

Free State mining

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Armcor/Defence

1969/6/8-10 Itinerary of PW Botha visit as Minister of Defence to **Thomson-CSF** in France. Weapons demonstrations and wine tasting.^{1 2}

- I think this is a fun and useful image, maybe to open a chapter section. Minister of Defence of an African country goes to France and is whisked around and shown the big guns in between sampling a few Bordeaux. By this stage, Gaullist France has supplanted the UK to become SA's favourite arms supplier. Six years after this visit, (Republican) D'Estaing announces no new arms contracts to SA are to be accepted. We know with how little enthusiasm Thomson-CSF et al take that on board.

1971/6/3-10 Itinerary of PW Botha to Europe. Numerous lunches/dinners with **Dassault, USIAS, OFEMA, Thompson CSF**, etc.³

Comparisons of various countries' defence expenditure 1972-1975.⁴ Source unknown.

- Given that we don't know source, I wouldn't rely on these figures.

¹ Itinerary of PW Botha's Visit to Thomson-CSF in France, June 1969, University of the Free State: Archive for Contemporary Affairs (PV 203, 1/W1/4, 1969 June, PW Botha).

² PW Botha 69, 71 – France, Europe – Thomson-CSF

³ PW Botha 69, 71 – France, Europe – Thomson-CSF

⁴ PW Botha 77-78 correspondence – Oerlikon Buhrle, Plessey, OFEMA, Gallo

Figures for costs of: Getykom; Duikbootbasis. Note of price increases to 1976 for various aircraft parts from **OFEMA** (up to 15,000% increase in 4 years), **Plessey** (up to 4800% increase in one year), **Gallo** (600% increase in 6 years), **Hawker Siddeley** (up to 640% in 3 years).⁵

- These massive increases follow June 1975 announcement of no new French contracts with SA. UK position (i.e. Plessey, Hawker Siddeley) at this point, under Labour, also relatively restrictive. So harsher policy position seems to translate simply into massively inflated prices. Mandatory UN embargo only in 1977.

1976/4/14 Minutes of Armaments Board meeting. Annexure on progress with Project Boas, “which constitutes the replacement of the SA Army’s existing medium artillery system with a view to present and future effectiveness”. As an interim measure six 130mm systems were purchased from **Israel** at a total of R2,700,000. Final requirements involved Israel MoD and Soltam, **France**, and Space Research Corporation of **Canada**. Good deal of technical detail. Annexure also on the creation of a permanent defence planning advice council.⁶

- Project Boas already captured from SANDF budget docs, but interim Israel link is new.
- [Soltam](#) a major Israeli defence contractor specialising in artillery manufacture.

1976/5/8 Armaments Board to PW Botha. Attaches minutes and memorandums. Mentions Japonica.⁷

- See Project Japonica in SANDF summary.

1976/6/28 G Gauvin of **Thomson-CSF** International to PW Botha. Thanks for your kind communication upon the passing of our Chairman.⁸

1977/2/21 Handwritten notes on meeting with PW Botha on Defence. Approved that Westminster Committee to determine interim steps. (?)⁹

- Can’t work out what this Westminster Committee is.

1977/4/21 DPB to CSADF. Gives military expenditure (total RM1654, per capita whites R383, all R63).

1978/12/19 **Dr D Bührle** to PW Botha. Thanks for the Order of the Star of SA. Best wishes and support.¹⁰

1978/12/19 Gabriel **Lebedinsky** to PW Botha. Underlines Bührle’s words – also thanks. “I would not omit to state that accepting the Order of the ‘Star of South Africa’ means for me an obligation for the future as well.”¹¹

⁵ PW Botha 77-78 correspondence – Oerlikon Buhrle, Plessey, OFEMA, Gallo

⁶ PW Botha 75-76, 84 – Defence, Armscor, Boas, Israel

⁷ PW Botha 75-76, 84 – Defence, Armscor, Boas, Israel

⁸ PW Botha 76 correspondence – Penn, De Beers springbok, Federale Groep, Thomson-CSF

⁹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 77-79 – Armscor, media, oil, projects, Trust Bank

¹⁰ PW Botha 77-78 correspondence – Oerlikon Buhrle, Plessey, OFEMA, Gallo

- Lebedinsky (appears nowhere else in our archives) had been “jailed in Switzerland for a year in 1970 for illegally delivering anti-aircraft weapons to South Africa between 1964 and 1968. Buehrle, his employer, was given an eight-month suspended sentence and a fine of SFr 20.000.”¹² Awards were made in secret.¹³ This story apparently broke in 2001 by Jubilee researcher. Obligation for the future clearly bore fruit, as we have evidence of delivered contracts from Oerlikon Buehrle in our Armscor contracts list up to 1985.

1979/7/26 LW Dekker to PW Botha. Setting up consultancy, thanks for many years working together. Note pencilled in on page says: “Onthou hom. Ons gaan hom later nodig kry.” 1979/6/1 PW Botha to Dekker. Thanks for excellent service, especially at Armscor. Best wishes.¹⁴

- Leendert Dekker: summary from SANDF mine: LW Dekker: On organogram (Free State: PW Botha 75-81 – Armscor, Audit, Defence Advisory Council), involved in contemporaneous Project Pynappel talks (SADF – Projek Pynappel 77-86, Oorsese Besoek 87-88), goes private in 1979 (Free State: PW Botha 79 – correspondence – Buehrle, Baron, Dekker). Possible links: Leendert Willem Dekker, 1988: Commissioner of Lebowa Inquiry; Leendert Dekker, 1982: Managing Director of Kredietbank SA (Vlerick: Trip to SA 1982 Johannesburg Flemish cultural centre). On Flemish/Kredietbank link see [this](#), [this](#) and [this](#) (search Dekker).

1979/10/6 PG Marais to PW Botha. Attaches extract from Armscor meeting minutes discussing audit of SDA. Involved query into transaction between Armscor and Barlow Rand in 1976 for the Olifant Project. Raises problem that Armscor is subject to certain financial rules/laws and has certain audit requirements, but SADF’s are different and also apply in some respects to Armscor, so Armscor subject to two different sets of regulations. Problem must be resolved. Response from PW Botha: in agreement.¹⁵ Various organograms of Armscor.¹⁶

- Project Olifant (Tank programme (armour)) already listed.
- Chaotic financial regulation between SADF and Armscor.

1979/10/6ish Work program for January-June 1982. Mentions implementation of Project Ripple, but no further detail.¹⁷

- Project Ripple added to list.

1979/11/12 Dr **Buehrle** to PW Botha. Friendly letter.¹⁸

1979/11/19 PW Botha to D Maartens of Intertechnic. Please pass on thanks to Dr Buehrle for letter and cufflinks.¹⁹

¹¹ PW Botha 77-78 correspondence – Oerlikon Buehrle, Plessey, OFEMA, Gallo

¹² <http://www.sadocc.at/news2002/2002-215.shtml>

¹³ <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Swiss-banks-backed-apartheid-20011116>

¹⁴ PW Botha 79 – correspondence – Buehrle, Baron, Dekker

¹⁵ PW Botha 75-81 Armscor, audit, Defence Advisory Council

¹⁶ PW Botha 75-81 Armscor, audit, Defence Advisory Council

¹⁷ PW Botha 75-81 Armscor, audit, Defence Advisory Council

¹⁸ PW Botha 79 – correspondence – Buehrle, Baron, Dekker

1980ish date relevant. DBSOLE Pg 452, para 5: “One Saturday afternoon in Washington, I received another telephone summons to fly immediately to Cape Town as the Prime Minister wanted to see me... When I reported to the Department in Cape Town, it transpired that Armscor wanted to consult me about a problem which had arisen for them in the United States... Armscor had secretly arranged for the supply of some badly needed artillery shells to be sent to South African from Canada via Antigua. The middlemen in the deal were American and the firm in question, situated in Vermont, was headed by a Mr. Bull... What they had in mind apparently was an appeal by the South African Government to the United State Government for clemency... With respect to Bull and his associates, the points I made to the Prime Minister were that they had been well aware of the risks involved in the transaction – that there was no doubt that they had gone into the affair with their eyes open – and they had been remunerated accordingly. If Armscor wished to assist them further, what could be done would be to engage a first class lawyer for the defence with a view to securing the lightest possible sentence of imprisonment.” Assumed that this was what happened, as all went quietly. This in contrast to Coventry Four incident, which was a mess. US State Department deeply distrustful of SA Department of Defence, but under Reagan administration relations and exchange fairly good.²⁰

- Confirms nature of relationship with **Bull**.

1980/3 Invitations to serve as members of the Defence Advisory Council. Names: Gavin Relly, AM Rosholt, C Saunders, R Lurie, BE Hersov, I McKenzie, RJ Goss, JG van der Horst, Frans Cronje, JA Hurter, J Wilkens, WJ de Villiers, A Rupert. This last crossed out and replaced with Dr Fred du Plessis.²¹

- “Defence Advisory Council” consists of private industry leaders. Relly: Anglo (see summary in SANDF mining doc); Rosholt: Barlow (got [Order of Baobab](#) for opposition to Apartheid) – see [this link](#) for more on Rosholt and Barlows hypocrisy; Goss: SAB; Cronje: Nedbank; Hersov: Anglovaal, etc.
- “The establishment of the DAC represented the growing institutional links between the state, the military and private industry, and is often regarded as the take-off point for the country’s local military-industrial complex.”²² See also [here](#) at page 187.
- See Rupert section later on in this doc.

1980/4/11 CSADF to Minister on overspend on 1979/80 budget, expected to be between RM100 and RM165, depending on unpredictable cash flow through SDA.²³

- Some evidence of chaos in SDA regulation.

1980/4/21 PG Marais of Armscor to PW. Attaches notes on various clandestine transactions recently exposed in media, in case asked questions. No confirmation of official involvement to be given in

¹⁹ PW Botha 79 – correspondence – Buhrle, Baron, Dekker

²⁰ DB Sole – This above all (extracts)

²¹ PW Botha 75-81 Armscor, audit, Defence Advisory Council

²² Batchelor and Dunne, <http://www.issafrica.org/Pubs/ASR/7No6/TheRestructuring.html>.

²³ PW Botha 81 – Defence budget, notes, Armscor transactions exposed

Canadian case, as would make things more difficult for the accused – try to avoid answering for now. Deals with issues: Seizure of Russian-manufactured armaments in the Durban harbour; development of a new generation artillery and South Africa's investment in a Canadian/US company; SA armoured vehicles in Morocco. Attached(?) technical notes on Project Krantzkop (involves explosives nitrocellulose, TNT etc.), on expected growth of project employment (graduates, technicians, admin etc.), and projected costs.²⁴

- Project Krantzkop is new to us.

1980/5/8 PG Marais to PW Botha. Treasury to have consulted Armscor on new SDA audit regulations, but has been disorganised.²⁵

- More chaos in SDA.

1981-1982 Malan handwritten notes. Some key words: Citizen, Walvisbaai, Armscor, Maartens, German spies, Fleur du Cap, Rupert, Sharon, Ters Ehlers, nuclear tests, satellite, Lord Rothschild, Reagan, Saudi Arabia, France, Chiavelli, US weapons offer, Barlow, Sandock, Kerkoring, Begin, Israel, KBG (KGB? KBC?), Seychelles, Fred Bell, "Franse kanaal heeltemal toe!!".²⁶

- Hennie, you should go through this yourself to see if you find anything useful.

1981/12/4 Magnus Malan to PW Botha. Attaches AG report on the SDA with comment: request to leave out mention of sensitive operations or expenses, as these are being dealt with elsewhere and could only lead to incorrect public speculation.²⁷

- Publicised version of AG report on SDA to leave out mention of sensitive expenses. Given limited access by AG, this makes these expenses doubly hidden.

1983/9/20 Discussion needed on strategic planning on form and size of SADF, costs, and risks of not meeting requirements. If gov. not in a position to provide for needs of SADF and SAPS, it must be willing to be responsible for the consequences.²⁸

- Gives sense of gov. sentiment on SADF expenditure.

1984/3/29 Secretary of the SSC to PW on the upcoming debate on the budget – handwritten note says criticism regarding the SSC. Reports on an article "The process of decision-making in contemporary South Africa" by an American, RI Rotberg, about the growing and worrying lack of reliable knowledge about the SSC. This doc is for the preparation of a response to that – gives responses to each claim made. Attached is summary of the article in question.²⁹

- This Rotberg article (full version [here](#) and at Themes>Military structure) possibly useful. Considered "*n instrument van die rewolusionêres se aanslag teen die goeie orde in die RSA*".

²⁴ PW Botha 81 – Defence budget, notes, Armscor transactions exposed

²⁵ PW Botha 75-81 Armscor, audit, Defence Advisory Council

²⁶ Magnus Malan notes 1981-82 – Armscor, Sharon, Kerkoring, Chiavelli etc.

