

Open Secrets Timeline of Documents Mined from the DIRCO archive

1977?/?/? 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.¹

1981 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.²

1981 Various admin docs on Potgieter appointment.³

1990 Documents relating to appointment as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Johan Frederick Pretorius, and after him of Andre Jaquet. CVs included.⁴

1981 Approval sought and granted for various personnel changes: Miss Smith to replace Captain Eloff, Miss Swanepoel (Armscor) to replace Miss Molony, WP van Niekerk replacing H Steyn, Brig JFJ van Rensburg as MA in place of Brig Geldenhuys, Ms K Kotze in place of Ms M Robertse, Col De Jager replacing Col Pretorius, Col HD Van Wyngard to replace Col J Kriel..⁵

? 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 1990.⁶

1977±? “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

¹ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

² Dirco28 BONN Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, (4/2/2/8, vol 2, 21/7/72 – 13/8/81).

³ Dirco28 BONN Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, (4/2/2/8, vol 2, 21/7/72 – 13/8/81).

⁴ Dirco 006 – Switzerland Berne Embassy reps, DIRCO Archive, Switzerland Berne (4/2/75, 1/7/77 – 30/10/96).

⁵ Dirco27 PARIS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/7/3, vol 2, 12/9/68 – 6/1/83).

⁶ Dirco 005 – Brussel, Luxembourg & Paris, DIRCO Archive, Luxembourg (4/2/103).

⁷ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 1).

1972/5/30 Blantyre Ambassador informs DFA that Malawian Minister Muwalo has assured that Oppenheimer organisation will not have access to hijackers or documents.⁸

1972/5/30 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.⁹

1972/5/30 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.¹⁰

1972/6/2 Beirut Consul-General to DFA. Mrs Kamil, wife, back in Beirut, asking for assistance to get her access to Malawi. Response TBD.¹¹

1972/6/9 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"*.¹²

1972/6/14 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.¹³

1972/6/27 Blantyre embassy to DFA, informing that Van Zyl, of Oppenheimer security section, has offered full assistance to Wadeley, chief of Malawi Special Branch.¹⁴

1972/7/3 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.¹⁵

1972/7/5 Response, including that President be informed that this last is entirely untrue – *"nobody in Military Intelligence knows Kamil"*.¹⁶

1972/7/8 Banda thanks for info, believes Kamil is trying to mislead. Issues of extradition and pilot and first officer movements.¹⁷

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

1972/8/17 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

⁸ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

⁹ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

¹⁰ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

¹¹ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

¹² Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

¹³ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

¹⁴ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

¹⁵ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

¹⁶ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

¹⁷ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

give bad impression locally, that local authorities be consulted. Issue considered, to be raised with Banda.¹⁸

1972/8/22 Considered of potential interest to hear what Kamil has to say, but open cards with Banda.¹⁹

1972/8/25 Blantyre to DFA, providing copy of charge sheet, and some explanatory notes.²⁰

1974/2/8 Van Dalen to Taswell, about R5000 to be contributed to Cercle from Secret Funds.²¹

1974/11/5 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.²²

1974/12/17 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 Entwicklung 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).²³

1975/3/5 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.²⁴

1975/6/11 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

¹⁸ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

¹⁹ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

²⁰ Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

²¹ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

²² Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

²³ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

²⁴ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 1).

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".²⁵

1975/7/2/ 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.²⁶

1975/ 11? Confirmation to Manager of Hamsin Hotel, Pretoria, of reservation for HL Taswell from 30 November to 3 December 1975, account to be sent to DFA, attention Mr de Goede.²⁷

1975/12/23 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).²⁸

1976/1/26 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."*²⁹

1976/1/27 From Ambassador for Armaments Board, asking if arrangement with Frost continues in respect of names weapons.³⁰

²⁵ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

²⁶ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

²⁷ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

²⁸ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 23/12/75 – 17/5/77).

