

e New NOrk

The once-revered
military's unity
and sense of
mission are
crumbling.

gence, suspected of orchestrating covert
actions, including political assassi-
nation, to undermine changes in racial
policies and discredit Mr. de Klerk's
black interlocutors, most notably the
African National Congress of Nelson
Mandela. : 4

In any event, the Defense Force, left
without an external enemy to fight and
facing pressure to cut its high costs,
has been pared down. These days, said
Helmut Heitman, a military specialist
in Cape Town, the number of white
conscripts forming the army's core is
down to around 20,000 from an average
of 50,000 to 60,000 in the 1980's.

While the military can in theory mo-
bilize up to 200,000 trained reservists
and local, white paramilitary groups
known as commandoes, its permanent
force of career soldiers, air force and
naval personnel is only a modest 30,000,
Mr. Heitman said. ; "8

A Hard-Line Group

Within those numbers, Mr. de Klerk
appears to have detected a core of
officers whose ideology and style have
their roots in the Botha era and whose
existence had long been suspected,
Two years ago, an official inquiry

discovered a covert military unit

called the Civil Cooperation Bureau,
also accused of "dirty tricks." It was
officially disbanded, but its members
went underground.)

The absence of prosecutions allowed
accusations of malpractice against the
military to flourish, said General Rog-
ers, while the assertions were "not
being proven or disproven, the credibil-
ity of the defense force suffered terri-
bly. Yet, the latest move against dissi-
dent, right-wing officers has not eased
the uncertainty, particularly since the
names and purported crimes of the
purged officers have not been fully

incided with

"much as anything to reassure whites

pu
publicized.

AP

â\200\234Not all the officers know who is involved and that means that every officer in the South African Defense Force is worrying that he may be a possible victimâ\200\235 of the purge, Willie Snyman, military spokesman for the right-wing opposition Conservative Party, said. o #

One who has been identified is Gen.

Chris Thirion, deputy head of Military|
who denied wrong-doing, |

Intelligence,
saying in a published interview: â\200\230â\200\230After all the hours I have spent thinking about it, I cannot think of a single thing I did consciously to undermine the constitutional process.â\200\235â\200\231

â\200\230In many ways, the existence of dissent in the military mirrors the profound chasm in white society between Mr. de Klerk and whites who feel his

changes are leading them on the oft-|

forecast road to chaos and mayhem.
Â«The Defense Force does represent a cross-section of white political feeling,"â\200\235 said General Rogers, so that inevitably some of its members were sym-

pathetic to militant right-wm s

ments such as the neo-Nazi Afrika Resistance Movement at a time

the white right is seeking to â\200\230garner| that, as tF
reduced, a new army will be needed |

support from the increasing nervousness of the white minority.

The South African leaderâ\200\231s announcement last Saturday after an internal investigation of the military co-

z series of attacks on white civilians in remote farming| areas â\200\224 ascribed to the shadowy Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Liberation Army â\200\224 and continuing violent crime in the cities that have left many whites uncertain of their future and clamoring for a return to harsh measures.

. Special Powers lm_oked
- Such is the authoritiesâ\200\231 concern over

the attacks that the Government today
declared 23 5 in the Eastern Cape
and Orange Free State where the at-
tacks on whites occurred to be â\200\230â\200\230unrest
areas,â\200\235 giving all security forces pow-
ers of search and arrest similar to a
state of emergency. 22 :

~ The 23 places are mainly small, iso-
Jated farming towns, |
mentâ\200\231's move med designed as

that the authorities are doing some-
thing to protect them. . {
- But such is the of white ner-
vousness â\200\224 Pro by attacks that

and the Govern-|

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dogging the lives of many blacks â\200\224
that high Government officials who
voyaged to the remote Orange Free
State town of Ficksburg today met with
boos and heckling. y

â\200\234we are all insecure. We are all
_possible victims,â\200\235 the right-wing Citi-
izen newspaper said in an editorial to-
â\200\230day, demanding the reinstatement of
ithe death penalty. ,
Yet, some military experts suspect
â\200\230that, even if the army were called in to
hunt down rural terrorists, the latest
purge would hamper its ability to.fight
a new insurgency. â\200\234You donâ\200\231t fight
insurgencies by the rule-book, but after
this purge, you are not going to get
anybody whoâ\200\231s prepared to do anything
that isnâ\200\231t supported by the operations
manual,â\200\235 Mr. Heitman said.

