

INTRODUCTION TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

The National Security Management System (NSMS) is a vast, faceless bureaucracy, dominated by the police and military, with the task of "delivering good government and security" to the people.

It made headlines last year with the Sunday Times calling it "The Peace Corps", while the Weekly Mail described its operations as "The uniformed web that sprawls across the country".

Its task, as recommended in the Defence White Paper of 1977, is to discuss security situations, swap intelligence and deal with problems and co-ordinate the activities of all government departments in implementing "total strategy".

Its easy to see why the government has resorted to this. Finding itself in a crisis situation which has reached unprecedented heights, it has been forced to entrench its concept of total strategy through a policy of "National/Security". The country is led by a former Minister of Defence and parliament is no longer the most influential decision making body - it has been replaced by the State Security Council.

The State Security Council (SSC) makes recommendations on national strategy to the cabinet. The SSC commands the NSMS, and although it is not a military creation, the powers vested in the SSC have allowed the Defence Force to upgrade, overhaul and develop the state security decision making apparatus.

The flurry of the Information Scandal (Muldergate), hid a bloodless, little remarked on coup by the army, replacing the Old Guard of Vorster, Mulder and Van Der Bergh with former Minister of Defence P. W. Botha, backed by General Magnus Malan. In the process the all-powerful SSC was strengthened and its committees fleshed out with military personnel.

Terms like "total strategy", "total war", and "national security" became household words in a massive propaganda campaign. Since 1980, Botha and his supporters have increased the military influence on the NSMS through the national security policy which pervades every aspect of political, economic, social and cultural life in South Africa.

Parliament has become little more than a rubberstamp. Executive responsibility has shifted away from it, and even from the parliamentary caucus of the Nationalist Party into the hands of a non-parliamentary group which includes selected Cabinet Ministers, businessmen, farmers, senior military and police officers.

In an interview with the Weekly Mail, SSC officials vehemently denied that the aim is to militarise the country. They insisted that civilians outnumber military personnel at every level of the system. They did, however, concede that military and police officer chair almost every Joint Management, Sub- and Mini-JM Centre meetings, but said this is due to security force personnel being trained strategists most skilled at formulating total strategy responses to a crisis.

The following section of the paper sets out, as far as possible, the structure of the NSMS and demonstrates the extent to which it invades practically every area of our lives.

A. THE STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM.

1. THE CABINET.

Ultimate responsibility and executive rights rests with the cabinet. Decisions taken by the State Security Council (SSC) are subject to final approval by this body. It is contended that the SSC, four other committees, and the cabinet are actually on the same level as far as decision making is concerned, with the multi-racial cabinet being seen as a rubber stamp rather than the top committee in the government structure. It is chaired by the State President.

2. THE STATE SECURITY COUNCIL (SSC)

At the top of the NSMS is the State Security Council. It is seen by many as the shadow cabinet. It too is chaired by the State President.

The SSC was born in 1972. Before that there existed a State Security Advisory Board. The whites only SSC was given the task of making recommendations on national strategy to the cabinet. When P. W. Botha came to power in 1977, the nature of the SSC began to change and it began to play a central role in co-ordinating national strategy and not merely acting in an advisory capacity.

The present secretary of the SSC is Lieutenant General Pieter Van Der Westhuizen former chief of Military Intelligence.

Act 64 of 1972, passed by parliament with the support of all political parties, stated that the composition of the SSC would be :-

- the State President
- a senior minister
- Minister of Defence
- Minister of Justice
- Minister of Police
- Minister of Foreign Affairs
- other co-opted ministers
- Secretary for Security Intelligence
- Commandant General of the SADF
- Secretary for Foreign Affairs
- Secretary for Justice
- Commissioner of Police
- other co-opted heads of departments

In the White Paper on Defence of 1977 it was recommended that the SSC's brief be extended to include the investigation of :

- political action
- military/paramilitary action
- economic action
- psychological action
- scientific and technological action
- religious and cultural action
- manpower services
- intelligence services
- security services
- national supplies, resources and production services
- transport and distribution services
- financial services
- community services
- telecommunication services

Also in the White Paper was the statement/—

Also in the White Paper was the statement that "The SADF" realises the news media are an essential link in the total strategy

The Act provided that the functions of the SSC would be :

- (a) At the request of the State President to advise the government on the formulation of national policy and strategy in relation to security and the manner in which such policy or strategy shall be implemented and executed.
- (b) To determine the intelligence priorities.

2. 1. THE WORK COMMITTEE OF THE SSC.

This committee is composed of the heads of most of the government departments represented by their ministers on the SSC. It consists of :

- chairmen of working groups of other cabinet committees,
- heads of departments co-opted from time to time

The main function of the Work Committee (SC) is to discuss all matters which are to be put before the SSC and to make recommendations regarding the advice the council should give to the cabinet. It meets every 14 days.