²⁹ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

³⁰ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

1976/4/12 Sec DFA to Accountant, requesting that R2000 be transferred to HLT Taswell from the Secret Fund.³¹

1976/5/12 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.³²

1976/5/13 Note and cheque from Taswell, paying back R2000 advance to Department.³³

1976/6/22 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.³⁴

1976/7/21 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.³⁵

1976/9/27 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.³⁶

1976/9/29 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.³⁷

1976/10/17 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".³⁸

1976/10/20 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.³⁹

³¹ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

³² Dirco32 Hijack of Aircraft (Kamil) - Aviation (23/105, vol 4, 25/10/71 – 1/6/72).

³³ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 2, 7/6/83 – 22/4/85).

³⁴ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 23/12/75 – 17/5/77).

³⁵ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 1).

³⁶ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 23/12/75 – 17/5/77).

³⁷ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 23/12/75 – 17/5/77).

³⁸ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 1).

³⁹ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 1).

1976/11/19 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".⁴⁰

1976/11/23 Arrangements for next meeting, 25-28 November, in Madrid. In partnership with CEDI.⁴¹

1976/11/25 MANA to CSI and Armscor. Project Sherbert, receipt and delivery consignment acknowledged.⁴²

1976/12/4 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).⁴³

1977/2/9 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.⁴⁴

1977/2/24 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.⁴⁵

1977/3/1 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.⁴⁶

1977/3/8 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*

⁴⁰ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 23/12/75 – 17/5/77).

⁴¹ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

⁴² Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 23/12/75 – 17/5/77).

⁴³ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

⁴⁴ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

⁴⁵ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

⁴⁶ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

*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..."*⁴⁷

1977/3/10 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.⁴⁸

1977/3/21 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?]⁴⁹

1977/4/28 MANA to Armscor (via as usual). Partly in code, e.g. "Sherbert Two".⁵⁰

1977/4/29 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.⁵¹

1977/5/17 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".⁵²

1977/6/14 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.⁵³

1977/6/16 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.⁵⁴

1977/6/24/ 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 (?).⁵⁵

⁴⁷ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 23/12/75 – 17/5/77).

⁴⁸ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

⁴⁹ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

⁵⁰ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 23/12/75 – 17/5/77).

⁵¹ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

⁵² Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 23/12/75 – 17/5/77).

⁵³ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

⁵⁴ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

⁵⁵ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

1977/8/11 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.⁵⁶

1977/10/14 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.⁵⁷

1978/3/23 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.”*⁵⁸

1978/4/12 Note from Armscor forwarded to Ambassador via DFA, on offer of Stinger missiles. Asks details of offer (e.g. models, prices, delivery options).⁵⁹

1978/4/20 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 tergugslaan”*.⁶⁰

1978/5/8 London ambassador to DFA CT, attaching British press clippings on DoI. Astonished by comments (presumably from Rhodie) criticising AG. Damage to DoI image caused by AG’s revelations of irregularities considered justified.⁶¹

1978/6/21 Geneva mission to DFA, on alleged bank guarantee agreement between a French company and Armscor. Attaches letter from the Bank of Indochina and Suez (Lausanne branch, Switzerland) and original of guarantee issued by it to Armscor. Guarantee *“concerns an agreement which was apparently entered into between Havas Submarine Inc. Catus France and Armscor for the delivery of equipment purchased by Armscor 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.⁶²

1978/10/3 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

⁵⁶ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

⁵⁷ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

⁵⁸ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

⁵⁹ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

⁶⁰ Dirco010 Switzerland – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/12, vol 2, 5/02/72 –?).

⁶¹ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, vol 1, 8/5/78 – 15/3/79).

⁶² Dirco010 Switzerland – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/12, vol 2, 5/02/72 –?).

Geneva. Geneva permanent rep asks if department has any knowledge, would care to comment. Handwritten note indicates department has no knowledge at all.⁶³

1978/11/23 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.⁶⁴

1978/12/1 DFA to SA missions in Europe and Americas, informing that all travel docs of Rhodie and van der Bergh withdrawn by DFA. Rhodie currently thought to be abroad.⁶⁵

1978/12/4 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."*⁶⁶

1978/12/4 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.⁶⁷

1978/12/7 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.⁶⁸

⁶³ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, vol 1, 8/5/78 – 15/3/79).

⁶⁴ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

⁶⁵ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, 1/12/78 – 14/9/79).

⁶⁶ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, 1/12/78 – 14/9/79).

⁶⁷ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

⁶⁸ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 1).