²⁷ PW Botha 75-76, 84 – Defence, Armscor, Boas, Israel

²⁸ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 82-83 – UK weapons, secret projects, Sanlam, Rhodie, military budget

²⁹ PW Botha 84 – State Security Council file



1984/10/15 JR Dutton of Sandock-Austral to PW. Thanks for your support during time as Ambassador in **Chile**. Was an honour to serve. Have now retired from SADF. 1984/10/25 PW response: thanks for your service, sorry I couldn't chat when you got back.³⁰

- General Jack Dutton died in 2012.³¹ See this [link](#) on his time in Chile, specifically: "In a brief note published in the Unisa Latin American Report, Lt Genl Jack Dutton, former S.A. Ambassador to Chile, and member of the 'Comite De Honor' of the 1983 Valparaiso Biennial, wrote on the FIDA 86 'show' held in Santiago, Chile. The show "covers a wide spectrum of armaments in general. This year for the second successive time, Armscor was invited by the Chilean Airforce to participate." Furthermore, "The top South African at the Show was Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Deputy Minister of Defence and of Law and Order, who was in Chile as a guest of their Minister of Defence." (Dutton,1986:77). The embassy in Chile was opened by South Africa in 1974 not too long after the military coup in that country. And it is in the context of the military that the relationship between the two states has been most openly and enthusiastically engaged. Even here culture is not ignored."

1986/5/14 Gives effect to the certain recommendations of SSC, including:

- "1.7.7. **Die Derde Mag**
 - (i) Aangesien dit die primêre taak van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie is om misdaad te bestry en dié van die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag om die RSA op militêre gebied te beskerm, het daar 'n behoefte aan 'n Derde Mag ontstaan om terrorisme en onrus effektief te beveg.
 - (ii) Die voorgestelde Derde Mag sal aanvullend tot die ander Veiligheidsmagte wees sodat die Veiligheidsmagte nie onnodig in die gedrang kom nie. Voorts is dit belangrik dat die SA Polisie se beeld as beskermers aan die publiek herbevestig word.
 - (iii) Die President dui aan dat die Adjunk-minister van Verdediging en van Wet en Orde, die Direkteur-generaal van die Nasionale Intelligensiediens, die Kommissaris van Polisie en die Hoof van die SA Weermag tans hierdie aangeleentheid ondersoek."³²
- Probably best to start with Stephen Ellis's *The historical significance of South Africa's third force*, at Open Secrets > Themes > Military Structure. He mentions the SSC use of the term, "although in a sense different from that conveyed by Mandela".³³ What we have here is not new, but supports Ellis's argument (I don't think he references this exact doc).

³⁰ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

³¹ <http://politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71619?oid=360157&sn=Detail&pid=71619>

³² FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

³³ Ellis, 1998: 263. See also especially from page 273.



1988/4/13 In response to reports, President indicates that there are no **Z-squads** in the security community.³⁴

1988/6/22 President indicates again the need for a “**third force**”, apart from the police or army, to fight the revolutionary battle.³⁵

1989/7/31 Report from Armscor to the State President. Includes cover letter which summarises the challenges and successes – all in very general terms.³⁶

1989/10/25 Enquiries to be made into allegations of assassinations, with view to whether commission of inquiry advisable.³⁷

1989/11/22 Task group to be established to do full evaluation of secret projects, to inform ministers and allow for financial and political control over all projects. Also enquiries to be made into allegations of a secret assassination squad in the police.³⁸

- Implication that Ministers to this point did not have knowledge of, or political or financial control over secret projects.

1990/3/2 Programme of State President visit to SADF and Armscor. Possible discussion points laid out, e.g. funding shrinkage, impact of expected dissolution of sanctions, use of international bank transactions and agents to use money. Copy of speech – esp. on need for new strategic planning given changed global politics.³⁹

1990/3/7 Mention of regulations on secret projects, no detail.⁴⁰

1990/6/25 Cabinet mention of the Dunhill program/project.⁴¹

- Nothing more on Project Dunhill.

1990/9/19 Discussion of new strategic goals and funding of SADF.⁴²

1993/9/15 Discussion of planning and establishment of a new HQ for NI at Rietvlei.⁴³

³⁴ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

³⁵ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

³⁶ PW Botha 89 – Armscor report

³⁷ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

³⁸ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

³⁹ FW de Klerk 90 Georgiades, Altron CGE, Goldfields, Europe trip, SADF speech, Armscor

⁴⁰ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

⁴¹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

⁴² FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

⁴³ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 93 – Iran, oil, NI HQ, Armscor, audit, secret documents

1994/3/16 Minutes of the meeting of the State Security Council (SSC). Recommendation that the SADF orders 16 **Rooivalk** helicopters. Also that Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence and Denel work out a political action plan in terms of international cooperation. Armscor interests also to be taken into account.⁴⁴

Oil

1979/4/3 Cabinet approval that commission may be paid on oil purchases where necessary.⁴⁵

1979/9/20 Cabinet decision that various Ministers are together to consider the provision of oil to Botswana and Swaziland.⁴⁶

1983/2/1 (As forwarded to PW by PTC du Plessis, Minister of Minerals and Energy), a report by RF Botha on state crude oil procurement and stockpiling. Agree that following Iran cut off in 1979, SA found itself in crisis. Now oil much easier to come by. Wishes to clarify issue of DFA position on Sasol contracts – unlike as claimed in recent Sasol letter, DFA took no position, had no knowledge, did not know of **Deuss** or **Chiavelli**. Describes first meeting with Deuss, explains that although he heard from sources that Deuss was no “fly by night”, did not know if all claims were true. Wished to diversify so as not to rely on Deuss too heavily. Expected Deuss’s prices to drop as oil became more available, less risky. Botha claims he advised only that a source not be cut off while need was still high.⁴⁷

- Some insight into nature of relationship with Deuss.

1989/10/11 Concerns about obtaining oil from Angola, as will complicate Savimbi relationship.⁴⁸

1993/12/15 Policy change of oil secrecy provisions, but not to disclose anything.⁴⁹

Foreign Affairs

1962/63 Notes from Prof AJ **Vlerick**’s seminar on management and productivity at Gent University, with handwritten additions and diagrams – presumably by Diederichs.⁵⁰

- Link between SA elite and Vlerick from 1962.

1976/5/14 John Maree to PW Botha. Been in US for two weeks and some interesting doors can be opened and bridges can be built.⁵¹

⁴⁴ FW de Klerk SSC minutes 93-94 – Rooivalk, ANC negotiations

⁴⁵ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 77-79 – Armscor, media, oil, projects, Trust Bank

⁴⁶ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 77-79 – Armscor, media, oil, projects, Trust Bank

⁴⁷ PW Botha 83-84 – Department of Minerals and Energy

⁴⁸ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

⁴⁹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 93 – Iran, oil, NI HQ, Armscor, audit, secret documents

⁵⁰ Diederichs – Vlerick, Luxembourg

⁵¹ PW Botha 76 correspondence – Penn, De Beers springbok, Federale Groep, Thomson-CSF

- This presumably the [John Maree](#) previously of Old Mutual, Barlow, Denel, Nedbank, Eskom etc. Super friendly business/government relationship once more.

1976/7/10 Jack Penn to PW Botha. Reports on trip to US and UK.⁵²

- Jack [Penn](#) (definitely the same one) was a well-known plastic surgeon and sculptor, and once member of the President's Council in South Africa. There [isn't](#) much else on him available, but we know that he engaged in extensive correspondence with Botha.

1976/7/22 Jack Penn to PW Botha. There is to be a "Conference in London to build a Non-Governmental International Structure in full support of what NATO ought to be." Three-men delegation needed.⁵³

1976/7/28 PW Botha to Dr Jack Penn. Thanks for info, says still of opinion no SA reps should attend "this conference in London", but suggests retiring Admiral HH Bierman and/or Professor Ben Vosloo and Dr Jan Marais to be invited.⁵⁴

1976/11/22 BJ Voster's appointment diary entry showing 2:40 p.m. meeting with Mr HLT Taswell.⁵⁵

- Lots more on Taswell ([Harold Langmead Taylor Taswell](#)) in Dirco. Regularly the SA rep to the Cercle.

1977/11/25 Diederichs appointment diary, showing Friday 12:00 appointment listed only as **Luxembourg**.⁵⁶

- Mysterious.

1978+? CV of Edward N Luttwak, described as "one of the brightest younger members of the Foreign Policy and Defence Establishment in the United States".⁵⁷

- See Luttwak wiki link [here](#). Nothing much else on him to indicate why his CV should be here. Interest in his 1980 book [Coup d'État: a practical handbook](#)?

1979/5/10 Cabinet minutes. Minister of Foreign Affairs to determine whether To the Point being purchased in interest of SA, and Pretorius committee to be informed about Gov.'s rights in this regard.⁵⁸

1979/5/22 Cabinet minutes. Note that Minister of Foreign Affairs fills cabinet in on new projects discovered? (ontdek).⁵⁹

⁵² PW Botha 76 correspondence – Penn, De Beers springbok, Federale Groep, Thomson-CSF

⁵³ PW Botha 76 correspondence – Penn, De Beers springbok, Federale Groep, Thomson-CSF

⁵⁴ PW Botha 76 correspondence – Penn, De Beers springbok, Federale Groep, Thomson-CSF

⁵⁵ Vorster 1976 diary – Taswell meeting

⁵⁶ Diederichs – Vlerick, Luxembourg

⁵⁷ PW Botha 78-84 – USA – Luttwak

⁵⁸ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 77-79 – Armscor, media, oil, projects, Trust Bank

⁵⁹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 77-79 – Armscor, media, oil, projects, Trust Bank



1979/7 Itinerary of Minister of Finance trip to Europe. Meetings with all major banks in Paris, Brussels, Zurich, Frankfurt, London.⁶⁰

1979/9/4 Jan S Marais to Jan van Es. As forwarded to PW Botha by Marais. Letter objecting to criticism of **Sydney S Baron**. If SA is stupid to use them, so are Japan, Taiwan and others. Justifies choice, cost. Attaches Van Es's critical article from Vaderland, 1979/8/28. Also attaches clipping from The Citizen about the "deplorable" white backlash against the PM.⁶¹

DBSOLE Pg 404, para 5: "When I arrived in Washington I found that the Embassy had three such consultants: **Sydney Baron** and associates in New York, **Donald de Kiefer** and associates in Washington and a single individual, **Kimberley Hallimore**, also in Washington. All were employed under contract by the Department of Information and reported to the Minister (Information) in the Embassy, not to the Ambassador. This was a very unhealthy state of affairs by typified the extent of the hold secured over the conduct of South Africa's foreign relations by Eschel Rhoodie as Secretary for Information with the active support of his boss, Information Minister Connie Mulder. Indeed I was quite astounded by the degree to which Carl Nöffke, as head of the Embassy's information division, was conducting an autonomous policy pursuant to instructions received from this department in Pretoria, instructions of which the Ambassador was not aware unless Carel Nöffke thought fit to show him... I could only conclude that as an aspirant to Cabinet rank, Pik had decided that it might be unwise to risk a confrontation with powerful a Minister as Connie Mulder." Further discussion of how consultants were of a right wing Republican orientation, despite there being a Democrat administration in place at the time; attempt to secure Dem consultants through ex-Senator William Fulbright; exorbitant speaker fees paid (\$10,000 for 20 min address), general lack of cost-effectiveness, humiliating blunders; eventual securing of services of Democrat oriented Smathers and Symington; John Sears; how relationship worked.⁶²

- Lobbyists largely a waste of money with little or no meaningful oversight or palpable result.

1980/8/16 General Sir Walter Walker to PW. Provides, with approval, **Julian Amery**'s reaction to book section. Also notes that Sunday Times refused permission to reproduce part of the "pungent article" in book – "I can only assume he [the editor] is not favourably disposed to the policy of your Government". Attaches Amery letter, own complaint to The Times, correspondence with Sunday Times. 1980/8/24 PW response: thanks for letter, note that Sunday Times is a "well-known anti-Government organ in South Africa". 1980/8/1 Attaches Amery comment on epilogue, as well as epilogue itself, entitled "How does Russia intend to organise the battle for South Africa?".⁶³

1980/9/3 State Security Council to investigate and create strategy for possible impending boycotts.⁶⁴

1980/9/16 Cabinet minutes. Minister of Finance makes oral report on actions of Advocate-General on so-called **secret bank account in Switzerland**.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ PW Botha 79 – Minister of Finance Europe trip

⁶¹ PW Botha 79 – correspondence – Buhrle, Baron, Dekker

⁶² DB Sole – This above all (extracts)

⁶³ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECl, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

⁶⁴ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

1980/10 Big shiny red scrap book entitled “Long live the friendship between the **Republic of China** and the Republic of South Africa”, containing “News excerpts of the official visit of his excellency PW Botha, Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa and Mrs Botha to the Republic of China” October 13-17, 1980.⁶⁶

1980/11/18 Following discussion with representative of **Chilean government**, a committee involving Departments of Minerals and Energy and of Trade, Industry and Tourism to investigate possible cooperation. Also to be enquired into is Anglo American purchases on land in Natal.⁶⁷

1981/5/12 Decision that State President to be approached to make invitation to President of **Chile**, for visit in 1982.⁶⁸

1981/5/21 PW to General Wang Sheng, Director, General Political Warfare Department, Ministry of National Defence, **Republic of China**. Thanks for kind wishes. 1981/5/4 General Wang Sheng to PW. Glad to hear of electoral success, believe “your intelligent leadership will go forward with continued success and prosperity”.⁶⁹

1981/5/26 Regarding international conference on sanctions against SA in Paris, organised trade, industry, agriculture, unions etc. to be contacted and asked to make objections known, plus media strategy.⁷⁰

1981/6/4 Visas to be granted to **Jane Fonda** and partner, on conditions of written assurance not to participate in political activities.⁷¹

1981/6/15 Magnus Malan notes: Germans wish to send 2 spies to investigate weapons smuggling – no.⁷²

1981/8/11 Report given on activities of SSC, including the order of weapons and parts from France. No further detail.⁷³

- By this time the French channel is pretty much closed, so this may be what is being reported on.

