op die mees onopsigtelik moontlike basis deur geheime kanale gereel souk on word... Ons hulp sou dus moontlik aanleiding kon gee tot die aanvra van quid pro quos soos voorsiening van tans onverkrybare wapens of toerusting, beter toegang tot die EEG via Portugal ens, of op die minste sou die huidige regering waarskynlik nie so maklik onder toenemende buitelandse druk om verhoudings met ons in te kort, swig nie en sou ons bilaterale verhoudings met ander woorde meer geneig wees om op die huidige positiewe trant voort de duur."*

20/6/80 Response: *"Indien voelers van erkende Portugese kant uitgestrek word wat nie enigsins verdag voorkom nie, kan ons miskien daarna kyk maar ons moet lief nie self inisiatief neem nie."*

1/7/80 Lisbon embassy to PTA, on size of Portuguese community in SA. Attaches memo by PJ Wolvaardt. The 500,000 estimation considered far too high, but thought best not to challenge, as number seems to be part of good relations. Report concerned attached.

#### **Dirco27 BRUSSELS Military Attaché**

[Handwritten notes: 1981: Appointment of Capt. PJ Penning as Air, Naval and Military Attaché in Lux & Belgium. 1984: Col. de Villiers to replace Penning. 1985: Belgium & Lux withdraw accreditation to SA attaché.]

8/5/81 Luxembourg Ministry of Foreign Affairs noting application of Captain Penning for Air, Naval and MA.

13/5/81 SA embassy doc on notice of Penning's replacement of APR Carstens. Ambassador OF de V Booysen.

23/4/81 Note from D de V du Boisson, DG DFA, advising that it may take up two months for accreditation to be received. Army to be informed.

Numerous related documents. Penning's CV among them.

23/2/84 PTA to Brussels, confirming that Colonel de Villiers will replace Captain Penning. CV attached, plus other bureaucratic docs related to SA authorisation, foreign accreditation etc. One doc notes: *"Dit het noodsaaklik geword fat Kattein Penning so gou moontlik na die RSA terugverplaas moet word."* Later doc suggests this is for professional reasons, but urgency clear, and anxiety about hand-over period.

14/9/85 Beeld clipping: Belgium withdraws MA accreditation. Also docs from Brussels Ambassador affirming same. Includes doc from Belgium giving notice.

[1981 Krygkor official detail Mr RH Brand. – Col. Ak de Jager – SA Defence Force Military Attaché 1982. Col. HD Wyngaart – Air Attaché 1982.]

11/9/81 Armscor's BC de Bruyn to be replaced in Paris by RH Brand. Wish to have him granted diplomatic status, as was de Bruyn. CV attached. Technical/commercial experience.

24/6/81 Note to Van Niekerk from Ambassador, that no indication yet from new French government on embassy staff's political status, so no objection to normal replacement offered.

24/6/81 Miss Smith to replace Captain Eloff, Miss Swanepoel (Armscor) to replace Miss Molony.

10/6/81 No objection to WP van Niekerk replacing H Steyn.

17/3/81 French approve appointment of Brig JFJ van Rensburg as MA in place of Brig Geldenhuys

30/4/81 No objection to Ms K Kotze in place of Ms M Robertse

24/5/82 Col De Jager replacing Col Pretorius. No objection from French military

8/6/82 Col HD Van Wyngard to replace Col J Kriel

[Armscor personnel transfers: PC Welgemoet, S Venter, DCJ van Vuuren, E Bestbier, BT Baker, SJ Theron, JA Prinsloo, AJ Botha. –decision by French to allow new appointment of air force attaché – seen as surprising move by socialist government April 1988]

5/3/86 Paris to Pretoria. Biannual review of diplomatic status. Issue of how to submit list, as wish not to draw attention to navy and air attachés, and temporary absence of MA. Advice not to respond. Question whether French dips in SA still accredited.

11/9/84 AJ Botha (Armscor) to replace HA Booyens. Gap of 8 months btw Booyens departure and Botha arrival.

1/6/88 Agreement received from French for placement of new Air attaché. A pleasant surprise, given Mitterrand victory. Pressure on French expected. Col du Toit not yet accredited – process to be completed a.s.a.p., at least before second round of elections. Navy attaché request to be submitted once this accreditation received.