1978/12/19 Circular on Rhodie travel docs, revoked. Local authorities wherever he is to be informed, Rhodie to be given emergency certificate for direct trip to SA. Press not to be informed.⁶⁹

1979/2/2 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.⁷⁰

1979/3/8 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 GMBA 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."*⁷¹

1979/3/20 SexExtern PTA reports that the foreign news editor of the Toronto Star has contacted embassy and informed that Rhodie *"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."*⁷²

1979/3/21 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.⁷³

1979/3/21 London embassy to DFA CT, on ITN interview with vd Bergh, in which VdB insinuated that Rhodie 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 Rhodie 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.⁷⁴

1979/4/4 Brussels ambassador to DFA PTA, on further Rhodie 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."*⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, vol 1, 8/5/78 – 15/3/79).

⁷⁰ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

⁷¹ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

⁷² Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, vol 2, 19/3/79 – 7/6/80).

⁷³ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, vol 2, 19/3/79 – 7/6/80).

⁷⁴ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, vol 2, 19/3/79 – 7/6/80).

⁷⁵ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, vol 2, 19/3/79 – 7/6/80).

1979/6/29 Berne embassy to DFA, on helicopter offer. Graf S von Hallwyl says has had reliable offer of 50 helicopters, shipping guaranteed.⁷⁶

1979/10/19 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."*⁷⁷

1979/12/27 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.⁷⁸

1980/2/1 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.⁷⁹

1980/3/5 Paris embassy to DFA, on publishing in Cercle Algerianiste publication.⁸⁰

1980/4/12 Clipping from De Morgen – Belgium still delivering weapons to SA.⁸¹

1980/6/12 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 aanvera 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."*⁸²

⁷⁶ Dirco010 Switzerland – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/12, vol 2, 5/02/72 –?).

⁷⁷ Dirco26 PORTUGAL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Portugal (1/14/3, vol 8, 5/9/79 – 21/7/80).

⁷⁸ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

⁷⁹ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, 1/12/78 – 14/9/79).

⁸⁰ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

⁸¹ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

⁸² Dirco26 PORTUGAL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Portugal (1/14/3, vol 8, 5/9/79 – 21/7/80).

1980/6/12 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 verbintenisse met Madeira maak vir my geen sin nie. Dit lui alles klockies by my, maar dit is al."*⁸³

1980/6/16 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.⁸⁴

1980/6/20 Response: *"Indien voelers van erkende Portugese kant uitgestrek word wat nie enigsins verdag voorkom nie, kan ons miskien daarna kyk maar ons moet liefs nie self inisiatief neem nie."*⁸⁵

1980/7/1 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.⁸⁶

18/7/80 Paris to PTA: Report in South African 'Sunday Times' of 3 Februar 1980 on Henri Curial.

1980/8/11 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.⁸⁷

1980/8/15 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.⁸⁸

1980/8/15 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.⁸⁹

1980/10/14 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".⁹⁰

1980/10/21 Note on Belgian parliamentary question on Belgium's observance of arms embargo, which it reaffirms. Nothing surprising.⁹¹

⁸³ Dirco26 PORTUGAL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Portugal (1/14/3, vol 8, 5/9/79 – 21/7/80).

⁸⁴ Dirco26 PORTUGAL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Portugal (1/14/3, vol 8, 5/9/79 – 21/7/80).

⁸⁵ Dirco26 PORTUGAL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Portugal (1/14/3, vol 8, 5/9/79 – 21/7/80).

⁸⁶ Dirco26 PORTUGAL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Portugal (1/14/3, vol 8, 5/9/79 – 21/7/80).

⁸⁷ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

⁸⁸ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

⁸⁹ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

⁹⁰ Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 3, 16/9/75 – 1/5/84).

1980/10/26 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.⁹²

1980/11? 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.⁹³

1981/1/12 Cover letter on SADF help to Greece. No details.⁹⁴

1981/3/5 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.⁹⁵

1981/4/3 "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.

1981/4/8 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.⁹⁶

1981/4/23 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.⁹⁷ Also Numerous related documents. Penning's CV among them.⁹⁸

1981/5/8 Luxembourg Ministry of Foreign Affairs noting application of Captain Penning for Air, Naval and MA.⁹⁹

⁹¹ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

⁹² Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 3, 16/9/75 – 1/5/84).