1981/11 **Saudi Arabia** request will involve visit, stay at Fleur du Cap, top level meetings including with Armscor.⁷⁴

1981/11 **Sharon** visit.⁷⁵ Discussion with PM of nuclear test, not the spy Shiransky.⁷⁶

⁶⁵ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

⁶⁶ PW Botha 80 – China scrapbook gift

⁶⁷ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

⁶⁸ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

⁶⁹ PW Botha 81 – correspondence – China, de Kok, Naspers

⁷⁰ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

⁷¹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

⁷² Magnus Malan notes 1981-82 – Armscor, Sharon, Kerktering, Chiavelli etc.

⁷³ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

⁷⁴ Magnus Malan notes 1981-82 – Armscor, Sharon, Kerktering, Chiavelli etc.

1981/82 Note on capture of KGB agent? *“wil mielies koop. Wit R is minderheidskap. Rusl is bang hulle verloor geveg teenoor C. Hulle wil nie sien dat blankes onder gaan nie wil verstandhouding skep dat ons nie so veel in Weste se hande sal speel nie - hulle het chroom v ons nodig.”* Note: moontlik vals geld.⁷⁷

1982/1/12 JA Lombard of SARB to PW. Attaches note received from Credit Suisse. Similar interest shown from Standard Merchant Bank in London, Berliner Handels und Frankfurter Bank, Commerz Bank, and Goldman Sachs. 1981/12/2 Credit Suisse note on the Development Bank for Southern Africa: *“We hope that the new institution will soon reach the stage when it can play the key role in the economy of the region for which it has been conceived. Maybe foreign banks like ours can then provide a service to widen its scope.”*⁷⁸

- Lots of European bank support.

1982/5/? Dr SS Brand to PW. Report on meeting with Jehoram Kutcherera, advisor to **Mugabe**. Explained Zim political situation, concerns about SA intentions, SADCC, dependence on Eastern Bloc technology, debt owed to Nyerere and Machel etc. Overall message that Mugabe is keen to improve economic situation and relations with SA. 1982/6/3 PW response: thanks so much, shall carefully pass on to security circles without harming your source.⁷⁹

- This source elsewhere called Joram Kucherera.⁸⁰

1982/5/11 Note on possible weapons provision from/for Britain following British enquiry.⁸¹

- Thatcher government.

1982/11/22 PW to Dr Goh Keng Swee, Senior Deputy Prime Minister, C/o Ministry of Education, **Singapore**. Thanks for granting PG Marais of Armscor an interview during his recent visit to your country, discussing matters of mutual interest. As expression of gratitude, invites to visit SA in 1983 as honoured guest – will be treated with appropriate discretion.⁸²

1982/11/23 Menachem **Begin** to PW. Deep gratitude for moving message of condolence in our bereavement. This through Israeli Embassy, Pretoria.⁸³

1983/5/24 Chiu Chuanf-Huan, Vice Premier of **RoC** to PW. Thanks for lovely trip.⁸⁴

⁷⁵ Magnus Malan notes 1981-82 – Armscor, Sharon, Kerktoring, Chiavelli etc.

⁷⁶ Magnus Malan notes 1981-82 – Armscor, Sharon, Kerktoring, Chiavelli etc.

⁷⁷ Magnus Malan notes 1981-82 – Armscor, Sharon, Kerktoring, Chiavelli etc.

⁷⁸ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

⁷⁹ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

⁸⁰ Search for “joram” in e.g. here: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alec_Smith.

⁸¹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 82-83 – UK weapons, secret projects, Sanlam, Rhodie, military budget

⁸² PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

⁸³ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

1983/7/14 Dr Hennie Meyer to PW. Among the many friendly foreigners who have stayed on my bush farm and gone on to rave about SA to all is US Senator HL Richardson of California, who interests young senators in coming to SA. Invitations to come visit to discuss.⁸⁵

- Senator Richardson wiki [here](#) – e.g. founder and chairman of Gun Owners of America.

1983/9/20 WC Dempsey of Brussels Embassy to PW. Belgium in crisis following strike. Mention of John. *“My hartlike dank dat u ‘n paar minute aan prof Vlerick afgestaan het. Vir hom was dit voorwaar die hoogtepunt van sy besoek aan Suid-Afrika.”* Vlerick advises integration with coloured, as speak the same language – the Europeans are so naïve, not viable in SA. *“Maar ons moet hom nie te hard oordeel nie, hy doen baie goeie werk vir Suid-Afrika hier en is bereid om op te staan en vir ons in die bree te tree”*. More update on Belgian situation. 1983/10/4 PW response: general response to other items mentioned – no mention of Vlerick.⁸⁶

- Meeting between Vlerick and PW in 1983.

1983/10/7 Jack Penn to PW. Attaches letter sent to Air-Vice Marshall Menaul, old friend of Penn and of SA. Hoping content will reach Mrs. Thatcher. Attaches letter asking where Thatcher gets her info on SA’s “aggressive stance” towards neighbours, defending SA policy, advising against finger waving. 1983/10/14 PW response: Mrs Thatcher’s interference in SA domestic affairs unwelcome, unhelpful – “since the mess the British Government under her leadership made of the Rhodesian question I have very little confidence in her”.⁸⁷

1984 PW Botha document entitled: Toestemming aan Wes-Duitse kontrakteurs vir samewerking met bou van duikbote in RSA. German SSC unanimously but for Genscher approved. IKL/HDW advise that issue probably finalised soon. Fuller interim report from “Ingenieurkantor Lubeck (German Contractor)” for Mr Venter attached. PM Botha should raise issue with **Chancellor Kohl**.⁸⁸

- Issues of strategic arms provision being discussed at level of heads of government.

1984/4/4 Earl Billy Delaware to PW. I took on board everything you said to me. Will pass on various messages to UK government – along the lines of back off. Please no more removals – terrible publicity, drastic setback to improving image.⁸⁹

- This seems to be nobleman William Herbrand Sackville, 10th Earl De La Warr, father of the [current](#) number 11.

⁸⁴ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

⁸⁵ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

⁸⁶ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

⁸⁷ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

⁸⁸ PW Botha 75-76, 84 – Defence, Armscor, Boas, Israel

⁸⁹ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

1984/6/4 Jacques Soustelle to PW. I am sadly unable to attend ceremony, regretted *“all the more since I would have gladly seized this opportunity to meet you and to express to you my highest appreciation and my wishes for the success of your action.”*⁹⁰

- Jacques [Soustelle](#), French anthropologist and political figure.

1984/6/5 Minutes/report of meeting between PW and **Chancellor Kohl** in Bonn. Important issue of industrial co-operation. Mention of IKL/HDW matter – Kohl says he will take care of it personally.⁹¹

1984/7/4 Mr R Ramrachia, President of **Mauritius**-South Africa Friendship Society, to PW. Wish to discuss setting up Mauritius embassy in SA, and much interest in setting up friendship society and better relations with SA among prominent people in Mauritius. Wish your blessing and official photo.⁹²

1984/10/8 Mr and Mrs J **Mauricheau-Beaupré**. Written on their business card, good wishes, personal update, congratulations.⁹³

- Mauricheau-Beaupré apparently related to Jacques [Foccart](#) (see SANDF for more on Foccart). “Jean Mauricheau-Baupré was another, rather mysterious, figure in Foccart’s network. To cite Péan’s journalistic work on the French secret services: ‘From 1960, “Monsieur Jean” finds himself involved in all jolts on the black continent. Wherever France hesitates to intervene officially, or the SDECE is too detectable, we can see appear the profile of Mauricheau-Beaupré’. Foccart referred to him as an ‘indefatigable militant of reconciliation between black Africa and South Africa’...”. Advisory to presidents of Ivory Coast, Gabon, Chad etc.⁹⁴

1984/11/27 Note from US Embassy – appreciation from Reagan for congratulatory message on occasion of his re-election. Text of Reagan message incl.: *“Over the next four years, I look forward to continuing to work together on the many challenges before us. I greatly value the good relationship between our two nations and hope to further strengthen these ties in the future.”*⁹⁵

1985/9/? Telegram from Luis Alberto Monge, President of **Costa Rica**. Congratulations on occasion of the celebration of the national day of the republic of Costa Rica.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

⁹¹ PW Botha 84-86 – Meetings – Kohl, Leutwiler, US ambassador Nickel

⁹² PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

⁹³ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

⁹⁴

<https://books.google.co.za/books?id=YABvZRghzkAC&lpg=PA64&ots=phBD9qzpGx&dq=%22jean%20Mauricheau-Beaupr%C3%A9%22&pg=PA49#v=onepage&q=%22jean%20Mauricheau-Beaupr%C3%A9%22&f=false>

⁹⁵ PW Botha 84-85 – correspondence – Naspers, Rapport, Rupert, Reagan, Sanlam

⁹⁶ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

1985/9/23 PW to King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz of **Saudi Arabia**. *"Both our countries share the same beliefs in equality, justice and fairness for all mankind. Both our countries can rightly be regarded as bastions against the spread of Communism..."* Need support of just and sincere leaders in this time of reform. Hope we can soon co-operate more closely in political and economic fields.⁹⁷

1985/12/19 PW to **Leutwiler**. Pleased to learn from Dr CL Stals that you will be visiting SA in January 1986. Two documents handed to you in Zurich correctly reflect our views and can be shared – any developments can be discussed in George. Leutwiler CV and summary of position on SA attached. Also itinerary of trip.⁹⁸

1986/3/3 **Amery** to PW. Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe *"both showed a keen interest in the account I gave them of our talk and, I think, a genuine understanding. My impression is that the tide is turning against the anti-apartheid movement...P.S. You may like to know that my old friend Woodrow Wyatt was deeply and favourably impressed with you and has been writing accordingly in the News of the World and The Times."* Attaches clipping by Amery in The Daily Telegraph, against sanctions.⁹⁹

1986/6/12 Transcript of meeting between PW and USA ambassador Nickel. Nickel: your two recent letters have disturbed the President greatly. He continues to oppose harsh punitive sanctions, but state of emergency a cause for concern, peaceful assemblies must be allowed, must quicken pace of reforms. PW response angry and defensive – this is a domestic issue, butt out. Very blunt, combative, e.g. *"Fourthly, if certain countries in the free world wish to apply sanctions, let them do so as quickly as possible. I'm not going to crawl before other countries because of the threat of sanctions."* Angry that message is verbal, rather than previous letters as decency requires. Nickel responds that message is verbal not in spirit of trying to downgrade the dialogue, but just because *"sometimes things get put on paper which are very difficult to wipe out"*. PW asks if this message is a threat or what the intention is – your intention is to interfere. Who are you to talk about attacking outside the country when you attacked Grenada? It is high time the US stand up and tell the world that they are on the side of the forces of peace and the forces of freedom in South Africa – put money where mouth is. *"And in conclusion Mr Ambassador may I tell you that I am not going to allow the United States to fight its elections in South Africa.. I suggest that you start applying your minds to your unemployed as we are doing with our and you are starting to upgrade the miserable conditions in your slums...I did not interfere on that... We are a small country but I'm not going to be buggered about."*¹⁰⁰

- This is just an extraordinary document that I think is awesome and everyone should see. US hypocrisy. Blustery PW as underdog.

1986/6/18 Julian **Amery** to PW. Having read their report, I am sorry I urged you to give full cooperation to the Eminent Persons, and said so publicly in the debate in the House of Commons.

