Executive Outcomes:
Tony Blair's Pet Bulldog?
The Curious Case of Colonel Tim Spicer

By **William Bowles**

July 7 2005 UPDATE: The G8 meeting in Scotland And the Make Poverty History campaign

Tim Spicer is an ex-soldier from the Scots Guards, an elite unit of the British Army, a veteran of Northern Ireland (where he got his OBE) and the Falklands, and he also served in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s. Spicer's (defunct) company, Sandline International took over from Executive Outcomes (EO) which was disbanded after South Africa made it illegal for South African nationals to engage in mercenary activities.

Spicer has close connections to the government of Tony Blair who hired Spicer's Sandline to illegally supply weapons to restore the Kabbah government in Sierra Leone.

The successor to Spicer's Sandline is Aegis Defence Services and just awarded a $239 million contract by the US DoD to supply “75 close protection bodyguard teams to coalition and Iraqi officials” as well as “co-ordinate intelligence gathering for other private security firms in Iraq, including the multi-billion dollar US Dyncorp”, it became clear that there is much, much more to Colonel Tim than meets the eye.

Could this connection have something to do with Aegis Defence Services winning the DoD contract (more payback for supporting Bush's illegal invasion of Iraq)?

The contract has been contested by Dyncorp and there are currently three separate US government investigations into the awarding of the contract to Aegis.

Aegis, formed less than two years ago, is small potatoes by PMC standards, In fact in 2003, the company made a loss of £378,000. Investors in Aegis include Frederick Forsyth, author of “The Dogs of War”.

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Aegis is also bidding on a 12-month contract offered by the British government's Department of International Development (DFID) to “provide intelligence and security advice” to the government of Sierra Leone. An irony considering Spicer's prior involvement with Sierra Leone when his company broke a UN embargo on arms to Sierra Leone on behalf of Tony Blair's government.

“It's The Wild West”

“The United States government, the American army, and the private security or intelligence companies are today completely interdependent,” says a European expert. “And, from a military point of view, this is on the increase. Just one example: after the attacks on the Blackwater convoys in Fallujah and Baghdad, the Pentagon proposed providing to the coordinating agency, PMO – Program Management Office – and so today to Spicer, air support for all the private companies officially registered with the PMO. The program's code name is 'Quarterback.' It's incredible. It's the Wild West. Apache helicopters and ground attack fighters are going to henceforth be able to “clear” the roads for private companies.”” (Correspondent)

It's estimated that there are at least 20,000 mercenaries operating in Iraq (some put it as high as 30,000), earning between five and twenty times as much as their state-employed 'comrades-in-arms'.

So why all the fuss over PMCs? After all, there was a time when most wars were conducted by mercenaries until the time of large-scale state-enforced conscription at the beginning of the 20th century when mechanised warfare demanded millions of young men to fight and die for capital.

What started out as a fairly 'straightforward' investigation of Aegis Defence Services, a small PMC with connections, tailspinned into a global spider's web of corporate and government connections that (so far) spans countries from South/North America, Africa, the Middle and Far East, with a multitude of players including government leaders from Burma to Uganda with stopovers in South Africa, DR Congo, Sierra Leone, Papua New Guinea, Equatorial Guinea, Kenya, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, then on to Venezuela, Guyana, Colombia and the United States.

This article can only scratch the surface of the intricacies of the global network of mercenary armies and the connected oil, gas, precious metal mining companies as well as the lucrative arms trading that the companies named here are or have been involved in.

Various and sundry companies owned by a host of connected players as far apart as Canada, Burma and Uganda, with one company leading to another via 'fronts', shared directors and shareholders, cross-ownership, tax shelters, in a word, all the devices of corporate capitalism designed to obscure who really owns (and hence is responsible for) what.

In addition, one of the hidden players, 'Toxic' Bob Friedland, a power behind the throne of Tony Buckingham's Heritage Oil & Gas, and also a sidekick of Colonel Tim Spicer, has left a trail toxic waste behind him as he dug his way across Burma, the United States, Canada and Venezuela in search of gold. A search that thus far has left cleanup costs (not his to pay) of hundreds of millions of dollars of the cyanide and heavy metal-polluted landscapes.

The sordid doings of these 'Soldiers of Misfortune' is therefore, not restricted to doing the dirty work of imperialism, but leads them wherever they see a fast buck to be made. This is the side of PMCs that the media doesn't report on when it reports the glib comments of British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw when he talks of engaging the “reputable private military sector”.