### **Dirco28 BONN Military Attaché**

[1981 Decisions is taken that SA want replace MA. Instead SA&Germany agree that they will ? GI Potgieter in a 'covert' capacity as attaché. The Germans are in agreement as they want a channel for communication.]

[1983 Germans see no possibility of replacing MA despite Kohl election. Recommendation to send military person under the cover of a civilian diplomat. They decide not to inform the German Ministry (modus Vivendi). Later German Chancellor informs them that they approve of this arrangement. Although MoF want Botha to write a letter.]

[Details of Military Attached who will work as a civilian in Bonn. Letter from Botha to Kohl asking for full MA accreditation.]

5/3/81 Current Bonn MA, Commodore Bitzker, has had term extended by a year. Decision not to place another in Berlin, as possibility of being seen as slap in face of W Germans. Germans keen for undercover SA military representative in Bonn. Relations with Bundeswehr are excellent, W Germany only country willing to share essential NATO codification(?) data. Col GI Potgieter to be placed in Bonn.

Various admin docs on Potgieter appointment.

Handwritten note: von Hirschberg. Concerns over communication between Bundeswehr and German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and whether authorisation for undercover Bonn MA from former would have been approved by latter. No possibility of secrets in Bonn. Thought best to clarify through military channels. Another doc, 16/4/81, clarifies: *"As ons 'n offisier onder dekking in Bonn aanstel, sonder die medewete van die Duitse Departement van Buitelandse Sake, kan probleme ontstaan... [one opinion:] as die Duitse Weermag nie met die Duitse Departement van Buitelandse Sake uitgeklaar het nie, is dit hulle probleem."* But don't want any embarrassment, as military authorities can later deny approval.

3/4/81 *"As 'n lid van ons Departement sal dit dus, veral vir die Buitelandse Ministerie in Bonn, heel gou duidelik word dat daar 'n amptenaar op die Ambassade lys verskyn wat nie 'n 'normale' diplomatieke beampte is nie."* Tension in the first place a result of elements in German DFA not supportive of SA. If military communication needs can possibly do without, best not to. German political situation uncertain, best to wait. But Berlin option not to be so quickly dismissed, as it is rather the Bonn government who slap SA in the face by not giving approval for replacement of Bitzker.

25/5/81 I Kroukamp advises that there are only two real options: extend current MA's time until specifically asked to close military office, or that the army trains a bona fide DFA official to meet needs, and close office now.

21/6/83 German Minister of Defence, Mr Worner, claims to be categorically in favour of an SA military mission in Germany, in disagreement with previous government. Will personally raise with Chancellor and with Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Genscher (who is of a different mind). Much disagreement within the coalition.

Numerous other docs on the political issues involved in this issue, discussion held, etc. DFA claim decision based on SA treatment of Germany (e.g. visa and travel restrictions). Early 84 sees seeking of a modus Vivendi, such that SA can't be accused of deception. Bitzker term by now extended to 7 years. Genscher believed to have informants in MoD. Chancellor requires Genscher for coalition stability. Possibility for Bitzker to go "on leave" to SA, return to Bonn at regular intervals, while military person secretly goes in civilian capacity to take over functions. Mind 84: PM sends a letter to Kohl.

[Handwritten notes: Appointment of Col. H.A Kotze as MA 1983 (last on file).]

5/7/83 No objection from Lisbon for Col HA Kitze to become Air, Naval and MA in Lisbon.

30/5/83 Note that although there has never yet been a problem with accreditation, there is no guarantee.

1/1/83 Maj CS Steyn to replace Cmdr JE Louw as Military, Air and Naval assistant attaché. Numerous admin docs on this. CV etc.

### **Dirco30 Import of Arms to SA**

[Mr A Trimark (Swede) of SA Import-Export offers to sell Rolls Royce parts to SA via Copenhagen (1/6/82) – Armscor writes to offer thanks but arms not required.]

[Symon S Behrman involved of illegal export of weapons to SA (1988-1990). Symon Morris Behrman (USA), Maryanne E Callaghan (USA), Guy Perfezon (RSA in France?), Frank Randazzo (USA), Lester George Buchanan Talnot (USA). J. Eugene Burke (Irish American) offers to export weapons to SA (1985). Offer from Klaus Schaper to sell weapons to SA (1985).]