2. 2. THE SECRETARIATE OF THE SSC.

The Secretariate of the State Security Council (SSSC) supports the Work Committee and the SSC in the performance of their functions. It has a full-time staff which is drawn from various government departments, both in a permanent capacity and on a secondment basis.

The Secretariate ensures that all participating organisations are given the opportunity to put their problems and recommendations to the SSC. It co-ordinates the inputs affecting a specific situation and makes recommendations to the WC and the SCC. It also co-ordinates and passes on decisions of the cabinet in respect of national security to various departments for implementation.

The SSSC consists of four branches :

2. 2. 1. THE STRATEGY BRANCH

This branch formulates strategies and the development of plans. It co-ordinates the monitoring and implementation of policies. It also receives inputs from various sources such as :

- departments
- the Joint Management Centres (JMC)
- THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES (IDC)

It is headed by a trained strategist of the army.

2. 2. 2. THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE INTERPRETATION BRANCH

This branch is responsible for interpreting national security intelligence and for providing intelligence reports which form the basis on which strategies and other plans can be formulated.

Theoretically, the intelligence/—

2. 2. 2. THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE INTERPRETATION BRANCH CONT/—

Theoretically, the intelligence gathering is done at grass roots level and is passed up the system for co-ordination and evaluation by the National Intelligence Interpretation Branch. Members of the :

- South African Police,
- S.A. Defence Force,
- National Intelligence Service
- Department of Foreign Affairs and Information

sit on the committee. There is a rotating chairman - the present chairman is a member of the Security Police. The chair rotates every two years..

2. 2. 3. THE STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION BRANCH.

STRATCOM, as it is commonly called, gives advice and co-ordinates the departmental efforts in "Combatting the war of words". It is headed by Mr. A. P. Stemmet, and is concerned with developing press releases and other mass communication mechanisms for communicating the government's message.

It is contended that the Communication Committee of the Joint Management Centres feed their findings and suggestions into Stratcom. Exactly where the Bureau for Information slots in - whether at JMC or Stratcom level, or both is not clear at this stage. Nor is it certain exactly where the SABC fits in, but it is clear to observers that there is a direct link between Stratcom, the Bureau for Information and the SABC.

2. 2. 4 THE ADMINISTRATIVE BRANCH.

This branch is concerned mainly with the administrative tasks necessary for the smooth running of the security structure.

Next in the security hierarchy are the Inter-departmental committees.

3. THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES (IDCs).

The IDCs aid the Secretariate of the SSC with the co-ordination of the planning and implementation of policies. These committees are consulted by the Secretariate at all stages of planning, development and implementation. IDCs consist of representatives from the government departments with a direct interest in the particular field of activity concerned.

On April 8, 1986 the then Deputy Minister of Defence, Adriaan Vlok, said that 13 IDCs were established to give advice in so far as national security was affected in areas regarding :

- manpower
- security forces
- civil defence
- transport
- security
- national supplies and resources
- government funding
- national economy
- telecommunication and electrical power supply
- science and technology
- community services
- culture
- political affairs

The next step is the Joint Management Centres.

4. THE JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRES/—

4. THE JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRES (JMCs)

The JMCs operate at the regional level of the National Security Management System. In March last year the Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, said that at the end of 1985 the SSC had established 12 JMCs in the following regions :

- Bloemfontein
- Cape Town
- Durban
- Johannesburg
- Kimberley
- Nelspruit
- Oudtshoorn
- Pietersburg
- Port Elizabeth
- Potchefstroom
- Pretoria
- Walvis Bay

These regions correspond to the area commands of the SADF. A SSC official said recently that eventually there will be nine JMCs, in concurrence with the nine development regions. There are about 60 Sub-JMCs and about 448 Mini JMCs in smaller towns and cities.

The purpose of the JMCs, according to Malan is "To co-ordinate joint government action at regional level".

The JMCs have no executive power as this is situated in the Cabinet. The JMCs make recommendations which are sent up the line to the SSC and from there to the Cabinet. The cabinet turns the suggestion into law and the directive to carry out the specific tasks is transmitted along the top heavy chain to the JMCs to see that it is carried out. According to Lt-Gen Van Der Westhuizen, the secretary of the SSC, the JMCs act as :

- the government's early warning system for internal threats to state security,
- and as a "highly mobile mechanism to defuse revolutionary unrest".

4. 1. COMPOSITION OF THE JMCs.

Each JMC consists of civil servants rather than elected representatives. All the chairmen, and many of the chairs of the Sub and Mini-JMCs are senior military or police officers. It was stressed by officials of the SSC that this does not have to be the case as it is up to each JMC to elect its chair.