Executive Outcomes

The starting point is Executive Outcomes (EO) (now defunct but not before morphing into Sandline International and then ending up as Aegis Defence Services, with a few stopovers inbetween). EO was one of the first of the Private Military Contractors, set up around 1989, after it became clear that Apartheid South Africa was all washed up. The man credited with creating EO is Eeban Barlow. In addition to Barlow, the other major players in EO/Sandline were Simon Mann (currently languishing in a Zimbabwean jail having been arrested for participating in an alleged coup in Equatorial Guinea in exchange for oil concessions after the coup was over[8]), Tim Spicer, Michael Grunberg, Tony Buckingham and Nic van der Berg, who later took over from Barlow as head of EO. The military network was controlled by shadowy holding companies, called Plaza 107 in the UK (controlled by Grunberg) and the Strategic Resources Corporation in South Africa.

“EO was registered in the UK in September 1993 by Simon Mann, a former troop commander in 22 SAS specializing in

intelligence and South African director of Ibis Air, and Tony Buckingham, an SAS veteran and chief executive of Heritage Oil and Gas. The Heritage Oil and Gas board of directors includes former Liberal Party leader David Steel, and Andrew Gifford of GJW Government Relations, an influential parliamentary lobbyist. The company, originally British, now registered in the Bahamas, is associated with a Canadian oil corporation, Ranger Oil. Both companies had drilling interests in Angola, a country that since the mid 1970s was torn by civil war between the Marxist MPLA government and UNITA rebels who were covertly assisted by the South African special forces.

“Most of EO's approximately one thousand soldiers (70 per cent of whom are black) are veterans of South Africa's four elite apartheid-era counterinsurgency special forces: 32 'Buffalo' Battalion; the Reconnaissance Commandos ('Reccies'); the Parachute Brigade ('Parabats'); and the paramilitary 'Koevoet' ('Crowbar'). Their assignment was the destabilization of the apartheid regime's southern African enemies.

“The 32 Battalion, comprised mainly of Portuguese-speaking Angolans, became South Africa's most highly decorated combat unit since the Second World War. Eeben Barlow, the director of EO until July this year, was second-in-command of the 32 Battalion. He chose the paladin, the chessboard knight once featured in the old television series Have Gun, Will Travel, as the company logo when he set up EO in 1989.”

EO's first known major operation was Angola in 1993 where it traded on its 32 Battalion experience defending oil drilling sites and ironically being hired by the Angolan government to fight UNITA, the force Barlow had been working with to destroy the MPLA government during the Apartheid era. In reality, the oil drilling site it recovered from UNITA in Angola at Soyo, was in fact owned by Heritage Oil (which in turn has shares owned by Toxic Bob Friedland's Branch Energy) and at the time, EO was also part-owned by Branch Energy. Heritage Oil has operations in Angola, Congo-Brazaville, DR Congo, Oman, and Uganda. Executive Outcomes was involved in Sierra Leone, Angola, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa and Canada.

“Angola seems to be where EO head Barlow met former SAS officer [Tony] Buckingham, now believed to have ultimate control over EO and the complex web of some 80 companies involved in businesses ranging from landmine removal to water purification. Buckingham was representing Heritage Oil at the time of their meeting and had requested that Barlow recruit soldiers to recapture Heritage's assets in Soyo that had been taken by UNITA during the renewed conflict of the Second Civil War. The success of EO's special forces operation in Soyo had inspired the Angolan government to hire EO to direct frontline operations against UNITA.

“Payments for EO's services were made substantially in partial ownership in Branch Energy, were then transferred through a subsidiary, Carson Gold, and were finally exchanged for shares in DiamondWorks. Capture of vital diamond mining territory was part of the subtext of EO's operations in Angola.”

Also involved in EO's Angolan 'adventures' was Simon Mann, an ex-Royal Scots Guards officer and troop commander with the 'elite' British Special Air Services (SAS). Mann, together with Tony Buckingham, another prominent player in the private army business, awarded Eeben Barlow, the founder of EO, his first contract in Angola.

Led by Lafras Luitingh, a former 5 Reconnaissance Regiment officer, and like Barlow, also an ex-Civil Cooperation Bureau operative, less than 100 EO fighters seized the town in three months and handed it back to the Angolan government. They got huge rewards, including a US$30 million mining contract.

Eeban Barlow
Barlow, joined the SADF in 1974 and went to become a commander of South Africa's notorious 32 Battalion's Reconnaissance (Recce) Wing where he 'assisted' the anti-MPLA UNITA, (the Union for the Total Independence of Angola) guerrilla army. Later, Barlow went on to become a high-ranking employee of the South African Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) formed in the last years of the Apartheid regime. Barlow it seems, was based in London during the 1980s and it was his job to disseminate disinformation about the ANC but one can speculate on what other activities he and the other CCB operatives got up to whilst stationed in Europe including their involvement in the assassination of the ANC representative in France, Dulcie September in 1987. The CCB was definately involved in assassinations elsewhere, including the assassination of Anton Lubowski, a leading member of Namibia's SWAPO (South West African Peoples' Organisation) in 1989. The manufacture and distribution of drugs, involvement with the so-called Third Force, utilised to destabilise South Africa during the pre-1994 election period. Dr Wouter Basson (so-called Dr. Death) was also part of the CCB operation and behind a CBW programme code-named Project Coast.