⁹³ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

⁹⁴ Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 3, 16/9/75 – 1/5/84).

⁹⁵ Dirco28 BONN Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, (4/2/2/8, vol 2, 21/7/72 – 13/8/81).

⁹⁶ Dirco008 Belgium – Defence Purchases (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/8, vol 2, 15/11/71 – 8/4/81).

⁹⁷ Dirco27 BRUSSELS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/3/4. Vol 2, 8/1/71 – 14/9/85).

⁹⁸ Dirco27 BRUSSELS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/3/4. Vol 2, 8/1/71 – 14/9/85).

1981/5/13 SA embassy doc on notice of Penning's replacement of APR Carstens. Ambassador OF de V Booysen.¹⁰⁰

1981/5/25 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.¹⁰¹

1981/6/2 Sri Lanka request for manufacture of Browning machine guns. Require existing models for evaluation, SADF requested to make loan of one for three months.¹⁰²

1981/6/2 Thailand makes request for hand grenades. Need loan of 64 from SADF for evaluation.¹⁰³

1981/6/7 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."*¹⁰⁴

1981/6/17 Transvaler(?) – "Hou dié aandeel dop" – *"Een van die jongste beleggings-items wat orals gefluister word, is 'strategiese metale en kritieke materiaal'...Onder hierdie aandeel noem Gulian Consolidated Murchison, Impala Platina, Samancor en Highveld Steel...'n Mens moet 'n oë op die situasie te hou deur die pers dop te hou vir enige berigte oor oppotting [hoarding]"*.¹⁰⁵

1981/6/18 Report by A van Zyl, Section 18, to Mr Shearer, 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.¹⁰⁶

1981/6/24 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.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁹ Dirco27 BRUSSELS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/3/4. Vol 2, 8/1/71 – 14/9/85).

¹⁰⁰ Dirco27 BRUSSELS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/3/4. Vol 2, 8/1/71 – 14/9/85).

¹⁰¹ Dirco28 BONN Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, (4/2/2/8, vol 2, 21/7/72 – 13/8/81).

¹⁰² Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 3, 16/9/75 – 1/5/84).

¹⁰³ Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 3, 16/9/75 – 1/5/84).

¹⁰⁴ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

¹⁰⁵ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

¹⁰⁶ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

¹⁰⁷ Dirco27 PARIS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/7/3, vol 2, 12/9/68 – 6/1/83).

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.*”¹⁰⁸

1981/7/27? 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.¹⁰⁹

1981/7/27 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.*”¹¹⁰

1981/9/11 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.¹¹¹

1982/3/29 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.¹¹²

1982/5/24 DFA to Vienna Ambassador, cover letter of offer (from SAP?) of provision of info on diamond smuggling. Not attached.¹¹³

1982/6/1 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.¹¹⁴

1982/9/8 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,

¹⁰⁸ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

¹⁰⁹ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, vol 3, 12/6/80 – 25/8/81).

¹¹⁰ Dirco015 Eschel Rhodie files (4 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Department of Information (3/7, vol 3, 12/6/80 – 25/8/81).

¹¹¹ Dirco27 PARIS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/7/3, vol 2, 12/9/68 – 6/1/83).

¹¹² Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 3, 16/9/75 – 1/5/84).

¹¹³ Dirco014 Diamond smuggling & illicit diamond buying, DIRCO Archive, Mines, Mining & Minerals (73/9, vol 4, 29/05/82 – 02/03/84).

¹¹⁴ Dirco30 Import of Arms to SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/6, vol 3, 27/4/77 – 7/6/84).

brothers, said born in CT, of Asian origin, now US citizens, *"have a great deal of unreported (for taxes) annual income for several years"*.¹¹⁵

1982/10/8 Ammunition requested from Spain. Stock to be sent from SADF (to be replaced by Armscor), shipped from Cape Town urgently.¹¹⁶

82/11 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.¹¹⁷

1982/11/24 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.¹¹⁸

1982/11/26 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."*¹¹⁹

1982/11/27 Financial Mail clipping: "South Africa takes aim at selling arms abroad". Peet Smith of Armscor boasting of tech successes.¹²⁰

1982/12/15 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.¹²¹

1983/1/1 Maj CS Steyn to replace Cmdr JE Louw as Military, Air and Naval assistant attaché. Numerous admin docs on this. CV etc.¹²²

1983/1/5 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.¹²³

1983/1/21 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 staed 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*

¹¹⁵ Dirco014 Diamond smuggling & illicit diamond buying, DIRCO Archive, Mines, Mining & Minerals (73/9, vol 4, 29/05/82 – 02/03/84).