⁹⁷ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

⁹⁸ PW Botha 84-86 – Meetings – Kohl, Leutwiler, US ambassador Nickel

⁹⁹ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

¹⁰⁰ PW Botha 84-86 – Meetings – Kohl, Leutwiler, US ambassador Nickel

Report is inherently unreasonable. Attaches transcript of statement made in debate. 1986/7/2 PW response: thank you, couldn't agree more.¹⁰¹

1986/10/29 Minutes of (first?) meeting of the Cabinet committee on sanctions. Purpose, goals for committee etc.¹⁰²

1986/11/25 JMR Berardo of Egoli Consolidated Mines to the PM of **Portugal**, Anibal Cavaco Silva. Writing as the legitimate representative of the South African Portuguese Community to express deep sorrow that PW Botha, RF Botha and their wives have not been welcome to Portugal during their recent visit to Europe. Makes case for why they should have been welcomed. Wishes also that certain SA personalities be allowed to visit him on a private basis in Portugal and Madeira – incl. Magnus Malan, to recuperate after heart surgery. Need visas.¹⁰³

1986/12/2-3 Following invite of three years ago, **Mrs Pinochet of Chile** wishes to visit SA.¹⁰⁴

1987/1/28 Minutes of meeting of the Cabinet committee on Sanctions. Decision that inquiry be done into whether/how private sector sanctions-busting behaviour should be coordinated. Mention of **"Isle of Mann"** opportunity.¹⁰⁵

1987/5/20 Minutes. Annexure on visits to the Isle of Man. Mr Jan Tromp in 1985 informed the Department of Trade and Industry that Street Financial Limited of London was acting as marketing agent for a free trade zone that the Isle of Man was setting up. SA involvement in its development welcomed. Minister and others went to meet in London and visit with Dr Edgar Mann on the island. Agreed that feasibility and cost implications would be investigated. Determined to be uneconomical, SA not to get involved, John Webster (senior economist of Isle of Man) informed.¹⁰⁶

1987/8/5 Minutes. Note expanding sanctions. Affecting 4.8% of total exports, 7.6% of non-gold exports, 22.4% of exports to the US, 3.7% to Japan, 6.7% to commonwealth countries, and 3.7% to England. As a result, SA projected unemployment to increase by 15,000 in 1987, by 25,000 in 1998, and as many as 235,000 in 1991.¹⁰⁷

1988 ish document on current projects to avoid sanctions. Black Forest: letter writing to Reagan, Bush etc. Schwarzwald: similar program in Europe, to Kohl, Thatcher etc. Project Tango/Calypso: visit by people from the NRB network to make films, documentaries in SA, including showing bad effects of sanctions. Save: planned visit of Senators to SA, donation of R20,000,000 from US investors in SA education. Portico: letter writing campaign by Jefferson Foundation from US residents to local newspapers. Canopus: publication of a sanctions handbook by Ramboc documenting those opposed to sanctions, for distribution to all members of Congress, video on black suffering as result of sanctions etc. Other unnamed projects include publication of positive articles about SA in the Jewish

¹⁰¹ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

¹⁰² FW de Klerk Cabinet committee on sanctions 86-90

¹⁰³ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

¹⁰⁴ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

¹⁰⁵ FW de Klerk Cabinet committee on sanctions 86-90

¹⁰⁶ FW de Klerk Cabinet committee on sanctions 86-90

¹⁰⁷ FW de Klerk Cabinet committee on sanctions 86-90

media in US, various church things like visit of black SA church leaders to US, use of friendly young church leader in US to run public campaign to raise funds to help SA blacks suffering under sanctions. BRD TV, radio teams and journalists to make anti-sanctions material. Establishment of Islamic Bank of South Africa. Visit of VIPs from Pakistan, Turkey; to India.¹⁰⁸

1988/3/30 Informed of **Dulcie September** assassination in Paris. Only comment: *“Dit blyk dat daar onderlinge stryd en ernstige verdeeldheid tussen faksies in die ANC is, wat veral rondom finansiële probleme sentreer”*.¹⁰⁹

1988/6/23 ish DM Steyn, Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, to PW. Regarding your recent direct involvement in the granting of visa to “unofficial” delegation from **PRoC**, here is a report of what was achieved. Similar summary also of visit of East German contact. Major successes so far in unconventional trade – with boycotted countries.¹¹⁰

- China report lists export opportunities for e.g. brandy, fruit juice, packing material, vanadium, underground communication systems for mines; cooperation on satellite tech and strategic equipment. Rene Yu of Hong Kong to be consultant for these opportunities.¹¹¹
- GDR report names empowered intermediary Dr Leonard Mehlber of West Germany, also agent for Russia and various other Comecon countries. Opportunities listed include iron ore, wool, machinery.¹¹²

- Healthy trade building with GDR and PRoC.

1988/10/26 Minutes. Reserve Bank to prepare formal opinion regarding seeking by US agencies of SA dollar transactions in US banks worldwide.¹¹³

1989/2/15 Minister of Finance indicates that financial sanctions the most effective of all sanctions, and that **SA can be quickly brought to a standstill if banks refuse to do business with SA**.¹¹⁴

1989/5/3 Discussion of what to do in response to the **Blowpipe** affair.¹¹⁵

1989/11/8 Discussion of terms of provision of weapons to **Iraq**.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸ PW Botha 87-88 – sanctions – China trade, various projects

¹⁰⁹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARb, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

¹¹⁰ PW Botha 87-88 – sanctions – China trade, various projects

¹¹¹ PW Botha 87-88 – sanctions – China trade, various projects

¹¹² PW Botha 87-88 – sanctions – China trade, various projects

¹¹³ FW de Klerk Cabinet committee on sanctions 86-90

¹¹⁴ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

¹¹⁵ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

¹¹⁶ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

1990/2/27 Minutes. Proposed official stance on sanctions debate. Impact of existing export sanctions marginal or negligible. Issue in US has become one of domestic politics, so out of SA control. Relaxation of sanctions not be asked for now, as would aid Mandela PR cause. Issue should be downplayed, not mentioned.¹¹⁷

1990/3/28 Apropos sanctions, no recognition to be given to PM of **UK**, as it could make her position more difficult.¹¹⁸

1990/4/9 Letter from Gordon Alexander Leith of Bowens attorneys to FW de Klerk. As requested, provides outline and chronology “of the events leading up to the final negotiation of a **One Billion U.S Dollar loan for Supra Tech Holdings...as well as the negotiation of the availability of loan funds in multiples of 600 Million U.S. Dollars from Arab sources.**” Supra alleged to have been a cover for the SA gov. seeking foreign loan for township development. Arab syndicate wanted gold bullion. Loan eventually became Government to Government – Swiss to SA. Loan not eventually taken up, but 3% commission still being claimed. Names mentioned: Graham Sterley of Lonrho Projects (later Loncon Projects), Gerry Simon, Alwyn Lombard of Supra, Peter Grant-Smith, Sandra Woodland, Dr Ian Waitt of Edengem, Jan Carl Kruger, United Mizrahi Bank Limited of Israel, Eliahie Miron, David Kimche, Alan Buckland, James Cross, Derek Davies. Attaches some docs from Supra Tech to Ian Waitt of Edengem, Peter Grant-Smith.¹¹⁹

- This doesn’t seem to have been a scam. Swiss gov. still willing to lend huge sum to SA. Some interesting details on how such a deal could have been done – e.g. dedicated phone lines, off the shelf projects.

1990/5/8-25 Itinerary of State President’s visit to Europe. Includes smallish formal dinner in Paris at which **Jean-Yves Ollivier** and his partner Pierre Lethier are present. Hundreds of names.¹²⁰

- Lethier also an old spy apparently at some stage gone private.¹²¹ See [here](#) in Elf Affair. Alleged to have been the former French intelligence officer acting as conduit for payments “by Elf Aquitaine, the French oil company, to the political slush fund of Chancellor Helmut Kohl,” who later claimed this was a hoax aimed to hide purely private financial goals of Elf.¹²²

1993/2/17 Policy and procedures for the sale of weapons to **Iran**.¹²³

¹¹⁷ FW de Klerk Cabinet committee on sanctions 86-90

¹¹⁸ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

¹¹⁹ FW de Klerk – Vlok, Botha, Supra Tech billion dollar loan

¹²⁰ FW de Klerk 90 Georgiades, Altron CGE, Goldfields, Europe trip, SADF speech, Armscor

¹²¹ [http://www.letemps.ch/Page/Uuid/9e7ed0a2-4883-11e3-99b8-93bdde452fb9/Jean-Yves_Ollivier_les_confessions_dun_Fran%C3%A7ais_de_lombre_qui_aimait_la_Suisse](http://www.letemps.ch/Page/Uuid/9e7ed0a2-4883-11e3-99b8-93bdde452fb9/Jean-Yves_Ollivier_les_confessions_dun_Fran%C3%A7ais_de_lombre_qui_aimait_la_Suisse;) ; <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=GABoBAAAQBAJ&lpg=PT81&ots=kGitSuFMwR&dq=jean%20yves%20ollivier%20%22Pierre%20Lethier%22&pg=PT81#v=onepage&q=jean%20yves%20ollivier%20%22Pierre%20Lethier%22&f=false>

¹²² <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/13/news/13iht-elf.2.t.html>

¹²³ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 93 – Iran, oil, NI HQ, Armscor, audit, secret documents

1993/9/8 President not planning to attend Davos conference in Jan 1994. Also note on US case against Armscor officials.¹²⁴

DBSOLE Pg 279, para 2: “To counter the anti-South African bias of the [German] Foreign Ministry official, I had to resort to various expedients to bring pressure to bear from other quarters. For example, if I got word of an anti-South African move being hatched in the Africa division of the Foreign Ministry which might conceivably affect the development of economic ties between South Africa and the Federal Republic, I would invoke the assistance of top level German business. Thus I would speak to or pay a visit to someone like Dr. Joachim Zahn, head of **Daimler Benz** in Stuttgart, and lay out the situation to him as I saw it. He would consult with other business associates and then telephone **Genscher** to say that he has heard that a certain proposal could possibly be submitted to the Minister by his officials in the near future and that he would appreciate an opportunity to discuss the proposition personally before Genscher took action on the proposal. In this way it was sometimes possible to head off an anti-South African proposition, whereas if a proposal reached Genscher’s desk and received his approval before outside intervention could be mounted, it was virtually impossible afterward to secure a reversal of the decision.”¹²⁵

- Manipulation of German political processes using top level German business with ties to SA as intermediaries.

DBSOLE Pg 373, para 3: “Shortly after the passage of the Security Council sanctions resolutions, Brand Fourie visited Washington for a meeting of what is known as the **Pinay Group**, of which he was a member. [The Pinay Group, named after its original sponsor, a former Prime Minister of France, is an international group comprising mostly right wing Conservatives (in my Washington days its Chairman was Sir Julian Amery, M.P.) who came together, preferably once a year, to discuss the international affairs of the day. Its membership is composed of parliamentarians, officials (in their private capacity), retired diplomats, academics etc., all of comparatively high standing. The Group invites prominent V.I.P.’s to address it. At a meeting which I attended in 1980 (deputising for Brand Fourie) the principal speaker was **Madame Marcos**, wife of the then President of the Philippines.]”¹²⁶

DBSOLE Pg 463, para 2: “My successive Political Counsellors were Herbert Beukes and Sean Cleary. Beukes, who later became Ambassador in Washington, had a very good brain and was an excellent man on the desk, but had little gift for human relations, lacking that kind of charisma. Cleary, on the other hand, was outstanding in this respect and acquired a circle of friends in high places which was unique for anyone of his rank in Washington...” Quite a bit more on Cleary, his career, ultimate resignation and setting up of his own “very remunerative consultancy with offices in Johannesburg and Windhoek and representatives in Europe and the United States”.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 93 – Iran, oil, NI HQ, Armscor, audit, secret documents

¹²⁵ DB Sole – This above all (extracts)

¹²⁶ DB Sole – This above all (extracts)

¹²⁷ DB Sole – This above all (extracts)



Big business and party funding

1973ish Text of PW Botha speech entitled: *Industry's contribution to the defence of the nation*.

Explains need for and role of the Armaments Board and of Armscor. Short summary of the procedure of procurement. Policy concerning the utilisation of industrial resources. Extent of private industry participation – in bookyear 1971/72 some 200 contractors paid some R35,000,000, plus almost same again to Armscor subsidiaries.¹²⁸

1976/5/24 PW Botha to PT van der Merwe of **Federale Group**. Thanks for kind note and support.

1976/5/12 PT van der Merwe to PW Botha. Fawning note.¹²⁹

1976/7/26 Document confirming that one whole dead springbok has been donated to Minister PW Botha from **De Beers** Consolidated Mines Ltd.¹³⁰

1978/3 Report on **casinos** in neighbour states, especially financing and a complicated export credit financing scheme. Example of Sun City and Wild Coast Holiday Inn. Advantages, disadvantages, political implications etc.¹³¹

1979/4/20 Dr Jan Marais of Volksraad to Comdt. E Lamprecht. As a further contribution from Jewish and English businessmen, **Isaac Kaye** has given a cheque for R5,000. Hope still to get one from **Michael Katz**. Recived R2,000 from **Freddy Hirsch**; R10,000 from **Roy Schapers** of **Oceana Visserye** and **Issie Shapiro**; R250,00 from **N Werksmann**. Also soon expected from **Stewart Schubb** of **Rex Trueform**.¹³²

1979/5/1 Approval for Reserve Bank to give **Trust Bank** a rescue loan. Minister to make statement without mentioning Trust Bank name.¹³³

1979/5/8 Amendments to Protection of Business amendment Bill.¹³⁴

1980/4/2 DN Marvin of **AECI Limited** to PW Botha. *"My purpose in seeking to meet with you relates to a forty minute conversation I had with Robert Mugabe in Salisbury last week... Since I was there solely as a businessman it seemed to me some of his views and statements could be of interest to you. In short, he claims he has no intention of nationalising industry, certainly at this stage, and proposes leaving well alone..."*¹³⁵

¹²⁸ PW Botha 72-74 speech – Industry's contribution to nation's defence

¹²⁹ PW Botha 76 correspondence – Penn, De Beers springbok, Federale Groep, Thomson-CSF

¹³⁰ PW Botha 76 correspondence – Penn, De Beers springbok, Federale Groep, Thomson-CSF

¹³¹ PW Botha 78 – homeland casinos

¹³² PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹³³ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 77-79 – Armscor, media, oil, projects, Trust Bank

¹³⁴ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 77-79 – Armscor, media, oil, projects, Trust Bank

¹³⁵ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECI, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

1980/4/23 DN Marvin of **AECI Limited** to PW Botha. *"I am, therefore, only too anxious to be of any help or assistance I can and as I told you I shall be only too delighted to report back to you after my next visit to Zimbabwe when I expect to see Mugabe"*.¹³⁶

1980/10/22 PW Botha to **PJ du Plessis** of **Sanlam**. Thanks for R50,000 donation from the **Willie Hofmeyer-Trust**.¹³⁷

1980/12/1-3 It is noted that **Anglo American** has 100% taken over SA Eagle. Decided to investigate Anglo American's dominance of the SA economy. Unlike SADF (making donations to e.g. St John's Ambulance brigade), Armscor as of 1970 not to make any donations whatsoever, as confirmed by numerous external audit reports.¹³⁸