The activities of EO, the clients it served, and the global transnational corporate elite that included the DeBeers diamond cartel, Texaco and Gulf-Chevron reveals the role of mercenary groups like EO, especially in Africa. Much of its income came from 'doing deals', that is, getting lucrative mining concessions as payment for providing protection or overthrowing governments that 'got in the way' of doing business such as those conducted in Sierra Leone, Angola and DR Congo. And here the connections between EO and companies such as Diamondworks, becomes important, for the close association between EO and the diamond and gold concessions reveals that EO not only got paid cash for supplying mercenary forces but also obtained lucrative mining concessions as well.

“In Sierra Leone, Branch Energy had a 60% stake in Branch Energy Sierra Leone, the government had 30% while a local businessman/investor held a small stake of 10%. The same pattern was repeated in Angola and in Uganda. Branch Energy's African assets were mainly concentrated in countries where civil wars and rebellions were raging, so was it just pure luck or coincidence that these countries were selected? In fact the selection appears to have been guided by very defined criteria: the potentials in minerals (diamonds, gold and oil), a bankrupt national economy and armed rebellion threatening the ruling strongman.”

Aside from the fact that the UN outlawed the practice, mercenary outfits are 'free agents' not covered by Geneva Conventions or indeed aside from countries like South Africa who have outlawed the practice, are not regulated by the leading exporters of war, the US and the UK.

“The American government has also been using these private companies and others, more discreet, for secret activities, as the Abu Ghraib prison torture scandal revealed recently. Intelligence agencies subcontract their activities, notably for interrogations. Not only are these private “soldiers” not subject to military discipline or prosecution, but their companies are paid, or see their contracts renewed, on a pro rata basis, according to how much information is obtained. This would appear to have pushed some contractors to extract fantastical confessions from prisoners through torture.”

But perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the drive to privatise war is the fact that our political elite is busy producing rationales for it. Hence British foreign secretary **Jack Straw** had this to say on the subject,

“…[a] reputable private military sector might have a role in enabling the UN to respond more rapidly and effectively to crises”.

This followed the Sierra Leone affair, where the UK government had hired Sandline to smuggle weapons into the country in contravention of an UN arms embargo. Clearly Straw's statement (following the publication of a Green Paper that called for the hiring of PMCs to do the work of government) was part of the drive to circumvent all the 'inconvenient' laws that prohibit governments from acting without due process or being accountable to public oversight.

Straw's forward to the Green Paper went on to say,

“Today's world is a far cry from the 1960s when private military activity usually meant mercenaries of the rather unsavoury kind involved in post-colonial or neo-colonial conflicts.”

Unsavoury seems an odd choice of word especially in the light of the subsequent events in Abu Ghraib and the involvement of CACI, the US PMC in the torture of Iraqi prisoners, for surely the point of privatising state activities is primarily to avoid taking responsibility for one's actions. The smokescreen being used by the likes of despicable individuals like Straw who seeks to justify privatising such activities under the guise circumventing 'bureaucracy', is the height of cynicism. It reveals that far from being the advocates of freedom and democracy, our rulers feel that they can write their own rules in this dog-eat-dog world that they have created.

But unlike the US government who have already made it quite plain that PMCs are above the law,

“If accepted by Prime Minister Ayad Allawi, it would put the highly visible U.S. foreign contractors into a special legal category, not subject to military justice and beyond the reach of Iraq's justice system. … Two U.S. contract employees at Abu Ghraib prison who were accused in a Pentagon report of participating in illegal abuse of Iraqi prisoners … have not been charged with any crimes in Iraq or the United States. … Estimates of the total number of foreigners working here — from Americans to **South Africans** to Chileans — have ranged from 20,000 to 30,000.”

The **British government hides its actions**, embarrassed perhaps that its activities expose its hypocritical position? But this is nothing new for the Blair government whose activities ever since coming to power in 1997 have been exemplified by an endless trail of broken promises and lies about its true intentions as it attempts to resurrect the empire. So the fact that it rewards the dregs of its former colonial empire's military occupiers with crumbs off the US table should come as no surprise.