¹¹⁶ Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 3, 16/9/75 – 1/5/84).

¹¹⁷ Dirco 005 – Brussel, Luxembourg & Paris, DIRCO Archive, Luxembourg (4/2/103).

¹¹⁸ Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 1, 4/1/71 – 12/9/85).

¹¹⁹ Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 3, 16/9/75 – 1/5/84).

¹²⁰ Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 3, 16/9/75 – 1/5/84).

¹²¹ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

¹²² Dirco29 LISBON Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/6/4, vol 2, 4/1/72 – 14/7/83).

¹²³ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

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.¹²⁴

1983/1/26 DG DFA note to DG Transport, drawing attention to points in letter from Swiss Ambassador, attached. 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 *"Armcor 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.¹²⁵

1983/2/16 Armcor to DFA, on alleged illegal sales of arms via Switzerland. Friendly reminder that Armcor is not part of SADF, and that foreign procurement issues to be directed directly to Armcor, to avoid unnecessary delays. Page covered with handwritten notes [not legible to me].¹²⁶

1983/2/16 (file date): *"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."*¹²⁷

1983/2/21 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 Armcor Lugano office statement.¹²⁸

1983/3/8 Wall Street Journal: *"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."*¹²⁹

1983/3/8 Wall Street Journal: *"Anglo American unit known as Minorco plans push into U.S." – "Minerals & Resources, or Minorco as it is commonly known, will make the push through a*

¹²⁴ Dirco010 Switzerland – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/12, vol 2, 5/02/72 –?).

¹²⁵ Dirco010 Switzerland – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/12, vol 1, 26/10/63 – 21/2/83).

¹²⁶ Dirco010 Switzerland – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/12, vol 2, 5/02/72 –?).

¹²⁷ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

¹²⁸ Dirco010 Switzerland – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/12, vol 1, 26/10/63 – 21/2/83).

¹²⁹ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

*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."*¹³⁰

1983/5/12 Paris to DG, CT. Enquiries from Joannon and former Ambassador Bach on time and place for November meeting. Questions to which 1983/5/18 are answers.¹³¹

1983/5/18 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).¹³²

1983/5/30 Note that although there has never yet been a problem with accreditation, there is no guarantee.¹³³

1983/6/21 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.¹³⁴ 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.¹³⁵ 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.¹³⁶

1983/7/5 No objection from Lisbon for Col HA Kitze to become Air, Naval and MA in Lisbon.¹³⁷

1983/10 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,*

¹³⁰ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

¹³¹ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹³² Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹³³ Dirco29 LISBON Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/6/4, vol 2, 4/1/72 – 14/7/83.

¹³⁴ Dirco28 BONN Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, (4/2/2/8, vol 3, 24/9/82 – 20/8/84).

¹³⁵ Dirco28 BONN Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, (4/2/2/8, vol 3, 24/9/82 – 20/8/84).

¹³⁶ Dirco28 BONN Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, (4/2/2/8, vol 4, 20/8/84 – 15/12/88).

¹³⁷ Dirco29 LISBON Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/6/4, vol 2, 4/1/72 – 14/7/83.

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.¹³⁸

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 Kriepe (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.¹³⁹

1983/10/22 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.¹⁴⁰

1983/11/21 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.¹⁴¹

1983/11/21? Paris to PTA, on flight arrangements. John Barrow from US also to attend.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Dirco25 SWITZERLAND – relations with SA (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Switzerland (1/49/2, vol 3A, 23/12/80 – 12/6/84).

¹³⁹ Dirco24 LUXEMBOURG – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Luxembourg (1/65/3, vol 1, 23/9/64 – 14/8/84).