Stemmet of the SSSC speculated that the reason for the military or police officer being chosen as chairman is the communication network which they have access to. He also said the only government department not participating in the JMC is the Department of Justice, because they are concerned with law and "really should not be involved". Magistrates are thus excluded, although magisterial districts are included.

The JMCs establish informal liaison with organisations like rotary clubs, parent-teachers associations, red cross workers and farmers associations, often without these bodies realising that they are being drawn into the NSMS.

Each JMC has three committees/-

4. 1. COMPOSITION OF THE JMCs CONT/---

Each JMC has three committees :

- Joint Intelligence Committee (Gikkom)
- Political, economic and social committee (Peskom)
- Communication Committee (Komkom)

(The Afrikaans acronyms are used by participants in the system)

4. 1. 2. THE JOINT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE.

The task of this committee is to create, develop and co-ordinate intelligence information. It decides that if certain things are not done in certain areas, there will be a crisis - this can concern the supply of water, electricity, housing, etc., The JMC as a whole looks at this intelligence information and makes recommendations on how to solve the problems. It serves as a pool of information.

4. 1. 3. THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE

This committee is concerned with identifying and making recommendations about possible community conditions which could develop into crisis situations. For example, a burst drain pipe in a township could bring the city council into disrepute and thus raise the credibility of the Civic Association which would take up the issue. In the eyes of the JMC this could become a mobilising point and could potentially result in the establishment of a street committee and other forms of alternative structure and resistance. It would thus refer its information to the Intelligence Committee and the JMC as a whole for co-ordination and recommended action.

4. 4. 4. THE COMMUNICATION COMMITTEE.

This committee co-ordinates the production of mass media for the JMCs. Once the JMC has identified a problem, it has to communicate the solution to the public. Its task is thus to make recommendations on how this should be done, for example should the press, radio, television be used or should the local authority put out pamphlets. The medium to which the most people will be exposed is used.

In an interview, Stemmet conceded that anti-rent or boycott campaign pamphlets could theoretically be produced by Komkom, but said "It would be damn risky... it must be done covertly".

4. 2. THE SUB - AND MINI- JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRES.

The existence of Sub- and Mini-JMCs depends on the needs of grassroots level, according to SSC officials. It is intended that the boundaries of the Sub- JMCs will coincide with the future Regional Services Council boundaries, and the Mini-JMCs will be the Local Management Centres.

The Sub-JMC, which is on a lower level than the JMC, but higher than the Mini-JMC in the structure of the NSMS, is made of officials since there are no elected RSC members yet. At the moment the Sub-JMCs are performing the tasks of the RSCs before their implementation. The Mini-JMC has representatives from local government departments as well as an appointed representative from the local council. For example Mamelodi makes up a Mini composed of a black and white councillor. The elected councillor may feed a problem into the system but the elected councils do not have access to recommendations or strategies developed within the system. The Sub and Mini-JMCs also tend to be chaired by police and military personnel.

A SSC official said there are/---

4. 2. THE SUB - AND MINI - JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRES CONT/—

A SSC official said there are Progressive Federal Party members employed by a local government or authority who sit on the Sub or Mini-JMCs. He said the NSMS is a system for officials and that politics does not play a role as far as it was concerned. It was emphasized that in the case of a breakdown of the local authority, the JMC, Sub or Mini-JMC cannot step in. "An official can never carry out the duties of a politician".

There used to be three or four external JMCs dealing with neighbouring countries, but these are no longer functioning. These committees served as advice centres on certain countries.

D. THE BUREAU FOR INFORMATION.

The Bureau for Information began operating a while before it assumed its public mantle. Many South Africans were notified of its existence for the first time on June 12, 1986 - the day on which the third State of Emergency was declared.

Full control of political information was passed from government departments to the Bureau. The Deputy Minister of Information Dr. Stoffel Van Der Merwe said in Parliament on February 4 this year that the Bureau assists the media in gathering news and not censoring it. Yet, on the day it went public its first task was to spell out the warning of heavy penalties if anyone under South African law supplements or counters it bulletins wherever in the world it is published. These penalties amount to press censorship.

The Bureau has many regional offices, including :

- Pretoria
- Bloemfontein
- Kimberley
- Port Elizabeth
- Pietersburg
- East London
- Potchefstroom - soon to be opened
- Cape Town

Each regional office is autonomous and receives guidelines from the Bureau headquarters in Pretoria. The Bureau's aim is to create communication links between all population groups and the government. It has set up offices in these regions with this aim, as well as to make it easier for journalists, particularly foreigners, to get official statements without having to travel to Pretoria to do so. According to Renette Stone, employee of the Bureau it enables a wider dissemination of information over a wide area.

In an interview, Stone said the Bureau is dependant on the security forces for its information. It also concentrates on specific areas which it has isolated as areas of need. An area is women's organisations. Stone said "Because the government is in touch with a lot of what is going on, it has found that many women's organisations are duplicating work". She claims that this could be aided if all the information, queries, findings and ideas are channelled through the Bureau. This would ensure that the information is shared more easily and would be co-ordinated at a higher level.