Company Details

Name & Registered Office:
LONDON LAW SERVICES LIMITED
THE OLD EXCHANGE
12 COMPTON ROAD
WIMBLEDON
LONDON
SW19 7QD
Company No. 02335944

Status: Active
Date of Incorporation: 11/01/1989

Country of Origin: United Kingdom
Company Type: Private Limited Company
Nature of Business (SIC(03)):
7414 - Business & management consultancy
Accounting Reference Date: 31/01
Last Accounts Made Up To: 31/01/2008 (DORMANT)
Next Accounts Due: 30/11/2009
Last Return Made Up To: 11/01/2009
Next Return Due: 08/02/2010
Last Members List: 11/01/2009
Previous Names:
No previous name information has been recorded over the last 20 years.
Branch Details
There are no branches associated with this company.
Oversea Company Info
There are no Oversea Details associated with this company.



Company Details

Name & Registered Office:
LONDON LAW SECRETARIAL LIMITED
THE OLD EXCHANGE 12 COMPTON ROAD
WIMBLEDON
LONDON
SW19 7QD
Company No. 02347720

Status: Active
Date of Incorporation: 14/02/1989

Country of Origin: United Kingdom
Company Type: Private Limited Company
Nature of Business (SIC(03)):
7414 - Business & management consultancy
Accounting Reference Date: 31/01
Last Accounts Made Up To: 31/01/2008 (DORMANT)
Next Accounts Due: 30/11/2009
Last Return Made Up To: 14/02/2009
Next Return Due: 14/03/2010
Last Members List: 14/02/2009
Previous Names:
No previous name information has been recorded over the last 20 years.
Branch Details
There are no branches associated with this company.
Oversea Company Info
There are no Oversea Details associated with this company.

Russian Lord of War Arrested

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While Victor Bout might be running arms to your opposition, you know he'll also ferry arms against a U.N. embargo for you.

Oh happy day! One of the world's biggest arms dealers was arrested in Thailand on Thursday. His name – Viktor Anatoliyevich Bout. Age: 41. Thai authorities were acting on a warrant for his arrest issued by the US who accuse him of supplying arms to Colombia, the Taliban and Al Qaeda.

Al Jazeera's Riz Khan interviews Douglas Farah an intelligence consultant and former journalist who wrote "Merchant of Death", a book based on Bout.

Russia's RSI Novosti reports

Moscow may request the extradition of Russian businessman Viktor Bout, arrested in Thailand at the request of U.S. authorities on charges of illegal arms trading, a Russian law enforcement source said on Thursday.

"At this time, Russia is awaiting investigation materials from Thailand…After that, a decision to request extradition may be taken," the source said.

If this happens Bout might walk free as the present US administration is anxious to please the new Russian regime and is not fully committed to acting on the US extradition request.

He flew frozen chickens from South Africa to Nigeria and Belgian peace keepers to Somalia.

His planes delivered French soldiers to Rwanda after the genocide and United Nations food aid to some of the crises his weapons had helped to create.

In 1997 his planes flew Mobutu Sese Seko, the dictator of the Congo, to safety as rebels closed in on him. Bout had armed the rebels.

He's conducted business with both the US and UK governments. "In an age when the U.S. president has divided the world into those who are with the United States and those who are against it, Bout is both", supplying arms to both sides of a given conflict which has earned him the moniker 'the merchant of death'.

Bout's real money came when he realized he could fly lucrative commercial cargo on the flights back from the weapons deliveries. His most profitable enterprise was flying gladiolas purchased for $2 in Johannesburg and resold for $100 in Dubai.

He has links to every conflict going on in Africa – Angola, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Uganda and Kenya – to name but a few countries.

Bout was formerly a Soviet military office who built his fortune in the chaos following the breakdown of the USSR by buying up old Soviet military aircraft and weaponry from desperate arms suppliers. The main supplier being Ukraine. Desperate for hard currency

the Ukraine sold off Soviet weaponry to whoever would buy. Viktor Bout helped to move and sell the product and soon the world was awash in weapons.

United Nations investigations placed him at the centre of an elaborate network of logistics and aviation companies delivering weapons to Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo, among other countries.

Johan Peleman, an arms trade expert who works for the UN peacekeeping mission in Congo, said many of Mr Bout's aircraft were operating in Africa but in some cases "he has either sold them or sub-leased them for longer periods of time", making it more difficult to link him to operations.

"Planes landing in Somalia look familiar. Some of his front-men remain active in the Great Lakes region. I still see a number of aircraft registered in Sao Tome and some in Angola that used to be his," Mr Peleman said.

Most recently, he added, law enforcement agencies had been investigating possible ties between companies associated with Mr Bout and militant groups in Nigeria, whose sophisticated weaponry has made it difficult for the federal government to re-establish control over the oil-producing Niger delta.

One Russian arms trade expert speaking on condition of anonymity said Mr Bout had been free to live in Moscow because "there were a lot of accusations but no proof. He is a transporter. He is like a taxi driver. A taxi driver can drive someone carrying suitcases. It's not his duty to know what's in the suitcases."



