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AGENDA

THE FUTURE OF THE MILITARY AND DEFENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

AN IDASA CONFERENCE

WEDNESDAY 23 MAY

9.35 Departure from Johannesburg
11.35 Arrival in Lusaka
13.30 Registration and Lunch
15.00 Registration Closes
19.00 Welcome

Joe Modise CHRIS HANI

Introductions

Brief Personal Histories

Chair: Nic Borain

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Here each member of the delegations will introduce him or herself. We are attempting to establish an atmosphere of openness from the start. Where possible, delegates should speak frankly about their own military and other experiences.

18.00 Visit To African Embassies

THURSDAY 24 MAY

9.00 Political/Military History Session 1

The ANC and the Armed Struggle

Chris Hani

Chair: Tian van der Merwe

Discussion

EXPLANATORY NOTE

This session will explain the nature of the South African society as seen by the ANC, as well as the nature of the ANC's struggle and of the ANC itself. A history and assessment of the ANC's armed struggle will form an important part of the input.

10.30 TEA

11.00 Political/Military History Session 1 Continued

12.00 LUNCH AT STATE HOUSE FOR DELEGATES FROM HOME

2.30 Political/Military History Session 2

The Role and Development of the South African Defence Force. The Role and Development of the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda Defence Forces.

Jakkie Cilliers
Col. Ramushwane
Transkei Defence Force Speaker
Ciskei Defence Force Speaker

Chair: Zola Skweyiya

Discussion

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The major part of this session will be taken up by Dr Cilliers' input. This paper is likely to have an emphasis on comparing the SADF under the PW and FW eras. It will examine how the military gained a favoured place within the state during the PW period and the likely scenario under FW. Did the the threat perspective in the 80's (which was 'Total Onslaught') allow for the rise of the 'Special Forces' and various 'dysfunctions' within the state? The growth and the implications of the arms industry will be examined. The talk is also likely to give some kind of SADF perspective and assessment of the ANC's armed struggle. After Dr Cilliers, Speakers from the Ciskei Defence Force, Transkei Defence Force and Venda Defence Force will give brief descriptions of the role and history of these armies. The ANC delegation have given notice that they intend to give brief critical inputs on various aspects of the SADF's history during the discussion period.

4.30 Tea

5.00 Conflict and Negotiations

The Current Situation and Projected Scenarios

James Selfe
Pallo Jordan

Chair: Chris Hani

Discussion

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The speakers will examine how the Government and the ANC see the negotiations phase of politics. What is the potential of the negotiations process and what are the driving forces behind the parties involved? How are the parties likely to react in different conditions? What are the costs and benefits of success and failure? What will be the likely role of the right? What are the likely stumbling blocks and how soon and in what form can we expect a political settlement?

6.30 Supper

FRIDAY 25 MAY

9.00 Armed Forces During Transition.

Annette Seegers
Mark Phillips
Keith Mokwapi

Chair: Frederick van Zyl Slabbert

Discussion

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Transition here would be taken as the period of negotiations and the period immediately thereafter. Seegers will give a comparative study with Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Phillips will attempt to analyse state thinking on the questions. We will look at the

question of indemnity and the likelihood of cessation of hostilities and the creation of a climate for negotiations. Is it envisaged that a third party will play a role? Do we need a formal ceasefire? What are the terms? Who are the parties? (considering PAC, Inkatha, right-wing and others who may have an interests in the success or failure of the process). What role will the Security Forces play during the process and will they be expected to 'keep the public peace'? Does MK have a role in this regard? When will MK return? How can their safety ensured? What happens to individuals on their return? Are there still proposals for various forces to be confined to certain areas?

10.30 Tea

11.00 Armed Forces During Transition Continued.

1.00 LUNCH

2.30 The Military Industrial Complex In South Africa

Gavin Cawthra

Chair: Frederick van Zyl Slabbert

Discussion

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The South African arms industry, in the shape of ARMSCOR, is a key sector of our economy and a major foreign currency earner. This talk will examine the influence of this industry on the political, social and economic life now and in the future of South Africa. Are there moral considerations that should influence the production and export of arms? What is the global and sub-continental context of South African arms production? Jakkie Cilliers will also be providing a perspective during the discussion.