¹⁴⁰ Dirco26 PORTUGAL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Portugal (1/14/3, 1983).

¹⁴¹ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁴² Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

1983/11/22 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."*¹⁴³

1983/11/29 Paris via PTA to Bonn. Request for decision on flight costs for Cercle meeting. For discussion with SAA.¹⁴⁴

1983/12/1 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.¹⁴⁵

1983/12? Doc with flight details for, from US: William Schneider, Richard McCormack, Prof Dr Robert Pfaltzgraff, Dr Jim Lucier, 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.¹⁴⁶

1983/12? 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.¹⁴⁷

1983/12/6 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.¹⁴⁸

1983/12/6 Paris to PTA, on Philippe de Villiers, of Radio Alouette. Gives overview of political position, activities. Very conservative.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁴⁴ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁴⁵ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁴⁶ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁴⁷ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁴⁸ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁴⁹ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

1983/12/6 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.¹⁵⁰

1983/12/7 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.¹⁵¹

1983/12/7 PTA to Rome, on Stellenbosch meeting arrangements. Copy earlier. Handwritten note mentions Dr Jan du Plessis.

1983/12/20 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.¹⁵²

1984/1/? List of arrivals, dates, flights, at Jan Smuts.¹⁵³

1984/1/3 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.¹⁵⁴

1984/1/5 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”*.¹⁵⁵

1984/1/10 Former minister Philippe Malaud of France also to attend.¹⁵⁶

1984/1/12 Note paper of The Carlton, listing names of those arriving from various locations on various flights.¹⁵⁷

1984/1/26 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.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁰ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁵¹ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁵² Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁵³ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁵⁴ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁵⁵ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁵⁶ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁵⁷ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁵⁸ Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 1, 4/1/71 – 12/9/85).

1984/1/27 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.¹⁵⁹

1984/1/31 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.¹⁶⁰

1984/2/23 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.¹⁶¹

1984/2/24 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".¹⁶²

1984/3/2 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."*¹⁶³

1984/3/30 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.¹⁶⁴

1984/4/4 Top Secret doc on activities of Seamen 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*

¹⁵⁹ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

¹⁶⁰ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

¹⁶¹ Dirco27 BRUSSELS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/3/4. Vol 2, 8/1/71 – 14/9/85).

¹⁶² Dirco014 Diamond smuggling & illicit diamond buying, DIRCO Archive, Mines, Mining & Minerals (73/9, vol 4, 29/05/82 – 02/03/84).

¹⁶³ Dirco014 Diamond smuggling & illicit diamond buying, DIRCO Archive, Mines, Mining & Minerals (73/9, vol 4, 29/05/82 – 02/03/84).

¹⁶⁴ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

sailors. This gives us an excellent opportunity to mount a disinformation exercise.” Sets out details of proposed plan.¹⁶⁵

1984/4/19 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.¹⁶⁶

1984/5/1 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.¹⁶⁷

1984/5/10 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.”¹⁶⁸

1984/5/16 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.”¹⁶⁹

1984/6/25 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.¹⁷⁰

1984/8/1 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 Suid-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

¹⁶⁵ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

¹⁶⁶ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

¹⁶⁷ Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 3, 16/9/75 – 1/5/84).

¹⁶⁸ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

¹⁶⁹ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁷⁰ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

of SA link, Swiss unions making trouble. All amounts to recommendation to upgrade rank/status of Amb.¹⁷¹

1984/8/3 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.¹⁷²

1984/8/6 Letter from RP Pretorius, Foreign Procurement (FP), to DG DFA, regarding Lengfelder offer from Munich. No interest.¹⁷³

1984/8/30 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:..."*¹⁷⁴

1984/9/4 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.¹⁷⁵

1984/9/11 AJ Botha (Arm Scor) to replace HA Booyens. Gap of 8 months btw Booyens departure and Botha arrival.¹⁷⁶

1984/9/19 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."*¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ Dirco25 SWITZERLAND – relations with SA (2 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Switzerland (1/49/3, Vol 5, 10/5/84 – 20/9/84).

¹⁷² Dirco 006 – Switzerland Berne Embassy reps, DIRCO Archive, Switzerland Berne (4/2/75, 1/7/77 – 30/10/96).