“I’m gonna make him an offer he can’t refuse.”

The photo above is one of the rare photos of Bout in circulation prior to his recent arrest and was taken for a NYT article written by Peter Landesman. Bout agreed to be interviewed by Landesman because he had things he wanted to get off his chest.

One night Landesman got a call at his hotel from an anonymous source asking him to meet at a McDonald’s in Pushkin Square, Moscow. The source put to him the idea that Bout had become the fall guy for a conspiracy involving Russia and the newly independent Soviet republic – Ukraine.

The source encouraged Landeman to view Bout from the following perspective:

He said to imagine the structure of arms trafficking in Russia like a mushroom. Bout was among those in the mushroom’s cap, which we can see. The stalk is made up of the men who are really running things in Russia and making decisions. Looking from above, he said, you never see the stalk. (Landesman)

Among those in the metaphorical mushroom cap was a Kenyan Asian who was arrested in Belgium in connection with supplying arms to Liberia in 2002. Sanjivan Ruprah described as a diamond dealer (who profited from Sierre Leone’s blood diamonds) was

on a US list of most wanted men and and one of the world's most notorious arms dealers. Ruprah was also the partner of Viktor Bout. According to Belgian researcher Tim Raemaekers they both held a substantial stake in a diamond business in Kisangani, DRC, and enjoyed diamond concessions in Banalia, DRC

Both he and Bout also enjoyed a covert relationship with US Feds since long before 9/11. According to a report submitted to the UN Security Council in 2002 his interests also included mining interests in Kenya.

BBC NEWS

Mercenaries in Africa's conflicts

The story of the arrests of alleged mercenaries in Zimbabwe and Equatorial Guinea raises the question of paying trained operatives to intervene in African disputes.

Since the start of the era of independence in the 1960s, former soldiers have been hired by foreign governments, rebel movements or even commercial companies to carry out operations that no-one else is capable of performing.

Despite efforts by African governments to stamp out the practice, there seems to be no shortage of men prepared to use their training on behalf of anyone willing to pay the right price.

South African role

The end of apartheid 10 years ago meant a large number of well trained personnel were suddenly on the market, as many whites left the South African army.

" **We definitely do not like the idea that South Africa is a pool for mercenaries** "
South African Foreign Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma

There were also a large number of black troops, who had been used by Pretoria down the years to conduct covert operations in Angola, Zambia and further abroad.

Many belonged to the "32 Buffalo Battalion" - as they were known.

Two years ago South Africa was investigating the use of its citizens in Sudan. Then there were reports of South Africans fighting for diamond companies in Sierra Leone.

And then they were flying helicopters in Ivory Coast.

The South African government has expressed its embarrassment over reports that South African mercenaries had been arrested in Equatorial Guinea and Zimbabwe.

Foreign Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma told reporters it was disturbing to hear that "every time" the world dealt with mercenaries, in Africa in particular, South Africans were among them.

"We definitely do not like the idea that South Africa is a pool for mercenaries," she said.

In 1999 South Africa introduced a law banning its citizens from taking part in mercenary acts abroad.

The South African correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, Helmoed Heitman, told the BBC that the introduction of this new legislation has made it more difficult to find mercenaries in the country.

"But there are still ways and means to get together, these days probably primarily by email," he said.

But South Africa is by no means the only source for mercenaries. Others have come from European or US specialist units.

Commercial companies

In recent years the major development in freelance fighting for profit has been the appearance of private military companies which offer their services to governments and to commercial companies.

The best known of these was Executive Outcomes (EO) - initially based in South Africa and involved in Angola and Sierra Leone.

" **We are established entities, have established sets of principles and employ professional people** "
Michael Grunberg
Sandline
In Angola, EO employed former South African soldiers and was paid by the Angolan state oil company, Sonangol, to assist the Angolan army in regaining control of the Soyo oilfields from Unita rebels.

It is estimated that EO was paid $40m for its services.

The same company was later involved in supporting the Sierra Leone Government in its attempts to defeat rebels.

Professionals

The British-based company Sandline also helped Sierra Leone fight the Revolutionary United Front rebels.

Michael Grunberg, a commercial adviser for Sandline, told BBC News Online that private military companies like Sandline see themselves as different from the old image of mercenaries.

"We are established entities, have established sets of principles and employ professional people."

He said Sandline operated as a commercial company and wanted to have a reputation that would enhance its business position.

He emphasised that it would not accept contracts from groups or governments that would risk damaging its commercial reputation.

The old guard

But despite this new image, old-style mercenaries have not disappeared and the depressing cycle of wars in the continent means that there are plenty of places for them to fight and new wars that produce new generations of hired guns.