It has been alleged that the Bureau, not content with monitoring women's organisations, has helped to form its own with Women for South Africa as an example. Stone told the Sash that a women's group was being launched in Teakane as well.

The Bureau has division monitoring/—

D. THE BUREAU FOR INFORMATION CONT/---

The Bureau has division monitoring the churches and church activity. It is not clear what other areas the Bureau is monitoring.

Exactly where the Bureau slots into the state security apparatus is murky. It is obvious, however, that it has to have formal links to the Communication Committees of the JMCs. It cannot act completely on its own, as it needs input.

Foreign correspondents were entertained by the Bureau for Information during the first week of February. They were hosted by the Director of the Bureau, David Stewart, Bureau employees, cabinet members and the State President during the opening week of the 1987 Session of Parliament. Local journalists were not invited and treated to breakfast briefings, luncheon and cocktail discussions with the government.

The type of media it is responsible for encompasses the full range of propaganda methods :

1. The R3,9 million Peace Song
2. Pamphlets distributed in Alexandra township publicising the installation of a sewerage system the lack of which the JMC had identified as a grievance.

The pamphlets were targetted at the youth and depicted a young man named Alex extolling the merits of the new development, while Comrade Rat, representing the activist youth, seeks to destroy it.
3. Anonymous "Pay Rent" pamphlets calling on Soweto residents to pay rents were distributed in the township on Jan 14 1987. Entitled "The best things in life are free", the pamphlets said luxuries such as electricity and water provision had to be paid for. Although this cannot be linked directly to the Bureau, or the JMCs, it does seem to be more than a coincidence given the supporting adverts in the press and on the radio.
4. Advertisements in the Sowetan advertising housing, electricity, water.

The bottom line of the adverts state :

"Your transport, rent or bond/electricity/water is a bargain. Out even bargains must be paid for". The adverts used to be imprinted by the Bureau for Information, but since February this no longer happens
5. Advertisements on Radio Metro (a Yuppy radio station for urban blacks) has adverts explaining the origins of water and electricity and stating that "Even bargains must be paid for".
6. "Troops out of the townships" posters put up all over Cape Town depicting the take over of townships by crazed mobs.
7. The Defence Force in Cape Town has a printing press that produced /---

D. THE BUREAU FOR INFORMATION CONT/—

7. The Defence Force in Cape Town has a printing press that produced orange and green stickers attacking the UDF and other black community organisations.
8. This press printed a circular letter on bogus UDF letterheads announcing the setting up of a cell system in black townships. It demanded R50.00 a month from each household to be paid into a "revolutionary fund". The pamphlet was clearly aimed to provoke people.
9. It assisted a black woman in the fashion business through an article in its publication and by putting her in touch with people who could help.
10. It puts out its own publication in Port Elizabeth townships and in other areas.
11. The Bureau has taken its campaign to "promote positive attitudes among all population groups" into public libraries. It has officially opened an information stand in ^{the Pretoria} whites only public library. According to the Star 5/2/87 samples of the literature, for which R1,7 million is budgeted every year, include the booklet on the ANC (without Nelson Mandela's photograph) and a booklet entitled "PAC, ANC, SACP, PLG, Libya...Partners in Terror". One of the bureau's aims is to give South Africans information so that meaningful discussions can take place regarding future developments. There is a possibility of these information stands springing up in other cities.

The Bureau has exceeded its budget spending on communication projects by R37 million. Additional estimates for 1986 - 1987 show that while its original budget was R28 849 000 for the year, estimated expenditure for the year is R32 572 000. The additional budget of R3723 000 was requested for communication projects which are used as "instruments in the promotion of effective communication between the government and the people of RSA".

JOY HARNDEN

February 1987.

ORGANIGRAM OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

State Security Council (SSC)

Working Committee of the SSC

Secretariate of the SSC

Interdepartmental Committees

Joint Management Centres (JMCs)

Sub-Joint Management Centres

Mini-Joint Management Centres

Strategy Branch

National Interpretation Branch

Strategic Communication Branch

Administration Branch

Joint Intelligence Committee

Political, Economic and Social
Committee

Communications Committee

STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL

SECURITY

Cabinet

State Security Council

Cabinet Committees

Working Committee of the SSC
Secretariate of the SSC

Department Heads

Interdepartmental Committees of SSC

TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT

Regional Executive Committees

Joint Management Centres

Regional Services Councils

Sub-Joint Management Centres

Local Authorities

Mini-Joint Management Centres

In the economic sphere the Economic Advisory Council exists at Cabinet level. It deals with national issues. At the Regional Executive Committee level there is a Regional Development Advisory Committee also dealing with economic issues.