¹⁷³ Dirco007 West Germany – Defence Purchases, DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/56/5).

¹⁷⁴ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

¹⁷⁵ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

¹⁷⁶ Dirco27 PARIS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/7/3, vol 3, 7/1/83 – 1/6/88).

¹⁷⁷ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

1984/10/2 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.¹⁷⁸

1984/10/4 From DMEA to DFA, enclosing copies of letters from Stephan S Trott and Robert W Ogren of US DoJ.¹⁷⁹

1984/10/8 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.¹⁸⁰

1984/10/26 The Star – "Judge rejects Salem plea bargain".¹⁸¹

1984/11/13 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.¹⁸²

1984/11/23 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."*¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁷⁹ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

¹⁸⁰ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

¹⁸¹ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

¹⁸² Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

¹⁸³ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

1984/11/28 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.¹⁸⁴

1984/12/6 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..."*¹⁸⁵

1984/12/13 (file date): Star – SA investment in Europe and the Americas R12 billion (R1 = \$ 0.55), up from R7.7 billion in 1982.¹⁸⁶

1984/12/13 (file date): 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."*¹⁸⁷

1985/? 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."*¹⁸⁸

1985/3/19 Armscor has no interest in buying second hand military equipment from Europe via Australia, from Klaus Shaper.¹⁸⁹

1985/4/?/ 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.¹⁹⁰

1985/4/23 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.¹⁹¹

1985/6/1 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

¹⁸⁴ Dirco31 Export of Arms from SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/7, vol 1, 4/1/71 – 12/9/85).

¹⁸⁵ Dirco 003 – Oil Boycotts, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/8, 20/3/84 – 25/1/85).

¹⁸⁶ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

¹⁸⁷ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

¹⁸⁸ Dirco 004 – Arms Embargo (General) Regimpex, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/10, vol 1, 1/10/80 – 2/5/85).

¹⁸⁹ Dirco30 Import of Arms to SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/6, vol 3, 27/4/77 – 7/6/84).

¹⁹⁰ Dirco 004 – Arms Embargo (General) Regimpex, DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/10, vol 1, 1/10/80 – 2/5/85).

¹⁹¹ Dirco016 THE CERCLE – secretive global policy forum, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (126/75, vol 1, 5/11/74 – 20/02/86).

expenses, to be registered and paid as consultant of SA government. 3. Carbaugh, Guirard and Crommelin – still to be determined.¹⁹²

1985/7/2? Column explaining Batten's role, with his justifications. *"He regards South African apartheid as 'lousy and evil.' Yet he opposed 'disinvestment'..."*¹⁹³

1985/7/15 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.¹⁹⁴

1985/7/16 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.¹⁹⁵

1985/7/22 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.¹⁹⁶

1985/8/6 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].¹⁹⁷

¹⁹² Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

¹⁹³ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

¹⁹⁴ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

¹⁹⁵ Dirco 006 – Switzerland Berne Embassy reps, DIRCO Archive, Switzerland Berne (4/2/75, 1/7/77 – 30/10/96).

¹⁹⁶ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

¹⁹⁷ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

1985/8/6? 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.¹⁹⁸

1985/8/23 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.¹⁹⁹

1985/8/26 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.²⁰⁰

1985/9/? 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.²⁰¹

1985/9/3 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 iron/nickel, 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.²⁰²

1985/9/8 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.²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

¹⁹⁹ Dirco 006 – Switzerland Berne Embassy reps, DIRCO Archive, Switzerland Berne (4/2/75, 1/7/77 – 30/10/96).

²⁰⁰ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

²⁰¹ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

²⁰² Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

²⁰³ Dirco 001 – SA investment in foreign countries, DIRCO archive, Finance (28/2/8).

1985/9/9 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.²⁰⁴

1985/9/10 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.²⁰⁵

1985/9/14 Beeld clipping: Belgium withdraws MA accreditation. Also docs from Brussels Ambassador affirming same. Includes doc from Belgium giving notice.²⁰⁶

1985/9/27 Secret memo from DG Foreign Affairs, to Chicago Consul-General, with details on Batten and co. Sets out proposed relationship.²⁰⁷

85/10 Col SJ de Villier accreditation as MA in Luxembourg ended.²⁰⁸

1985/10/17 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.²⁰⁹

1985/10/24 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.²¹⁰

1985/10/25 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 Affairs. If this is presented as a direct message from them to the intended listener there is a*

²⁰⁴ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

²⁰⁵ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

²⁰⁶ Dirco27 BRUSSELS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/3/4. Vol 2, 8/1/71 – 14/9/85).