They are accused of atrocities, of fuelling conflicts and of being beyond anyone's control.

One military source who wanted to remain anonymous, told BBC News Online that mercenaries were still very active and could command $10-20,000 a month for their services.

In April 2003, British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw warned a UK company against recruiting mercenaries to work in Ivory Coast.

He said he was gravely concerned at reports that Northbridge Services Group - a security company - was recruiting ex-servicemen from Britain, South Africa and France.

The company denied that it was involved in such activities.

The BBC's Martin Plaut and Keith Somerville contributed to this report.

Story from BBC NEWS:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/3501632.stm

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EO is dedicated to provide competitively priced, high quality services and products tailored to their clients' requirements.

EO continuously broaden their expertise and abilities and strive towards improving their operating capability in order to ensure the best possible service.

EO measures their results against planned objectives to remain highly competitive and successful in the marketplace.

EO fosters a culture of professional competence and integrity among their employees, and provide



them with every incentive to develop their potential.

EO promotes a spirit of teamwork throughout their organisation by good communications and clear policies.

EO endorses and supports reconstruction and development programmes for better quality of life and greater opportunities for individuals and communities.

EO believes that people's beliefs, cultures and values should be treated with the utmost respect.

EO implements sound financial practice to provide capital for growth and optimum return for their clients.

EO's control systems allow them to identify potential errors and miscalculations at an early stage in order to take corrective action.

During the stabilisation period, EO endeavours to provide para-military and specialist security programmes, which will assist in the normalisation process.

At all times EO remains apolitical and guarantee client confidentiality.





<u>It is EOs mission to provide:</u>

- A highly professional and confidential military advisory service to legitimate governments.
- Sound strategic and tactical military advice.
- The most professional training packages currently available to armed forces, covering aspects related to:

    - Land warfare
    - Air warfare
    - Naval warfare

- Peace keeping (persuasion) services.
- Advice to armed forces on weaponry selection.
- Para-military services.



- A total a-political service based on confidentiality, integrity, professionalism and dedication in order to create a climate for peace and stability for foreign investment.

What the Corporation Can Offer

Executive Outcomes (EO) prides itself on its success record. Employing a highly professional workforce, with more than 5 000 man-years of military knowledge, combat and training experience, the corporation is most probably the largest of its type in the world. The success record of Executive Outcomes is as yet unequalled. The corporation offers the following services:

Training

Executive Outcomes has assisted both local and international clients with training packages in the following fields:

1. Basic Infantry Training.	**2. Advanced Infantry Training.**	**3. Artillery Training.**
4. Armoured Warfare Training.	**5. Combat Engineer Training.**	**6. Supporting Arms Training ie Signals, Logistics, etc.**
7. Integration of Arms Training	**8. Specialist Weapons Training. (NATO and EAST BLOC).**	**9. Combat Air Patrol(CAP). Training with both loose and fixed wing type aircraft.**
10. Ground Air Support Training	**11. Leadership Training from Section Leader Level up to Brigade Staff Level.**	**12. Basic and Advanced Battle Handling.**
13. Strategy and Tactics.	**14. Heli-borne Operations.**	**15. Sniper Training.**
16. Special Forces Selection Programmes.	**17. Special Forces training for both urban and rural environment.**	**18. Clandestine Warfare.**
19. Air Supply Techniques.	**20. Parachute Training in both static-line deployment, free fall and HALO/HAHO Techniques.**	**21. Reconnaissance of objectives.**
22. Escape and Evasion.	**23. Discretionary Warfare, etc, etc.**	.

Executive Outcomes does not possess any pre-prepared training programmes. All training programmes are only compiled once the prospective client has given Executive Outcomes the exact outcome of the intended course and after Executive Outcomes personnel have conducted a thorough analysis of the threat, terrain, enemy tactics, etc. The result is tailor made training programmes, which are adapted to suit the client's operational circumstances. In accordance with one of its mission related statements, Executive Outcomes can assure any client of total client confidentiality.

Core Business

Executive Outcomes' core business provides for:

- Military Training, advice and support services.
- Para-Military Services.
- Peacekeeping Services.
- Specialist Security Services

Advice

Executive Outcomes advises clients on aspects such as:

1. The development of strategies;
2. Training subjects/programmes;
3. Monitoring of the client's trainers;
4. Restructuring programme development;
5. Weapon and weapon platform selection;
6. The formulation of Strategic and Tactical plans.

Vision

As one of the leading military advisory and specialist security companies in the world, Executive Outcomes (Pty) Ltd provides tailor made packages creating and environment conductive to peace and stability and a stable climate for foreign investment.