1981/1/20 CJF Human of **Federale Volksbeleggings** to PW. Best wishes for the year from the Group. Congrats on honorary doctorate. 1981/2/6 PW to CJF Human. Thanks for good wishes, same to you.¹³⁹

1981/3/6 **PE Rousseau** of **Federale Volksbeleggings Beperk** donates R50,000 (R40,000 straight up, another R10,000 at own discretion to individual electoral districts).¹⁴⁰

1981/3/17 Note taken in Cabinet of party donations from **Sanlam**, **Federale Volksbeleggings**, and the Jewish community of Natal.¹⁴¹

1981/3/20 **TL de Beer** of **General Mining Union Corporation Beperk** donates R50,000.¹⁴²

1981/9/22 Mr **Danie Maartens** and **Nathan Kirsch** mentioned in a list of names (of invitees to an event?).¹⁴³

1981/9/24 Financial position of Federale Raad (incl. R100,000 from **Volksas**, R7,500 from **Saambou**, R10,000 from **Tedelex**; R40,000 TO intelligence services).¹⁴⁴

1981/10/5 Invitation to donors, in Parliament. **Piet Rabie**, **Brian Cohen**, **C Myles**, **Gordon Verhoef**, **WA Jones** (crossed out), **S Bloch**, **J Katz**, **C Wolff**, **R Newman**, **L Donnelly**, **N Sapkides**, **F Waring**, **M Maring**, **Isaac Kaye**, **Hendrik Smit** (crossed out), **A Searle**, **H Steyn**, **AJ Koch**, **D Gordon**, **Bertie Lubner**, **Jan Picard**, **Abe Shapiro**, **E Kleynhans**, **JC Hennie**, **T Aronson**, **FJ van Deventer**, **C Mealear**.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁶ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECI, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

¹³⁷ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹³⁸ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

¹³⁹ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECI, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

¹⁴⁰ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁴¹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

¹⁴² PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁴³ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

¹⁴⁴ PW Botha 81-86 – NP finances – Federale, Sanlam, Volkskas, Barlow

¹⁴⁵ PW Botha 81 – Guest list of donor lunch

1981/10/15 TL de Beer of **Gencor**-Ontwikkelingsfonds R50,000.¹⁴⁶

1982/2/9 Acknowledgement of R100,000 donation “Per Nedbank vir gemagtigde kliënt”.¹⁴⁷

1982/2/17 PW Botha thanks Mr **E Mottalini** C/o **Plascon Paints** for handsome contribution from “our friend”.¹⁴⁸

1982/4/14 Mr **B Slome** of **Tedelex** (Television & Electrical Distributors) makes donations (total R30,000).¹⁴⁹

1982/6/23 **B Lubner** of **PG Group** fawns and donates R20,000.¹⁵⁰

1982/8/18 **VH Doolan** of **BMW SA** to PW. Makes special offers on cars. Ehlers response: shall keep in mind, thanks.¹⁵¹

1982/9/22 **WP Venter** of **Altech**. Altech has done so much for the country, employs so many, appreciates and thanks SA gov. Donates R150,000 over 5 years – attaches cheque for R10,000.¹⁵²

1983/1/12 Mr **B Slome** of **Tedelex** donates R50,000.¹⁵³

1983/4/21 Thanks to **Mr L Shill** for “substantial personal donations you have made now and in 1981/1982”.¹⁵⁴

1983/4/29 Mr **MT Ridley** of **LTA Limited** donates R9,500. Prefers that it be kept confidential, as “LTA prefers to display a totally neutral stance in regard to party political issues but we are conscious of our civic duty to contribute towards the electoral process”.¹⁵⁵

1983/5/16 **FJ du Plessis** of **Sanlam** to PW. Discussion of poor by-election results, and offers support. 1983/5/23 PW response: Thanks and own thoughts on poor results.¹⁵⁶ 1983/9/2 **FJ du Plessis** to PW.

¹⁴⁶ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁴⁷ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁴⁸ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁴⁹ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁵⁰ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁵¹ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

¹⁵² PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁵³ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁵⁴ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁵⁵ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedelex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov, LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁵⁶ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

Thanks for support, assure same to you, please have this copy of our new pocket diary. 1983/9/14
PW response: Thanks. Also have taken note that some state agencies still discriminating against
Sanlam – shall remedy.¹⁵⁷

1983/9/6 **CL Walton** of **Oceana Fishing Group** contributes R20,000.¹⁵⁸

1983/9/16 Thanks to Mr **B Trosskie** for cheques from **ComAir** and **G Conlyn** and **B Frankel** of
National Airways Corporation (R50,000) via **Mimosa Films**.¹⁵⁹

1983/10/21 **Basil Hersov** of **Anglovaal** Group makes donation to contribute to further “dismantling
of the hurtful aspects of discrimination and segregation”.¹⁶⁰

1984/5/17 **David Rockefeller** to PW. Thanks for time spent during trip with Simon Steward to SA. “*I
am aware of the delicate line you must follow on many of these issues in order not to lose political
support, but I feel hopeful that you will be able to make progress, both domestically and
internationally, so that those who would like to work more closely with you will feel free to give you
their backing.*”¹⁶¹

1984/6/25 **B Slome** of **Tedex** makes R100,000 donation.¹⁶²

1984/6/27 **TL de Beer** of **Gencor** makes (size?) donation.¹⁶³

1984/8/2 Thanks to **Mr Castle** of Durban for R100,000 contribution. Cheque to Arthur Young Agency
account for R100,000 from **SA Sugar Millers’ Association**. Cheque from Arthur Young Agency
Account to R Castle for R100,000. Cheque from R Castle to PW Botha Referendum Fund for
R100,000. R Castle, stockbroker, writes of success of funding operation, and attaches copies of
cheques used so that money is **untraceable**. Mentions Chris Saunders, Frank Jones, JD K(?) and
DuKeer (??).¹⁶⁴

1984/9/21 **JAJ Pickard** of **Picbel** (Picardi Beleggings Beperk) donates R100,000.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁷ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

¹⁵⁸ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov,
LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁵⁹ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov,
LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁶⁰ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov,
LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁶¹ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport,
Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

¹⁶² PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov,
LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁶³ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov,
LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁶⁴ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov,
LTA, Castle etc.

¹⁶⁵ PW Botha 79-84 – Funding – Sanlam, Gencor, Federale, Altech, Lubner, Tedex, Plascon, Picbel, Hersov,
LTA, Castle etc.

1984/11/12 FJ du Plessis of **Sanlam** to PW, on economic policy. In our recent phone call, you mentioned that it seemed to you that I didn't want to be part of the team any more. Not true – explains why he had to say what he did in a talk (SA not reaping benefits of 80s due to wrong policy). I have raised concerns with you before. I prioritise country's financial interests over Sanlam's.¹⁶⁶

1984/12/5 PW response: reiterates that members of the family of Sanlam, The NP and the Nasionale Pers must be more careful than others with public statements about each other.¹⁶⁷

1985/2/12 **HF Oppenheimer** to PW. Recent policy announcements very promising, positive. *"In the long run, however, nothing will satisfy our friends overseas (I am not concerned with the impossible task of pleasing our enemies) unless we go beyond social and economic reform to establish an acceptable political dispensation within South Africa for those blacks who are not able or are not willing to be accommodated within the political system of independent homelands."* Need to have talks, make fundamental transformation etc. Offers help: *"It seems to me just possible that some of the connections I have, or would be in a position to make, inside or outside South Africa might in certain circumstances be used to advantage in an entirely unofficial and confidential way."*

1985/2/25 PW response: vague, not on the actual issues. E.g. Unity important, people should be less critical, I welcome the idea that someone as respected as you could use your influence to build unity and maintain foreign goodwill.¹⁶⁸

1985/3/21 PW to HF **Oppenheimer**, apologising for seating arrangements during the function in Tuynhuis when you received the Decoration for Meritorious Service. Seat next you was empty – mistake. 1985/3/25 Handwritten note Harry Oppenheimer to PW. Thanks for courteous apology.¹⁶⁹

1985/3/29 B Landau sends **Gencor** Annual Report – thought the President might be interests, as Gencor is the second largest group of companies. Some potentially useful stuff we got for Fergus.¹⁷⁰

1986 Seating plan for business leader function with all major industry names. D Mitchell, BA Baumann, WC Dunning, AP Dyer, BD Mehl, RR Morris, M Delco, DA Thompson, BE Young, GPC de Kock, JN Reddy, MA Johnson, DR Sealy-Fisher, D English, MS Hayes, J Kane-Berman, GW Nocker, JR Tait, M Tambakeras, H Thomson, CM Baron, JW Begg, AN Dominy, M Dumbrell, A Holden, RJ Ironside, AD Judd, CH Resnick, FC Sernatinger, L Barth, DJ Allen, DE Azagury, DA Chambers, RD Macpherson, GC Oehmler, JD Oliver, CL Schreuder, CH Strydom, L Wellons, R Dean, DT Fletcher, SF Hofberg, J Wilson, WM Munro, DR Osmon, W Quinn, AH Wilson, TG Young, L Abrahamse, GR Barr, RA Barrell, L Berglind, TW Largier, BJ Mapherson, AG Rishard, MR Selly, AL Tainton, N Van Heerden, DW Steyn, J van der Horst, G De Place, JR Kantor, E Moller, GE Smith, CA Spalding, CE Weber, W

¹⁶⁶ PW Botha 84-85 – correspondence – Naspers, Rapport, Rupert, Reagan, Sanlam

¹⁶⁷ PW Botha 84-85 – correspondence – Naspers, Rapport, Rupert, Reagan, Sanlam

¹⁶⁸ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

¹⁶⁹ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

¹⁷⁰ PW Botha 85 – Gencor AR

Looney, J Pickard, M Allen, KJ McCullough, RE Ferris, GM Hatton, DH Swaine, M Zimmerman, J McGibbon.¹⁷¹

1986/05/23 Address by Minister of Finance BJ du Plessis to **Altron**. Some comment on general economic situation (recessionary period, consumer pessimism, disinvestment action, trade sanctions etc.) *"The Altron group presents a happy example of an organisation that has confronted these apparently negative circumstances positively: it has firmly grasped the opportunities opened up by these hostile actions for the development and extension of a local electronics industry and has turned these opportunities to the advantage of its shareholders and the community alike. This is the approach we need regarding the many opportunities South Africa offers the businessman today."*¹⁷²

1986/6/4 JC Heunis to FJ van Deventer. **Volkscas** to give R250,000 in annual payments of R50,000; **Federale** R10,000 now, possible R150,000 over 5 years; **Sanlam** R50,000 now, possible annual repeats; **Bennie Slome** already paid. *Volkscas and Sanlam contribution absolutely confidential.*¹⁷³

1986/7/21 CJF Human of **Federale** to PW. Attaches annual report with pleasure, appreciation for cooperation and support received from you, cabinet and officials in a difficult time. PW response: thanks.¹⁷⁴

1986/9/27 FW de Klerk to PW Botha. Another R50,000 received from **Barlow Rand** via **DE Cooper**. Confidential.¹⁷⁵

1987/1/21 Report on **Minorco/Anglo American** behaviour. Trying to get control of Consolidated Goldfields. Not in SA's interest, as Anglo would then control 62% of gold and 28% of coal. To investigate options to oppose.¹⁷⁶

1987/6/10 Certain trade statistics info no longer to be supplied to the IMF, as result of sanctions. For Mosselbay project, following firms being considered: **Davet McKee** and **EL Bateman** as managing contractors, **Fluor SA** with **LTA Process Engineering** and/or **Engineering Management Services** as chief engineering contractor, and Badger (Holland) and Engineering Management Services as engineers for the Synthol units.¹⁷⁷

1987/8/20 Federale Raad income listed from: **Federale Volksbeleggings**, **Associated SA Bakers**, **Willie Hofmeyer Trust**, Anonymous, **D Maartens**, **Suiderland Voorsittersfonds**, **GM Ricci (R250,000)**, **Eric Samson**, **VCCM Lyons Bramley**, **SC Gorelick**, **Saambou**, **Barlows**, **Mimosa Rolprent Produksies**.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ PW Botha 86 – Business leader function, media briefing

¹⁷² BJ du Plessis 1986 speech – Altron

¹⁷³ PW Botha 81-86 – NP finances – Federale, Sanlam, Volkscas, Barlow

¹⁷⁴ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

¹⁷⁵ PW Botha 81-86 – NP finances – Federale, Sanlam, Volkscas, Barlow

¹⁷⁶ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

¹⁷⁷ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

¹⁷⁸ PW Botha 81-86 – NP finances – Federale, Sanlam, Volkscas, Barlow

1987/9/16 **Jacques Sellschop** TO PW. Attaches an address by **Oscar Dhlomo** delivered at a small dinner party, at which were also guests **Harry Oppenheimer**, **Albert Wessels** and **Simon Brand**. Purpose was fundraising, but **Altech** has given no support to the Indaba venture. *"I believe Dr Dhlomo shares my perception that Minister Buthelezi should seek the benefit of discussions with the State President's office"*, but contact through conventional channels not possible due to political pressures. I can be the catalyst to bring about an informal meeting with Buthelezi.¹⁷⁹

1988/4/28 **Charles Rathbone** of **LTA Ltd.** To FW de Klerk. Can't come to banquet but will sponsor a table.¹⁸⁰

1988/5/2 A **Lewelyn Ringo** of **mathison+Ashley holdings** limited to FW de Klerk. Can't make a donation this year, as budget exhausted, but can do next financial year.¹⁸¹