²⁰⁷ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

²⁰⁸ Dirco 005 – Brussel, Luxembourg & Paris, DIRCO Archive, Luxembourg (4/2/103).

²⁰⁹ Dirco 006 – Switzerland Berne Embassy reps, DIRCO Archive, Switzerland Berne (4/2/75, 1/7/77 – 30/10/96).

²¹⁰ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

*much improved chance that the recipient will take the time to listen to the tape because of the novelty factor involved.”*²¹¹

1985/11/26 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.²¹²

1985/11/29? 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.²¹³

1986/01/10 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.²¹⁴

1986/2/16 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.²¹⁵

1986/3/5 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.²¹⁶

1988/6/1 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.²¹⁷

1988/10/11 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*

²¹¹ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

²¹² Dirco30 Import of Arms to SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/6, vol 3, 27/4/77 – 7/6/84).

²¹³ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

²¹⁴ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

²¹⁵ Dirco 002 – Disinvestment (Lobbyists & Consultants), DIRCO Archive, Finance (28/27/4/5/4, vol 1, 19/06/85 – 16/2/86).

²¹⁶ Dirco27 PARIS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/7/3, vol 3, 7/1/83 – 1/6/88).

²¹⁷ Dirco27 PARIS Military Attaché, DIRCO Archive, Foreign Representation (4/2/7/3, vol 3, 7/1/83 – 1/6/88).

*furnishing of defense-related classified information to a representative of the South African government.” Full statement of facts charges etc.*²¹⁸

1989/11/20 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 4/1/90.²¹⁹

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.²²⁰

1991/1 Summary of 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.”*²²¹

1993/6/8 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.²²²

1993/6/18 CSADF to DFA, advising that Gen Steyn to visit Israel 19-25 June.²²³

1993/6/23 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.²²⁴

²¹⁸ Dirco30 Import of Arms to SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/6, vol 3, 27/4/77 – 7/6/84).

²¹⁹ Dirco30 Import of Arms to SA, DIRCO Archive, Armaments (32/6, vol 4, 8/3/1985 – 27/11/1989).

²²⁰ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 2, 10/10/1990 – 10/10/1990).

²²¹ Dirco21 Ciskei Economic & Financial situation, DIRCO Archive, SECTION?, (1/242/2, vol 7).

²²² Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 2, 9/8/74 – 21/3/94).

²²³ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 2, 9/8/74 – 21/3/94).

²²⁴ Dirco23 ISRAEL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Israel (1/8/3/1, vol 2, 01/07/89 – 07/01/98).

1993/6/24 Tel Aviv embassy press release. Allegations don't amount to broad conspiracy involving SA or Israeli jews – *"Two swallows do not make a summer."*²²⁵

1993/7/4 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.²²⁶

1993/7/7 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.²²⁷

1993/7/7 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.²²⁸

1993/7/11 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.²²⁹

1994/3/21 PLU Viljoen to Jean de Preez, indicating no objection to issuing of armaments marketing permits for Israel's Somchem, of mixers.²³⁰

²²⁵ Dirco23 ISRAEL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Israel (1/8/3/1, vol 2, 01/07/89 – 07/01/98).

²²⁶ Dirco23 ISRAEL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Israel (1/8/3/1, vol 2, 01/07/89 – 07/01/98).

²²⁷ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 2, 9/8/74 – 21/3/94).

²²⁸ Dirco23 ISRAEL – relations with SA, DIRCO Archive, Israel (1/8/3/1, vol 2, 01/07/89 – 07/01/98).

²²⁹ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 2, 9/8/74 – 21/3/94).

²³⁰ Dirco011 Israel – military cooperation (3 volumes), DIRCO Archive, Defence (9/74, vol 2, 9/8/74 – 21/3/94).