Equipment

EO has a proud record of not being purely a seller of equipment. The approach the corporation has adopted is as follows:

1. The client advises EO of the exact problem. In a joint think-tank, solutions to counter the problem are generated, and if equipment is necessary to solve the problem, EO will identify possible equipment solutions.

2. EO will gather all relevant information on the possible equipment and will make a specific recommendation to the client, based on:

- Equipment performance, suitablility and flexibility;
- Cost.

3. If the client accepts EO's recommendation, EO will secure a quotation, which if accepted by the client, is then processed.

EO has learned that the above approach is most beneficial to the client and prevents the purchacing of unnecessary equipment.

Major Projects to Date



The following are examples of major projects the corporation has been tasked with:

1. The training of South African Special Forces operatives in:

- Covert Intelligence Gathering
- Counter Espionage
- Covert Operations

2. The planning, establishing, training and equipping of a covert Counter Crime Organisation for a major multi-national client.

3. The securing and holding of oil installations in Africa under extremely hazardous conditions to enable the recovery of equipment by the client.

4. The planning, establishing, training and equipping of an organisation aimed at countering white-collar crime for a major product supplier.

5. The training of market-intelligence executives in the gathering of market-related information and marketing warfare.

6. The restructuring and retraining of Special Operations Units for a major African client.

7. The restructuring and retraining of an African Defence Force.

8. Prevention of a Coup d'Etat.

9. Training of Discretionary Warfare Teams for a DEA.

10. Planning, Training and Execution of a successful Hostage Release Operation.

CONCLUSION

Since 1989 **Executive Outcomes** has proved itself in the specialist security market. Providing a comprehensive service, the corporation has experienced an above-average growth and has been able to assist clients in ensuring their desired outcomes are met. Both nationally and internationally, EO has proved itself a leader in the marketplace. **Executive Outcomes** is a dynamic professional corporation that can be relied upon to give a highly professional service at all times.



2008-05-11 12:06:39
Na Mwandishi Wetu

Kashfa ya ufisadi katika mgodi wa dhahabu wa Buhemba ulioko mkoani Mara, umesababisha mapato ya nchi yenye thamani ya Sh. bilioni 30 `kuliwa` na wajanja.

Fedha hizo `zilitafunwa ` katika Awamu ya Rais Benjamin Mkapa, kuanzia 2003 hadi 2006 kupitia wawekezaji wa kampuni ya Tangold `iliyojimilikisha` mgodi huo kinyemela.

Kwa mujibu wa takwimu zilizopatikana kutoka Benki Kuu (BoT), jijini Dar es Salaam, Tangold ilichukua mgodi wa Buhemba ambao kuanzia mwaka 1997 ulikuwa ukiendeshwa kwa ubia na kampuni ya MEREMETA, Jeshi la Wananchi wa Tanzania (JWTZ) na Triennex Properietary Limited ya Afrika Kusini.

Nyaraka nyeti kutoka BoT zilisema kuwa JWTZ na mbia huyo walianza kuchimba dhahabu Oktoba 1997 na baadaye mkataba ulimalizika na Tangold ilijimilikisha mgodi huo kuanzia mwaka 2003 hadi 2006.

Ziliibua kuwa mambo ya MEREMETA hayakwenda vizuri kwani miradi yote iliyoanzishwa ilitumia fedha za mikopo kutoka Benki ya Nedcor ya Afrika Kusini ambayo ilichukuliwa na kampuni ya Triennex Properietary kwa niaba ya Serikali ya Tanzania.

``Kwa kuhofia athari za mkopo huo kwa uchumi wa nchi, Rais mstaafu

Benjamin Mkapa, aliunda Kamati maalum (task force) mwaka 2003 kwa ajili ya kuhakikisha mkopo unalipwa , kusimamia uendeshaji wa miradi ya MEREMETA na kuchunguza matatizo ya kampuni hiyo ya JWTZ na wawekezaji kutoka Afrika Kusini``, kilisema chanzo cha BoT.

Wajumbe wa kamati ya kuchunguza matatizo ya MEREMETA walikuwa ni Gavana wa BoT aliyefutwa kazi Dk. Daudi Balali, aliyekuwa Mwenyekiti.

Wengine ni Makatibu Wakuu Bw. Gray Mgonja wa Wizara ya Fedha, Bw. Patrick Rutabanzibwa -Madini na Nishati, (sasa Wizara ya Maji na Umwagiliaji), Bw. Vincent Mrisho aliyekuwa Wizara ya Ulinzi na Jeshi la Kujenga Taifa (sasa Ofisi ya Waziri Mkuu) na Mwanasheria Mkuu wa Serikali ya awamu ya tatu, Bw. Andrew Chenge.