1988/5/3 **MA Sander** of **AECI Limited** to FW de Klerk. Can't come to banquet but sending R10,000.¹⁸²

1988/10/6 HJ van Wijk for FW de Klerk to **DE Cooper** of **Barlow Rand**. Attaches receipt for donation. Letter of thanks from FW de Klerk included. Also notes to various people (including PW Botha) that donation is to be confidential [thus through Bowman?], and some other correspondence. 1988/9/29 Receipt for R50,000 donation from Bowman Gilfillan Hayman. Copy of cheque also attached.¹⁸³

1988/10/25 FW de Klerk to **TL de Beer** of **Gencor**. Thanks and provides receipt for R20,000 and R50,000 cheques, and confirms where money will be spent. 30/9/1988 TL de Beer of Gencor to FW de Klerk. Attaches donations, with requests.¹⁸⁴

1989 Loose receipts: **OZZ Construction** R25,000; **Carlos do Santos** R10,000; Mr **E Cambanis** R25,000; **Frankel Venter** (?) R10,000; **Carlos dos Santos** R15,000; **Auto Enorm** (?) R15,000; **C Tomazon** R26,000; **Corporate Merchant Bank** R10,000; **Condor Moz** (?) R75,000; **SA Bids Management and Financial Services** R50,000; **Rustum Management** R25,000; **Bid Corporate Services** R15,000; **Gencor** R75,000.¹⁸⁵

1989/4/13 LJ Nel to FW de Klerk. Attaches cheques from **LTA** to value of R22,000. Bill Venter's letter too.¹⁸⁶

1989/5/29 **Brian M Stocks** of **Brian Stocks Properties** to Gert Oosthuizen. Encloses R20,000 and instructs where to be spent.¹⁸⁷

1989/6/19 FW de Klerk to HJ Coetzee. Informs that **LTA** made a reasonably generous contributions, of which R12,500 for Federale Raad and R2,000 to the Orange Free State.¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁹ PW Botha 87-88 – Altech, Buthelezi

¹⁸⁰ FW de Klerk NP funding correspondence 87-88 – LTA, AECI, Gencor, Barlow

¹⁸¹ FW de Klerk NP funding correspondence 87-88 – LTA, AECI, Gencor, Barlow

¹⁸² FW de Klerk NP funding correspondence 87-88 – LTA, AECI, Gencor, Barlow

¹⁸³ FW de Klerk NP funding correspondence 87-88 – LTA, AECI, Gencor, Barlow

¹⁸⁴ FW de Klerk NP funding correspondence 87-88 – LTA, AECI, Gencor, Barlow

¹⁸⁵ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89-92 – Pepkor, Suiderland, Naspers, Gencor

¹⁸⁶ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89 – Perskor, Investment Bank of China, Old Mutual, Rupert, LTA, Altron

¹⁸⁷ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89 – Perskor, Investment Bank of China, Old Mutual, Rupert, LTA, Altron

1989/8/17 Hendrik Schoeman of Schoeman Boerdery to FW de Klerk. Attaches correspondence with reps from **Old Mutual, Standard Bank**. 1989/8/11 **JG van der Horst** to Schoeman. Old Mutual won't contribute, but he will donate R10,000 in his personal capacity.¹⁸⁹

1989/8/29 SPN Basson informs Minister of Finance that **Mr Pienaar** of the **International Investment Bank of China** wishes to make a R250,000 donation to the NP. Recommendation requested.¹⁹⁰

1989/9/5 FW de Klerk to T **Vosloo** of Nasionale Pers. Thanks for friendly letter, generous **donation**, loyalty, friendship, support for party in the papers in difficult times. 1989/8/17 T Vosloo to FW de Klerk. Makes donation from Nasionale Pers to NP Transvaal of R70,000. 1989/9/5 FW de Klerk to T Vosloo. Thanks for donation from Nasionale Pers to NP (national) of R220,000. 1989/8/17 T Vosloo to FW de Klerk. Informs of R220,000 donation and notes that this compares with the R150,000 of 1987.¹⁹¹

1989/9/8 FW de Klerk to Koos Buitendag of **Perskor**. Thanks for large **donation** and Perskor's role in successful election.¹⁹²

1989/9/7 Correspondence from HJ van Wijk on visit of delegation from the **International Investment Bank of China** to the acting State President. Note that one of the delegation wishes to present a gift to De Klerk, despite low profile of the visit. Guest list, CVs etc. attached.¹⁹³

1989/10/9 FW de Klerk to **J du Preez** of **Suiderland Group**. Thanks for generous R100,000 donation. Cheque copy.¹⁹⁴

1989/11/8 FW de Klerk to **Christo Wiese**. Thanks for generous contributions. 1989/8/25 Kent Durr to FW de Klerk informing of generous Christo Wiese donations: printing to the value of R25,000 plus R25,000 to individual candidates with whom he has a personal relationship.¹⁹⁵

1990/1/22 Letter from **Antony Georgiades** to FW de Klerk. Cover note says to be discussed with Minister Pik Botha. Invitation on **Alandis** letterhead, inviting (on behalf of both Alec and Tony) FW and Marike to come and spend some time on a yacht with them around the Greek Islands. Handwritten cover note from Tony attached. FW's private secretary says he will respond soon.¹⁹⁶

1990/5/22 Letter from Elma Britton of **Altron** to FW de Klerk. Provides CV of **Pierre Suard**, Chairman and CEO of **CGE**.¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁸ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89 – Perskor, Investment Bank of China, Old Mutual, Rupert, LTA, Altron

¹⁸⁹ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89 – Perskor, Investment Bank of China, Old Mutual, Rupert, LTA, Altron

¹⁹⁰ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89 – Perskor, Investment Bank of China, Old Mutual, Rupert, LTA, Altron

¹⁹¹ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89-92 – Pepkor, Suiderland, Naspers, Gencor

¹⁹² FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89 – Perskor, Investment Bank of China, Old Mutual, Rupert, LTA, Altron

¹⁹³ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89 – Perskor, Investment Bank of China, Old Mutual, Rupert, LTA, Altron

¹⁹⁴ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89-92 – Pepkor, Suiderland, Naspers, Gencor

¹⁹⁵ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89-92 – Pepkor, Suiderland, Naspers, Gencor

¹⁹⁶ FW de Klerk 90 Georgiades, Altron CGE, Goldfields, Europe trip, SADF speech, Armscor

¹⁹⁷ FW de Klerk 90 Georgiades, Altron CGE, Goldfields, Europe trip, SADF speech, Armscor

1990/8/20 Menu of **Gold Fields** Luncheon in honour of visit to SA of Pierre Suard, with Guest of Honour FW de Klerk (also Pik Botha, Kent Durr etc.).¹⁹⁸

1994/9/6 Decision that cabinet members to inform all state institutions that **Sanlam** and **Trustbank** to be given an equal opportunity with other organisations.¹⁹⁹

Rupert

Relationship deteriorates throughout 80s (reaching a particular, very emotional low in 1986), with a sense of Rupert increasingly hedging his public involvement. But he makes a confidential R20,000 electoral contribution in 1989.

1980/3 Invitations to serve as members of the Defence Advisory Council. A Rupert crossed out and replaced with Dr Fred du Plessis.²⁰⁰

1980/3/12 PW to Dr Anton Rupert. Regarding conversation had with Cmdt. Marais of Armscor about Rupert's appointment to Defence Advisory Council. Can't be kept secret, so probably best if Rupert doesn't do it, but thanks for willingness.²⁰¹

1981/11 **Saudi Arabia** request will involve visit, stay at Fleur du Cap, top level meetings including with Armscor.²⁰²

1981/82 Rupert mentioned elsewhere in handwritten Malan notes.²⁰³

1984/11/29 Anton Rupert to PW. Press clippings suggest Soekor is considering moving its HQ to Parow. Would be better in Mosselbay or George. Regional development important. Attaches clipping from Die Burger.²⁰⁴

1984/12/5 PW response: Developments are being pursued at Mosselbay and Albertinia, but not yet made public. Parow makes sense because oil being searched on both coasts. Regional development fully under consideration. Thanks for conversation with Buthelezi at Fleur du Cap.²⁰⁵

1985/1/9 Anton Rupert to PW. Forwards letter from Dr HW Lebowe(?) with note that there are others that appreciate what you do.²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁸ FW de Klerk 90 Georgiades, Altron CGE, Goldfields, Europe trip, SADF speech, Armscor

¹⁹⁹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 82-83 – UK weapons, secret projects, Sanlam, Rhodie, military budget

²⁰⁰ PW Botha 75-81 Armscor, audit, Defence Advisory Council

²⁰¹ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECL, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

²⁰² Magnus Malan notes 1981-82 – Armscor, Sharon, Kerktoring, Chiavelli etc.

²⁰³ Magnus Malan notes 1981-82 – Armscor, Sharon, Kerktoring, Chiavelli etc.

²⁰⁴ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Rupert, Soekor

²⁰⁵ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Rupert, Soekor

²⁰⁶ PW Botha 84-85 – correspondence – Naspers, Rapport, Rupert, Reagan, Sanlam

1985/6/21 Anton Rupert to PW. Thanks for invite to Economic Advice Council, but can't accept – too busy to take on any new responsibilities. 1985/7/8 PW response: Sorry to hear that, no offence taken.²⁰⁷

1985/8/23 PW to Rupert. Thanks for the kindness and the notes you gave me. Responds to various bits of advice about a speech in Natal, housing etc. Note that I can't alienate friendly Afrikaners if I want to bring them along on this reform journey with me.²⁰⁸

1985/9/4 Rupert to PW. Advice on communications – fireside chats on human dignity, cooperation, education, housing, property rights etc. Attaches clipping about Roosevelt. 1985/9/11 PW response: I don't have time.²⁰⁹

1986/1/23 Rupert to PW. Makes reference to meeting of 22/11/85 at which he got the impression that PW's position was 'rather poverty than surrender' and unwillingness to distance self from 'apartheid'. Responds strongly and at length to these points.²¹⁰

1986/1/29 PW to Rupert: Leutwiler and I had a good conversation near George. Your recollection of our conversation at the Union Buildings was incorrect/misinterpretation. Attach an article by/from an American friend that may help you. Thanks for the book on inflation and transcript of your talk. I have many friends who give me advice, but I ignore advice that doesn't sound genuine. You turned down my invitation to serve on the Economic Advice Council – would that not have been the opportunity to really help? Attaches essay "Reflections on South Africa 'The other side of the story'" by Ronald D Friedman, also bearing name Senator Lawton Chiles. Also attached is earlier copies of this letter to Rupert, showing that original draft was far more harsh – e.g. instead of 'advice that doesn't sound genuine', had 'advice condescendingly forced on me'.²¹¹

1986/3/4 Rupert to PW. Not sure why you now seem to find my honest representations as dishonest advice.

1986/3/11 PW response: Don't know how you came to that impression. Don't want to be on bad terms, am sad that you now make nasty remarks when we see each other.²¹²

1987/12/4 Rupert a SARB director.²¹³

1989/8/17 Hendrik Schoeman of Schoeman Boerdery to FW de Klerk. Attaches correspondence with Rupert: 1989/8/11 Schoeman to Rupert. Thanks for R20,000 donation, promise to keep confidential.²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ PW Botha 85 – SABC, Japie Basson, Nasperskor merger, Rupert, subscription TV channel

²⁰⁸ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²⁰⁹ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²¹⁰ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²¹¹ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²¹² PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²¹³ PW Botha 87-88 – Finance Ministry – budget, gold policy, SARB

²¹⁴ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89 – Perskor, Investment Bank of China, Old Mutual, Rupert, LTA, Altron

- This is not a particularly large donation. R20,000 in more recent terms is a bit more than R100,000.