Just as unsettling for white officers,
though, is the prospect that political |
change will inevitably lead to a re-
structuring of the military, which, un- |
like the police force, is predominantly a

_ _whlte,. institution.

â\200\230African National Congress, Mr.
â\200\231kâ\200\231s principle negotiating part-
â\200\230a new order, has made clear

e white minorityâ\200\231s power is

incorporating the present Defense
Force, and Umkhonto we Sizwe, the |
Congressâ\200\231s own guerrilla wing. That, in

turn, raises a possibility of further, |
â\200\230more sweeping purges of officers |
linked to covert campaigns. ;

â\200\234â\200\234If thereâ\200\231s ?oing to be a purge in the
future, it will be in Military Intelli-
gence,â\200\235 said Siphwe Nyanda, the Chief
of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, which
means Spear of the Nation.

â\200\234All the people who have this history,
who were involved in destabilization, |
peoPle â\200\230who were involved in criminal
activities, people who acted contrary to |
i.r:sih_x:uctgms will have to dealt with,â\200\235 he

barely compare in scale to thg violence

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Eâ\200\224â\200\224

programme, claim 200\231 5/200\231AN

Citizen Reporter
THE ANC has alleged
that South Africa has the
capacity to produce at
least 25 nuclear weapons
and has called on the gov-
ernment to stop the poli-
cy of secrecy regarding
nuclear weapons capabili-

In a statement issued

yesterday the ANC al-
leged that the Internat-
ional Atomic Energy
Agency (IAEA) has de-
termined that South Afri-
ca secretly produced sev-
eral hundred kilograms of

High Enriched Uranium

This large HEU in-

ventory indirectly con-
firms that South Africa

has an active and secret

nuclear development pro-
gramme, since no South

C; 200\235

_ Pelindaba

African nuclear facility

requires uranium en-

riched to levels above 45

percent U-235, 200\235 said the
ANC. :

The statement also al-
leged that IAEA inspec-

tors recently visited on

short notice an aban-
doned facility near the

complex.

They are said to have

found equipment used to
work on the shape
spherical fissile cores for a -
de- ped?

nuclear explosive
vice, 200\235 said the ANC.

â\200\234This site, known as
â\200\230Building 5 000â\200\231, was long
- suspected by Western
governments as a nuclear_
â\200\230development centre in the

1970s,â\200\235 said the ANC. ..

The: ANC further ok
leged that an American

enrichment

of

_weapons

- now. To continue with -

- their policy of secrecy and

CIA report showed that

â\200\230Mr Jacobus de Villiers,

now chairman of the
Atomic = Energy Board
(AEB), had been â\200\234direct-
ly involved in weapons
design work at the Pelin-

daba research centreâ\200\235, up -

to 1979.

-â\200\234Is the De Klerk gov-
ernment deliberately con-
cealing the possession of
weapons grade ma-
terialism?â\200\235â\200\231 asked the
ANC. â\200\234Has the weapons

_programme been stop-

f,â\200\231,

â\200\234The NP must declare
the extent of its nuclear
programme

: possnble nuclea:r threatâ\200\231

The South African
Government was hiding

behind their own inter-

pretation of a clause in
the Nuclear Proliferation

Treaty (NPT) by denying

-access to certain plants |

|

such as Valindaba be- |

â\200\230cause they have been

mothballed,
ANC.