3.30 TEA

4.00 Towards a National Defence Force in South Africa (I)

Projected Security Scenarios

General Wally Black

Chair: Thenjiwe Mtintso

Discussion

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Black will probably take the approach of assuming negotiations succeed, assuming they fail and assuming they are protracted. If they succeed is there a threat of right-wing rebellion? If they fail will the armed struggle and international action intensify? In the more likely protracted scenario, what will the pressures be? On the basis of these questions, General Black will examine what kind of force will be needed.

6.30 SUPPER AND EXTRA MURAL ACTIVITIES (visit to European Embassies)

SATURDAY 26 MAY

9.00 Towards a National Defence Force in South Africa (II)

What will be Necessary, Desirable and Possible in the Future? (An introduction to the commissions)

Simon Baynham

Edwin Mabitse

Chair: James Selfe

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The introductory speakers will discuss the current balance of power between the South African Government's security establishment and the armed forces of the ANC and other opposition parties. This will be followed by a list of assumptions governing a future defence force's deployment and role during the coming decade.

9.30 COMMISSIONS

1.) Manpower Policy

Facilitators: Vic Holderness
Klaus Maphepha

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Based on the Security Scenarios section, we will need to have an idea of the kind of force - in a technical as well as a political sense - that will be required and the mechanisms by which it could be mobilised. Are we going to conscript, use the ballot system or have a professional army? What will be the financial considerations in this regard? Is it morally acceptable to have a conscription system and how will conscientious objection be dealt with? What will be the level of skills required from the personnel? The discussion will also probably touch on possible non-military uses of the army and the role of the national defence force in nation building.

2.) The creation of a national defence force - What will happen to the existing military forces?

Facilitators: Calvin Naidoo
Laurie Nathan

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Many members of the SADF have argued that MK is a relatively small force of guerrillas and it would therefore be inappropriate to talk in terms of 'an integration of armies'. It is often conversely argued that the military can only reflect the political composition of government. What then do we do about the military if there is a significant change in government? MK's military experience is not with a sophisticated, highly technological army. Many of the professional soldiers in the SADF have a deep and genuine hostility to 'political interference' in their work. Does the ANC intend to do away with the symbols of the 'traditional' regiments, or make more radical changes to the SADF? In what way could existing military forces be combined to bring about an acceptable national defence force.

3.) Special interest discussion on military structures in the 'homelands' or 'Self Governing States'.

Facilitator: Andrew Mkhize

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The homeland armies form a significant non-SADF military force inside South Africa as well as a significant delegation at the conference. This session has been set aside so that the different parties could focus particular attention on the practical details relating to this area.

4.) Internal Security, the relationship with the police and the democratic political process.

Facilitators: Dr Jackie Cock
Hein Grosskopf

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The likely threats for the future are largely internal. The white right, alienated black groups and possibly alliances between them. When the SADF was deployed in the townships there was an outcry from a number of quarters including those who felt the conflict was a civil one and the deployment of the SADF to 'keep the peace' was using the army to further sectarian white interests. Similar accusations may be made in the future that will alienate the defence force from different sectors of the population. How will we be able to protect the national defence force from being seen as partisan in civil conflict.? What are the demarcations between the function of the police and the army in internal conflict? How do we ensure that groups who have a self perceived genuine grievance are able to express these fully without repression from the military or the police?

11.00 TEA

11.30 COMMISSIONS CONTINUED

1.00 LUNCH

3.00 Reportback from commissions in plenary and discussion

4.30 TEA

5.00 Reportback, discussion continued

6.00 SUPPER AND EXTRA MURAL ACTIVITIES

SUNDAY 27 MAY

9.00 Closing Address

Dr van Zyl Slabbert
Chair: Thabo Mbeki

11.00 Tea and conference ends

2.40 DEPARTURE FROM LUSAKA