Party and other domestic issues

1977/78 Gives full CV of **Robert van Schalkwijk Smit**.²¹⁵

1978/8/21 Scribbled note informing PW Botha that President **Diederichs has died**.²¹⁶

1979/10/16 Cabinet minutes. Prominent agenda item is discussion of party matters – organisation in various areas.²¹⁷

1980/1/25 Dr **Carel de Wet** to PW. Just been appointed member of Council of RAU – thanks. Thanks also for business leader meeting of 22 November – best thing party has ever done.²¹⁸

1980/3/11 **PW Botha to Pik Botha**. *“Geagte Kollega, Ontvang ‘n word van besondere dank en waardering vir die bemoedigende skrywe van u wat ek ontvang het. Dit word ten seerste waardeer.”*²¹⁹ 1980/3/7 Pik Botha to PW Botha *“...Suid Afrika kan slegs voortbestaan met ‘n leier wat glo in himself, in sy volk, in sy God... Ons is trots op jou.”*²²⁰

1980/3/11 PW to GPD Terblanche. Can't take on extra work at present, but still keen to see completed pieces after Intelligence Committee handling but before publication.²²¹ 1980/3/7 GPD Terblanche of Intelligence to PW. Apologies for misunderstanding. Just sent piece on Connie Mulder for interest. Previously all intelligence items concerning PW would need to be approved by him.²²²

1980/3/13 **Fred Bamford** to PW. Reports back on the AGM of the **South African Foundation**. Wish for conflict with Treurnicht to be resolved. The collective view of all in boardrooms etc. *“is that you have our greatest goodwill and positive support in your efforts to improve the situation in South Africa”*.²²³ 1980/3/28 PW to FHY Bamford. Thanks for kind wishes. *“I think the so-called differences between Dr Treurnicht and myself is to a great extent blown up by the media with the purpose to make propaganda.”*²²⁴

1980/8/22 **Philip de Wet** to PW, re: **LRC** and its clinics. No longer have any reason to maintain contact, but *Chaskalson* has offered LRC work after studies completed, but not since let slip that PW

²¹⁵ Who's Who in SA 1977-78 showing Smit

²¹⁶ PW Botha 77-78 correspondence – Oerlikon Buhle, Plessey, OFEMA, Gallo

²¹⁷ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 77-79 – Armscor, media, oil, projects, Trust Bank

²¹⁸ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

²¹⁹ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECL, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

²²⁰ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECL, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

²²¹ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECL, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

²²² PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECL, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

²²³ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECL, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

²²⁴ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECL, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

is my nephew. Provides full report on LRC activities. Suspicion that goal is advancement of communism. Mentions *Geoff Budlender*, *Debbie Dison*. Recommends clinics be closed. Attaches newspaper clipping on LRC/Budlender case, plus extract on LRC from *De Rebus*, January 1980. PW response: thanks, shall pass on info.²²⁵

1981/11/17 Noted that PM received call from Marius Jooste, PM said willing to discuss other matters but certainly not the new book by Eschel Rhoodie.²²⁶

1981/12/28 Gerhard de Kok of Reserve Bank to PW. Long handwritten letter. Assures of loyal support, thanks for support/understanding for SA business. 1982 expected to be a difficult year, all should tighten belts etc. general economic predictions/advice.²²⁷

1982/10/26 Decision that documents related to secret projects of the former **Department of Information**, after proper filing and indexing, are to be sent to the State archive for safekeeping.²²⁸

1982/4/19 Henry P Klots to PW. *"I was rather hurt to read in the newspaper that, being of the Jewish faith, you aligned me and my brethren to being half-brothers to an Arab. My question to you, Honourable Minister, is how would you feel if I aligned you to being half-brother to a Coloured?"*

1982/4/28 PW Botha response that it wasn't in earnest, and *"The remark I made was actually made after I have taken strong stand against any anti-semitism in South Africa"*.²²⁹

1982/9/6 (?) Dr Oubaas Coetzee to PW. Motion from the **"Broederkring"**²³⁰ van Doringkloof" to wish congratulations and thanks on passing of new guideline for government form at NP congress. More Christian principle of do as you would have done to you. 1982/9/9 Fawning response from PW.²³¹

1982/9/6 Dr **Albert Hertzog** to PW. *"Insake u versoek aan my op Nasionale Party kongres Bloemfontein STOP Aanvaar u versoek om te antwoord en wel op eers volgende Nasionale Party kongres te Pretoria STOP Wag op u uitnodiging."* 1982/9/7 PW to Hertzog. *"Sedert wanneer eien u u die reg toe om 'n Kongres van Nasionaliste toe te spreek waarop u u rug gedraai het en wat u beveg het vir die afgelope decade?"*²³²

1983/5/10 **Wolf O Morsbach** to PW. I was not the leak on the De Hoop affair. 1983/6/14 PW response: I accept your explanation, and pass it on when the issue arises in conversation.²³³

²²⁵ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECL, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

²²⁶ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 80-81 – Swiss acc, Chile, Anglo, Armscor, France, Fonda, Maartens

²²⁷ PW Botha 81 – correspondence – China, de Kok, Naspers

²²⁸ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 82-83 – UK weapons, secret projects, Sanlam, Rhoodie, military budget

²²⁹ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

²³⁰ In case useful: [http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4502/VanRooi-SHEXXXIV\(1\)-July2011.pdf?sequence=1](http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4502/VanRooi-SHEXXXIV(1)-July2011.pdf?sequence=1)

²³¹ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

²³² PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

²³³ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

1983/9/20 Cabinet decides not to take any action to prevent appearance of Eschel Rhoodie book.²³⁴

1984/10/17 Letter from **Adriaan** and Corrie **Vlok** to FW de Klerk. *“Ons het dit al mondelings gedoen, maar dit wat met ons gebeur het, waarvoor jy grootliks verantwoordelik was, is so wonderlike en ongelooflik dat ek dit op skrif ook wil sê! Dit het ons werklik stom geslaan – ons besef amper nouers behoorlik dat dit waar is en nie maar net ‘n droom nie!”* Doesn’t say for what. Heartfelt thanks, promise not to disappoint, to support and defend, thanks also for valued friendship.²³⁵

- Timing indicates this follows appointment as Deputy Minister of Defence.²³⁶

1985/12/15 Neels Swart of World Merchants and Trading Centre to PW. Report on World Trade Centre talks – going well. 1986/1/8 PW response: thanks, glad to hear of your progress.²³⁷

1985/2/26 Caro Wiese to PW, re her father: *Japie Basson*. Request to put him to work, as he has much to offer and currently nought to do.²³⁸

1985/9/27 Prof **Andre Thomashausen** to PW. It is my honour to provide you with this report on discrimination against indigenous/tribal peoples in USA, Australia, Brazil and Canada – this info might be useful to you. Believe me that as a German immigrant it is a huge honour to be part of the struggle you lead against the country’s enemies. 1985/10/8 PW response: thanks a lot, very interested.²³⁹

1986/11/5 Cabinet minutes. A number of listed and briefly described investigations into the issues involving the Reserve Bank are ongoing, mostly regarding **forex violations**. One led by police.²⁴⁰

- There were a number of high profile investigation into forex violations, and cabinet was informed.

1986/12/3 Letter from **FW de Klerk to PW Botha**. Thanks for strong leadership in Cabinet and within Party, carrying of burden of responsibility, wish of strength from above, promise that can be relied on, thanks for gift.²⁴¹

1986/87 and 1987/88 Budget, apparently for entire gov. Shows proportions (in R’000), e.g. education 1,157,832 to army 5,123,275 to justice 211,641 to police 1,071,241 – for 87/88 total of 46,318,847. Handwritten note puts SDA at R190m. Defence spending increase of 30% year on year.²⁴²

²³⁴ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 82-83 – UK weapons, secret projects, Sanlam, Rhoodie, military budget

²³⁵ FW de Klerk – Vlok, Botha, Supra Tech billion dollar loan

²³⁶ <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/adriaan-vlok-0>

²³⁷ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²³⁸ PW Botha 85 – SABC, Japie Basson, Nasperskor merger, Rupert, subscription TV channel

²³⁹ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²⁴⁰ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

²⁴¹ FW de Klerk – Vlok, Botha, Supra Tech billion dollar loan

²⁴² PW Botha 87-88 – Finance Ministry – budget, gold policy, SARB

1987 Report from Reserve Bank to the President about SA's **gold marketing policy**. Point emphasised that Reserve Bank doing everything in its power to mobilise its gold reserves to manage BoP and exchange rates. Policy can't simultaneously do this and be used to prop up international prices.²⁴³

1987/12/4 Report to the President about the Reserve Bank. Current directors (de Kock, Jacobs, Groenewald, Lombard, Castle, Rousseau, Browne, Rupert, Van der Horst, Jooste, De La Harpe Beck, De Villiers), shareholding, sources of income.²⁴⁴

1987/4/13 KDS Durr, chair of sanctions committee, to attend SSC meeting only when sanctions-related issues discussed.²⁴⁵

1988/5/25 In response to allegations of corruption, the Auditor-General to intensively audit all three own affairs administrations.²⁴⁶

1988/6/15 Document relating to allegations of corruption in the House of Delegates. All talk of importance of clean administration, steps taken, commission of inquiry formed etc.²⁴⁷

1988/6/8 Auditor-General reports on 1988/5/25 issue that a senior official has been appointed to perform the task and the President will be kept informed. Regarding allegations of corruption in education department, officials found guilty to be immediately punished with no mercy shown.²⁴⁸

1989/11/29 Briefed by NI on **phone surveillance**, decide that Ministers' offices to be regularly swept and safe communications equipment to be installed. Also report back on findings on police hit squads – found untrue, and pleased that government and top management not implicated.²⁴⁹

1989/2/22 Minister of Finance suggests that internal *audits are a problem*, and that the civil service struggles to hold onto good accountants and auditors.²⁵⁰

1989/3/22 Clarifies issue of collective responsibility. Also concerns over phone surveillance and position that parliamentary members are not to be placed under **surveillance**.²⁵¹

1989/3/8 Acting President says that collective responsibility of members of Cabinet or SSC can only rest on basis of knowledge. FW de Klerk: *projects, including **secret projects**, can only become subject to collective responsibility if they were authorised or condoned after the fact. If not, relevant minister*

²⁴³ PW Botha 87-88 – Finance Ministry – budget, gold policy, SARB

²⁴⁴ PW Botha 87-88 – Finance Ministry – budget, gold policy, SARB

²⁴⁵ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

²⁴⁶ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

²⁴⁷ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

²⁴⁸ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 86-88 – SSC, 3rd force, SARB, Anglo, Mosselbay, Dulcie, Z-squads, corruption

²⁴⁹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

²⁵⁰ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

²⁵¹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

himself only one responsible. Also mention of **Palazzolo** affair and Harms Commission (wording of report).²⁵²

1990/1/31 Decision made to lift banning order on ANC, PAC, SACP, and certain prisoners to be released. Also discussion of death penalty policy and on possible balance protection in future constitution.²⁵³

1993/10/4 Andile Ngcaba to **Vodacom**. Explains ANC/COSATU position on licensing cellular mobile services. Should be part of multilateral negotiations.²⁵⁴

1993/10/6 Cabinet note again of cell phone licences. Also strategy for state security going forward. Also need for urgent new policy on sensitive documents.²⁵⁵ 1993/11/2 Discussion of moneys from licences for cell phone services.²⁵⁶

1993/4/22 SSC takes notice of possibility that influential ANC leaders may approach another forum to negotiate around the SA gov.²⁵⁷

1993/6/30 Although Parliament won't sit for a long time in first half of 94, committees like SCOPA still to meet and get minutes out promptly.²⁵⁸

1993/7/28 Note that *Ciskei* gov. still intends to end services of Admiral MA Bekker as Minister of Finance.²⁵⁹

1994/9/6 Cabinet takes note of Eschel *Rhodie's* book and to investigate options to prevent it being locally publicised; concern over its possible impact on relationships with certain countries.²⁶⁰

2010 Pik Botha book. Mention of anticorruption forum report. Pik welcomed such an investigation, said he was proud of the anti-sanctions measures taken and confident of no major corruption. Front companies etc. were necessary and successful. Mention of **M-Net** issue (nothing untoward).²⁶¹

Press

1979/10/23 Cabinet decision on rumours of ongoing financial help to the **Citizen**. Investigation to be facilitated. Possible bad publicity for Mr **McGoff** to be discussed later.²⁶²

²⁵² FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

²⁵³ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 89-90 – Blowpipe, collective responsibility, surveillance, Palazzolo, Angola, Iraq, secret projects

²⁵⁴ Meyer – bilateral negotiations – ANC cellular network concerns

²⁵⁵ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 93 – Iran, oil, NI HQ, Armscor, audit, secret documents

²⁵⁶ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 93 – Iran, oil, NI HQ, Armscor, audit, secret documents

²⁵⁷ FW de Klerk SSC minutes 93-94 – Rooivalk, ANC negotiations

²⁵⁸ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 93 – Iran, oil, NI HQ, Armscor, audit, secret documents

²⁵⁹ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 93 – Iran, oil, NI HQ, Armscor, audit, secret documents

²⁶⁰ FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 82-83 – UK weapons, secret projects, Sanlam, Rhodie, military budget

²⁶¹ Pik Botha en sy tyd (extract)

1980/2/25 **WD Beukes** of **Die Burger** to PW. Come to my attention that you were unhappy about an article, sorry about not consulting you, assure that was done with best intention without relevant staff realising implications. 1980/2/27 This was a totally out of character with previous proper relations between us. Very angry about this unwelcome interference in my personal life.²⁶³

1981-82 Numerous notes in Magnus Malan notes to “use **The Citizen**”.²⁶⁴

1981/10/9 PW to Prof **PJ Cillie** of **Nasionale Pers**. Passes on concerns from Nationalists that Fair Lady is leftist propaganda. E.g. Recent article about Tutu and wife. Very disappointing, something must be done about Jane Raphaely. 1981/10/30 Prof PJ Cillie to PW. Thanks, apologies for time wastes, already dealing with it, please tell those who complain to approach us directly.²⁶⁵

1982/9/8 PW to **H Hendriks**, EiC of **Die Transvaler**. Congrats on appointment.²⁶⁶

1982/10/27 **W van Heerden** of **Perskor** to PW. Thanks for friendly letter, have taken on this huge responsibility. 1982/10/18 PW to Van Heerden. Congrats on election as Chair of Perskor.²⁶⁷

1983/8/17 **WJ de Klerk** to PW. Request to use **Rapport** for important news announcements. Gives readership etc.²⁶⁸

1983/8/17 PW to **WJ de Klerk**. Castle has forwarded me your note to him, following unpleasant report on Horwood. I don't think you two should be at loggerheads, so please sort it out. 1983/8/15 Minister Horwood note: I was upset to read in De Klerk's note to Castle that Rapport had allegedly had a full interview with me, with which I was satisfied. This was not at all the case, and I attach the note I have sent De Klerk in this regard. Attached: I am appalled to read your seriously misleading statement – elaborates somewhat (issue seems to be that of whether Horwood is to retire). Also attached: message from Castle forwarding message from De Klerk where this claim is made.²⁶⁹ A number of other pieces of correspondence between these. Note: earlier correspondence between PW and De Klerk (around 1983/3) very friendly – e.g. “*Ek het weereens ontdek dat vriendskap 'n pêrel is*”.²⁷⁰

1983/8/31 **WJ de Klerk**, EiC of **Rapport** to PW. Mr Castle was unbelievably arrogant, but on your request I sent an apologetic note. Min Horwood also sent unnecessarily sharp telex. Also you had criticism on an article – I hope I answered satisfactorily. Thanks for interview. As you must have realised, I have changed everything at Rapport. “*Mnr. Botha, Rapport is u vriend en vriend aan u*”

²⁶² FW de Klerk cabinet minutes 77-79 – Armscor, media, oil, projects, Trust Bank

²⁶³ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

²⁶⁴ Magnus Malan notes 1981-82 – Armscor, Sharon, Kerkting, Chiavelli etc.