~ â\200\234Furthermore,

said

the

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to say

that the NPT does not re-
quire South Africa to re-
veal nuclear activities

prior to signing the agree-
ment is tantamount to a
confession of an ongoing
nuclear conspiracyâ\200\235. -
~ The ANC declared its

opposition to the build-

ing, stockpiling and use of -
nuclear weapons, adding

2 'snch undeclared stocks
. should be â\200\234â\200\234taken up at an
early opportunity by the

transitional and interim
s

governmentâ\200\235.
â\200\230. The AEB, wluch falls
! under the Department of
Mineral and Energy Af-

fairs, is closed until Janu- |

| ary 4, and no spokesman
will be available to reply

to the ANCâ\200\231s allegations |

untll then

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South Africa's Armor Is Showing Signs of Tarnish
By ALAN COWELL 7< ... 2 e 3 e

JOHANNESBURG, Dec. 22 For much of Africa's modern history, the South African Defense Force stood as a symbol of white power, a continent's best-trained, best-equipped and most disciplined force, capable of projecting its power far beyond the country's frontiers. These days, its fortunes have never seemed so morose.

From its invasion of Angola in 1975 and when, with covert American backing, it came within striking distance of Luanda, the capital to many other forays into neighboring countries, the South African military showed time and again that its forces could sweep north with relative impunity in pursuit of what its commanders termed a total strategy to mold the region to Pretoria's will.

In a continent where armies are more usually associated with coups and corruption, the South African force cast itself, somewhat incongruously, as being above the party politics of white supremacy.

Divisions in the Military

Yet, with the decision last weekend by President F. W. de Klerk to retire or suspend 23 officers, including six generals, accused of running covert dirty tricks campaigns to frustrate political changes, the Defense Force has emerged as an institution as riven as any other by the strains and pressures forced upon the white minority by the halting process of fundamental political change.

Moreover, the purge by the South African leader has shaken the morale, and possibly even the operational effectiveness, of a force whose role and prospects were anyhow in flux after the end of the Cold War's African spin-offs that enabled politicians and generals to cast themselves as crusaders against Soviet encroachment.]

Without a doubt, there's going to be

shock and dismay with people realizing that this sort of thing has been going on in the defense force," said a former Air Force commander, Gen. Bob Rogers, who is now, the military affairs spokes-

The fundamental change overtaking South Africa has caught up with its Defense Force, once a symbol of white power on the continent. Without

external enemies to fight, the once-revered institution appears divided and its professionalism is in question. In Soweto, a soldier stood guard last May.

man of the small, relatively liberal opposition Democratic Party. "And the action taken by the state President will shake them."

In some ways, though, the military has been undergoing a less obvious transformation for many years.

Military's Role Expands

For most of the 1980s, under Mr. de Klerk's predecessor, P. W. Botha, the military assumed extensive political powers. A State Security Council bypassed the Cabinet and brought the generals into decision-making at the highest level.

In every part of the country, similar regional and provincial forces performed the same function in pursuit of the so-called "total strategy" -- a concept that combined cautious political change with the urge to use the security forces to control every aspect of the environment in which change, however limited, was supposed to occur.

In the end, the strategy failed because. Mr. Botha's proposed racial changes were so limited as to enrage the black majority, spurring a revolt that, in turn, brought emergency rule

inside the country and international
sanctions without. :

Additionally, in the late 1980s, the
South African Defense was forced to
acknowledge the limits of its power to
mold the region. A major battle against
Cuban-backed forces at Cuito Cunevale
in Angola ended in stalemate, forcing
both the politicians and the generals to
acknowledge that, as the world
changed around them, the total strategy
had become too costly financially and
politically and, what's more, could be
maintained only at the expense of un-

" acceptably high white casualties.

Reshaping Security Forces = -
Since then, Mr. de Klerk has moved
against some of the so-called "securi-
crats" left over from the Botha era.
Earlier this year, he purged the po-
lice and last weekend moved against
officers, particularly in Military Intelli-
: .