1/6/82 Copenhagen to PTA. Swedish citizen Mr A Trimark, airline pilot, sole proprietor of SA Import-Export, offers large quantity Rolls Royce Avon jet parts. Didn't want to be spotted at the SA mission in Stockholm. Armscor responds saying thanks but no need.

19/3/85 Armscor has no interest in buying second hand military equipment from Europe via Australia, from Klaus Shaper.

26/11/85 Mr Eugene J Burke, business partner of Charles Banks, of Applied Electro Mechanics (USA), makes offer of Aerial ground surveillance systems at Sydney embassy. Attaches newspaper clippings and other supporting docs on Applied Electro Mechanics.

11/10/88 Press release from US attorney that "*Thomas Joseph Dolce, former civilian employee at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland has pled guilty to a charge of espionage relating to the furnishing of defense-related classified information to a representative of the South African government.*" Full statement of facts charges etc.

Court documents "pertaining to the indictment of three South African and two American on charges of conspiracy to export gyroscopes to South Africa". Symone Morris Behrman, Maryann E Callaghan, Guy Perefezou, Frank J Ransazzo, Lester George Buckingham Talbot. Related newspaper clipping from Business Day 4/1/90.

### **Dirco31 Export of Arms to SA**

[Iraqi enquiry to purchase G5 cannons via German agent to be pursued (1982/11/24). Possible sale of weapons to Peru? (1982). Follow up on possible Iran seller (Malek) who is connected directly with Armscor. Read all the notes as final correspondence is telephonic (19/12/84).]



[Possible interest from Iran in Armscor (1982) + sale of oil. News clipping on SA arms sales abroad. 1982: Spanish request for weapons. 1982: Secret memo response to Armscor media interview, note of the negative impact this will have. 1982: Sri Lanka, Thailand. 1980: Bolivia. 1984: Swiss Arms Trade discovers Swiss govt intention to import: Mr Richard Ritter, Pan Atlantic AG.]

[List of requests for DFA to ok sales of weapons to foreign companies. In each case, DFA turns this down because of USA/Canada arms embargo. However, not clear if sellers proceeded in any event. (August 1993-April 1994).]

24/11/82 Armscor approached for purchase of G5 cannon. Suggestion made to make technical presentation to Iraqi ambassador in Bonn. Question of authenticity of intel. Advise not to use phone.

26/1/84 Peru calling for tenders for 5 frigates. *"Apparently no political reservations in dealing with RSA."* Greece is looking for sizeable quantities of laser beam distance measuring equipment.

28/11/84 Mr R Malek and purchase offer from Iran. Armscor (Peet Smith) to contact directly and check credentials. Issue of whether proposed Iranian travel to SA is to be on diplomatic or private passport. Malek, "of Kinross", claims to have been referred to Minister of Foreign Affairs, Botha, by Ters Ehlers.

26/10/80 Mr CL de Roover, La Paz businessman, claims govt. of Bolivia is interested in purchasing, inter alia, 6 patrol boats. Credentials questionable, and thought best to deal with Bolivians directly, not through intermediaries.

14/10/80 Mr John Gelernter, MD of Cibo, "one of the Bolivian firms which act as local agents for several South African exporters..." says Bolivia prepared to make several large orders with SA firms, on credit. Mining equipment and arms. "COMIBOL always pays its debts".

2/6/81 Sri Lanka request for manufacture of Browning machine guns. Require existing models for evaluation, SADF requested to make loan of one for three months.

2/6/81 Thailand makes request for hand grenades. Need loan of 64 from SADF for evaluation.

12/1/81 Cover letter on SADF help to Greece. No details.

29/3/82 Text for official news bulletin. Advertises new G5 cannon, as helped along by a Canadian affiliate, including through arms theory tests in Canada and weapons tests on Antigua. Note that this text is considered dangerous, as it makes people unwilling to become involved, fearing later exposure.

8/10/82 Ammunition requested from Spain. Stock to be sent from SADF (to be replaced by Armscor), shipped from Cape Town urgently.

27/11/82 Financial Mail clipping: "South Africa takes aim at selling arms abroad". Peet Smith of Armscor boasting of tech successes.