²⁶⁵ PW Botha 81 – correspondence – China, de Kok, Naspers

²⁶⁶ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

²⁶⁷ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

²⁶⁸ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

²⁶⁹ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

²⁷⁰ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

saak, al is dit op sy eie manier." You and cabinet can help by communicating with us. Independence and trustworthiness importance. Attaches policy doc from when he took over, on ethics of reporting. 1983/9/2 PW Response: I understand how you feel about unfair criticism, as I get it often. Have enquired (as you asked) whether Cabinet Minister wish to render clarification in Rapport.²⁷¹

1983/9/1 **WJ de Klerk** to PW. Question about whether to publish a document entitled "Die Bolwerk agter PW", given that it is being secretly passed around in PTA, that the KP's are behind it, alleges that PW Botha, JC Heunis and Pik Botha are agents of the USA in a plot to undermine the Afrikaner. Handwritten response from PW – not objections.²⁷²

1984/4/5 **W van Heerden** of **Perskor** to PW. Discussion of The Citizen. Things going okay financially – loses money but less than a third being lost by competitor, Rand Daily Mail. Idea to publish and distribute simultaneously in Jhb, CT and Dbn. Wish to compete with English papers, but more importantly the whole future of Western civilisation and of the white man in Africa rely on how well the SA gov. can work the political formula and have it accepted by various SA groups. Given recession, struggling to find financial means to do this. Issue requires clarity on SABC agreement on advertising share. Can we talk?²⁷³

1984/5/4 **W van Heerden** to PW. As promised, had discussion with Rapport Ekstra editor, WJ de Klerk. Both consider tone of lead article unacceptable, but things went wrong and it was published. Steps being taken. PW response: thanks.²⁷⁴

1984/5/22 **W van Heerden** of Rapport to PW. Attaches Dr De Klerk's summary of arrangements made with editor of Rapport Ekstra. Best wishes for trip. Attachment: aim of paper is to promote good relations, so should not blow up small issues into aggressive big ones; no allegiance to particular brown (or any) political party; voters encouraged to register; rights for brown people, no violence etc. are principles.²⁷⁵

1984/8/6 **David Braun** of **The Star** to PW. New political correspondent, wishes to introduce himself at offices in Parliament.²⁷⁶

1984/9/18 Willem de Klerk to PW. *"My agting, waardering en trots oor die mens en die staatsman PW Botha, het ek nooit onder 'n maattemmer verberg nie."*²⁷⁷

²⁷¹ PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

²⁷² PW Botha 83 – correspondence – China, Senator Richardson, Morsbach, Sanlam, Penn, Pempsey, Rapport

²⁷³ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

²⁷⁴ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

²⁷⁵ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

²⁷⁶ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

²⁷⁷ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

1984/9/26 **Piet Cillié** of Naspers to PW. Thanks for super informal, friendly letter. Support, prayers and trust in difficult time, will do anything to help. Sorry couldn't come to your thing – too many of our directors already going.²⁷⁸

1984/10/16 Ton **Vosloo** to PW. Following your call, have discussed issue of cooperation with Perskor. Not opposed to English paper. Informal talks between Naspers/SABC/“regeringsvriende” needed. Perskor has a major management problem. PW response: handwritten version of 10/25 above.²⁷⁹

1984/10/25 PW to T **Vosloo**. My concern is not with Johnny Johnson or The Citizen – I think of them less than I think of Rapport, which is saying a lot. My concern is lack of English medium paper. Need to get patriotic message to them, not just through radio and TV.²⁸⁰

1984/10/31 Ton **Vosloo** to PW. Thanks for letter about a proper press medium to reach English-speaking South Africans. Federal intelligence service of the NP should play a role. A group of us can chat informally.²⁸¹

1984/12/4 PW to **PJ Cillié**. I am sympathetic to SA newspapers' financial plight, but SABC also in trouble, losing R100million a year. Pik has informed me of content of conversation with Ton Vosloo – was sympathetic but could not commit to government plan for approval of entry of a press consortium into TV. But subscription TV service being investigated by task group.²⁸²

1984/12/5 PW to **PJ Cillié**. Have also sent formal letter on SABC issue you raised. Notes irritation with Beeld article – with friends like these, who needs enemies. Attaches clipping.²⁸³ 1985/1/23 **PJ Cillié** response to PW. Thanks. Advertising is very important.²⁸⁴ Lots more correspondence on this.²⁸⁵

1985/3/14 Recommendations of the task group enquiring into the introduction of a **subscription TV Channel**. First report: awarding of the contract. Gives recommended percentages to be held by which parties, with Nasionale Pers highest at 26% of one of the consortiums and to have management function.²⁸⁶

1985/4/25 Ton **Vosloo** to PW. Thanks for the conversation. I have a mandate to give you our broad strokes intention, given your previous directorship of Naspers and strong interest. Highly sensitive doc. Attached: Project R.B.C. Warning that there will be resistance from the Argus group, backed by

²⁷⁸ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

²⁷⁹ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

²⁸⁰ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

²⁸¹ PW Botha 84 – correspondence – Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Perskor, Naspers, Mauritius, Rapport, Soustelle, Sandock-Australe

²⁸² PW Botha 84-85 – correspondence – Naspers, Rapport, Rupert, Reagan, Sanlam

²⁸³ PW Botha 84-85 – correspondence – Naspers, Rapport, Rupert, Reagan, Sanlam

²⁸⁴ PW Botha 84-85 – correspondence – Naspers, Rapport, Rupert, Reagan, Sanlam

²⁸⁵ PW Botha 84-85 – correspondence – Naspers, Rapport, Rupert, Reagan, Sanlam

²⁸⁶ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

the Anglo-American stable and entire English establishment. Will be very expensive. Gives plan, e.g. rationalise management of Rapport, Beeld and Citizen, possibly City Press, expected circulation etc. Also has list of three groups of people, called only groups 1, 2, and 3, which include the names of all the top businessmen in SA – e.g. Gavin Relly, Jan van der horst, Mike Rosholt, Anton Rupert, Donny Gordon, Sol Kerzner. 1985/6/4 PW response: have no objections, am doing all I can to be helpful but must be careful not to be seen as prescriptive. More correspondence between Naspers and Perskor included.²⁸⁷

1985/6/4 Ton **Vosloo** to PW. Given your interest in discussions between Nasionale Pers and Perskor about The Citizen, attached are two letters between Willem van Heerden and myself. Thanks for your leadership and quick decision in the TV opportunity. Letters attached – content very general, need for cooperation and creativity etc.²⁸⁸

1985/9/11 PW to Dr **W van Heerden** of Rapport. Disappointed with weak political show of Rapport – currently not doing good for the National issue, getting many complaints about negativity. 1985/9/20 Van Heerden response: your letter upset me, didn't mean for this to happen. Independence very important to De Klerk, but he will be careful. Have told him to watch out for the cumulative effect of various articles in the paper, he said he would watch out for it. 1985/10/8 PW response: thanks. De Klerk no longer keen to come talk to me. Also a bit worried about the Vaderland. 1985/10/28 Van Heerden response: not sure what you mean about the Vaderland – there are occasionally articles that members of government don't like, but that is unavoidable. If you are referring to the Lusaka conversation the Mr Pakendorf's role, I assure you there were no unpatriotic intentions. Did not realise implications or anticipate ANC use of incident. Neither Pakendorf nor Perskor would willingly do anything to make your task harder.²⁸⁹

1986/3/19 PJ **Cillié** to PW. You asked us (Naspers and Perskor) to give you a memo on the issues/problems in our printed media. Would be glad if you passed along to the Cabinet Media Committee. Attaches permission letter from W van Heerden of Perskor, plus memo itself – general overview of problems with SA print media. 1986/5/30 PW response: have not passed on to Cabinet Media Committee, as many steps already taken to help you e.g. decisions on M-Net and VAT on books. Can't discuss AVB issue, as tax system currently under enquiry by Margo Commission, and press has given testimony. We still support you but think you should work together to solve your own problems.²⁹⁰

1986/11/28 Plans for media briefing with Nasionale Pers, Perskor, SAAN, Argus Group. Invitations to and (positive) responses from all.²⁹¹

1987/1 Investigation into expansion of **The Citizen** to Durban and Cape Town. Projected circulation and costs.²⁹²

²⁸⁷ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²⁸⁸ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²⁸⁹ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²⁹⁰ PW Botha 85-86 – Amery, Rupert, Nasperskor, Leutwiler, Friedman, Neels Swart, Saudi Arabia, Federale

²⁹¹ PW Botha 86 – Business leader function, media briefing

1987/6/15 Report of meeting of PW and members of gov. with Ton **Vosloo**. Discussion of coordinated media policy: impact of TV on other news media, financial opportunities, possibility of an electronic communications board, difficulties of SABC, advertising quotas, overconcentration of Afrikaans newspapers, paper prices etc.²⁹³

1989/9/5 FW de Klerk to T **Vosloo** of Nasionale Pers. Thanks for friendly letter, generous **donation**, loyalty, friendship, support for party in the papers in difficult times. 1989/8/17 T Vosloo to FW de Klerk. Makes donation from Nasionale Pers to NP Transvaal of R70,000. 1989/9/5 FW de Klerk to T Vosloo. Thanks for donation from Nasionale Pers to NP (national) of R220,000. 1989/8/17 T Vosloo to FW de Klerk. Informs of R220,000 donation and notes that this compares with the R150,000 of 1987.²⁹⁴

1989/9/8 FW de Klerk to Koos Buitendag of **Perskor**. Thanks for large **donation** and Perskor's role in successful election.²⁹⁵

1990/10? Letter from Willem de Klerk to FW(?). Thanks for offer (foreign job?), can't take up at present but please consider for similar things in future.²⁹⁶

Judiciary – Erasmus

1979/03/28 Letter PW Botha to Judge RPB Erasmus, Advocate GF Smalberger and Advocate AJ Lategan. Official doc requesting report on commission of inquiry into alleged irregularities in former Department of Information.²⁹⁷

1979/04/25 Letter CSADF to RPB Erasmus. Regarding appointment in finance division of burgermagement. No objections, and interest appreciated – application procedure given.²⁹⁸

1980/3/31 RPB Erasmus to PW. Friendly, admiring letter.²⁹⁹

1980/9/18 Erasmus to PW. Best wishes and strength. 1980/9/24 PW to RPB Erasmus. Thanks for friendly letter/wishes, same to you.³⁰⁰

1981/10/27 Letter from PW Botha to RPB Erasmus. *“U belangstelling bly 'n bron van inspirasie ten spyte van al die pogings om wanorde te saai waar ons teen oormagte moet veg om ordelike ontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika te verseke.”*³⁰¹

²⁹² PW Botha 86-87 – Naspers

²⁹³ PW Botha 86-87 – Naspers

²⁹⁴ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89-92 – Pepkor, Suiderland, Naspers, Gencor

²⁹⁵ FW de Klerk secret NP funding 89 – Perskor, Investment Bank of China, Old Mutual, Rupert, LTA, Altron

²⁹⁶ FW de Klerk – Vlok, Botha, Supra Tech billion dollar loan

²⁹⁷ Erasmus correspondence – Botha, SADF

²⁹⁸ Erasmus correspondence – Botha, SADF

²⁹⁹ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECL, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

³⁰⁰ PW Botha 80-81 – correspondence – AECL, Pik, Erasmus, SA Foundation, Rupert, FV Bpk, LRC, Amery

1982/2+5+8+9 More friendly correspondence btw RPB Erasmus and PW.³⁰²

1982/03/24 Letter from PW Botha to RPB Erasmus. "*Hartlike dank vir die goeie wense en volle steun in hierdie tyd van politieke afskilfering. Dit word opreg waardeer.*" Promise to stay true to NP values.³⁰³

1982/10/30 RPB Erasmus to PW. Friendly letter and update following retirement. 1982/10/12 PW to Erasmus. Nice letter, thanks for long service to community and country.³⁰⁴

1983/06/15 Letter from RPB Erasmus to PW Botha. "*Geagte Eerste Minister en Vriend...*" Generally intimate and friendly letter, commiserating over hard times, advises delay on referendum.³⁰⁵

³⁰¹ Erasmus correspondence – Botha, SADF

³⁰² PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

³⁰³ Erasmus correspondence – Botha, SADF

³⁰⁴ PW Botha 82 – correspondence – Armscor, Singapore, Credit Suisse, Commerz, Goldman, Erasmus, press, Begin, Hertzog, de Wet

³⁰⁵ Erasmus correspondence – Botha, SADF