26/11/82 Iran arms for oil. Various previous approaches from Iranian agents have come to nothing, it is believed for political reasons. This one from Mr Shmuel Kirsenzvaig. Gives details of oil price offer, parts and ammunition request. *"He mentioned that while the Iranians could obtain Russian*

*equipment, they desperately wanted spares and ammunitions for the US equipment originally obtained during the Shah's reign."*

1/5/84 Enquiry on the shipment of arms from SA. Ambassador Vorster draws attention to a document and notes that it is not always clear whether the Department of Foreign Affairs is entirely au fait with such issues. Document states that Mr Richard Ritter, director and owner of shipping company Pan-Atlantic-AG, of Bonn, approached NS Schoombie and Mr Eckard. Claims to have done major tenders for Swiss gov. Offers services, in various named forms.

[List of requests for DFA to ok sales of weapons to foreign companies. In each case, DFA turns this down because of USA/Canada arms embargo. However, not clear if sellers proceeded in any event. (August 1993-April 1994).] Mechem Konsultante (for UK, Turkey, Germany, USA, UAE) – various items, with applications. Reunert (for US, UK, Germany, Israel, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Poland, Slovakian Republic, Romania, Turkey, Italy, Czech Republic, France, Spain, Malaysia, Brazil, Spain, Malaysia, Brazil, Canada, Pakistan, Thailand, Singapore) – vehicle mounted mine detector system, with applications. ESD (for Chile) – various items. Naschem (to USA) – clients are Day & Zimmerman of USA. Sandock Austral (for massive list of countries) – includes clipping pertaining to export partner, Alvis. Swartklip (tons of countries), lots of items.

### **Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil)**

30/5/72 Blantyre Ambassador informs DFA that Malawian Minister Muwalo has assured that Oppenheimer organisation will not have access to hijackers or documents.

30/5/72 Telegram from Beirut Consul-General, passing on Lebanese regrets for citizens' involvement, commitment to Malawian process and possible Lebanese punitive measures too. Comment made that this is happily inconsistent with previous reports about Lebanese request for extradition to SA.

30/5/72 Report of meeting between Mike Geldenhuys of BOSS and PM, and fact that Oppenheimer's security people are keen to find out if Kamil has certain papers, wish to go to Malawi and try to get access. PM advised that Malawi be encouraged not to allow access.

2/6/72 Beirut Consul-General to DFA. Mrs Kamil, wife, back in Beirut, asking for assistance to get her access to Malawi. Response TBD.

9/6/72 DFA to London and Blantyre embassies. No objection to pilot going to Malawi to help with enquiries. Information given on Dr Nicholson, married to Kamil. Note *"for President Banda's confidential information political views strongly leftist"*.

14/6/72 SAP to DFA, on when Kamil first came to notice, what is known of him (e.g. criminal history in illicit diamonds, spending habits), the incident in brief.

27/6/72 Blantyre embassy to DFA, informing that Van Zyl, of Oppenheimer security section, has offered full assistance to Wadeley, chief of Malawi Special Branch.

3/7/72 Blantyre to DFA, on tale that Kamil has told Dr Banda. Banda asks whether Kamil was ever, as claimed, employed by SA Intelligence. Also extradition issues.

5/7/72 Response, including that President be informed that this last is entirely untrue – *“nobody in Military Intelligence knows Kamil”*.

8/7/72 Banda thanks for info, believes Kamil is trying to mislead. Issues of extradition and pilot and first officer movements.

25/7/72 DFA to Blantyre, with info on accomplice, Yaghi.

17/8/72 Blantyre to DFA, informing that Kamil wishes to speak to embassy representative, and is offering info on accomplices acting contrary to interests of South Africans. Advised that meeting will give bad impression locally, that local authorities be consulted. Issue considered, to be raised with Banda.

22/8/72 Considered of potential interest to hear what Kamil has to say, but open cards with Banda.

25/8/72 Blantyre to DFA, providing copy of charge sheet, and some explanatory notes.

12/5/76 Report from Glasgow Consul-General of interview with Kamil on BBC. Focused on role of an “International South African Corporation” in trying to discredit certain UK politicians

**Dirco33 Senator Stone files (extract) smaller**

**Dirco33 US Lobbyists Activity Reports (extract)**

**Dirco33 US Lobbyists for RSA**