Bw. Chenge mwezi uliopita alijiuzulu wadhifa wa Waziri wa Miundombinu kufuatia tuhuma za kuhifadhi zaidi ya shilingi bilini moja zinazodaiwa kuwa ni rushwa aliyopewa katika ununuzi wa rada iliyogharimu bilioni 70/-

Baada ya Tangold kuchukua Buhemba, ilichimba dhahabu yenye thamani ya Dola milioni 121.3 sawa na Sh. bilioni 147.

Dhahabu iliyochimbwa kwa kipindi hicho ni mali ya serikali kwani mgodi huo ulikuwa ni mali ya umma na ilikuwa na thamani ya Dola.

Taarifa zilizoifikia Nipashe Jumapili zilieleza kuwa katika kipindi hicho cha miaka minne, Tangold ilichimba karibu kilo 10,000 za dhahabu kutoka mgodi huo na kupata faida ya bilioni 30/-.

Tangold ilionyesha kuwa ililipa mrahaba wa Dola milioni 3.6 kwa Halmashauri ya Wilaya ya Musoma Vijijini ambao ni sawa na Sh. bilioni 4.36 kwa muda wote.

Takwimu za uchimbaji zilionyesha kuwa mwaka 2003 zilichimba kilo 2,848. 874, wakati mwaka uliofuata zilipatikana kilo 291.290. Mapato yanaonyesha kuwa mwaka 2005 ilipata kilo 2,220. 560 na mwaka 2006 ilipata kilo 1,890.934 na kwa jumla zilipatikana kilo 9, 941.658.

Hata hivyo, baada ya kupata kiasi hicho BoT ilionyesha kuwa Tangold iliilipa kampuni moja ya Afrika ya Kusini gharama za kuendesha mgodi ambazo ni kati ya Dola milioni 80 na 90 kwa miaka minne ambazo ni sawa na Sh. bilioni 100 mpaka 116.3.

Hata hivyo, licha ya kupata mabilioni hayo Tangold haikuwasilisha fedha hizo serikalini.

``Taarifa za Tangold haziko Wizara ya Fedha-Msajili wa Hazina , wala kwa Msajili wa Biashara (BRELA) hata BoT hazikuwahi kuwasilishwa,`` kilisema chanzo cha BoT.

Pesa hizo bilioni 30 ni mali ya umma lakini hazijulikani zilipo na swali linaloendelea kuulizwa ni wamiliki wa kampuni hiyo ni akina nani?

Katika Mkutano wa Bunge wa mwezi uliopita Mbunge wa Musoma Vijini Bw. Nimrod Mukono, alitaka kufahamishwa wamiliki wa mgodi wa Buhemba.

SOURCE: Nipashe

WHERE THERE IS SMOKE, THERE IS FIRE!

TRACING REPORTS OF TANZANIA'S ROLE IN ILLEGAL ARMS TRAFFICKING IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION 1997 – 2006

THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD COME OUT CLEAN

By. M. M. Mwanakijiji

*"Mindful of the existence of a stronger relations between the problem of small arms and light weapons and peace, security and development in the region, we have committed our resources in addressing the problem… It is in this regard that we also emphasize the linkage between the illegal exploitation of natural resources, illicit trade in such resources, and the proliferation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons (SALW) as one of the factors fueling and exacerbating the same" – Mrs. Grace Mujuma**

Introduction

The evidence that Tanzanian soil has been used in the past and probably is still used today by illegal arms traffickers in the Great Lakes region and hence fueling unending armed conflicts in the region is indeed overwhelming, troublesome, and in need of urgent actions by the government. Regardless of what President Kikwete would like Tanzanians to believe, regardless of what the Tanzanian parliament and the ruling party would like us to condemn, and regardless of the innumerable groups of people who under the banner of patriotism and solidarity would like us to do as we rally behind the president, the time has come for the Kikwete's administration to take strategic and calculated steps to restore the image of a peaceful country that has been tarnished by unending allegations of illegal arms trafficking through the country.

When the President spoke to the nation from Mwanza at his end-of-the month address, he categorically condemned Oscar nominated documentary "Darwin's Nightmare" for its portrayal and suggestion that illegal arms traffickers used Mwanza Airport as a conduit of illegal arms to trouble regions in Central and Southern Africa. As a matter of fact the president was quoted as saying that he had met the Director of the Film Mr. Hubert Sauper in Paris and had challenged him to provide proofs of such illegal activity as implied of its existence in the movie. According to the President, Mr. Sauper disappeared without giving the president an affirmative or a nay answer. When I had chance to interview Mr. Sauper on KLH News some few weeks ago he vehemently denied the charge.

For some reasons however, the Tanzanian government under Mr. Kikwete would want us to believe that Darwin's Nightmare's assertion (implied in the film) that Tanzanian soils has been used to transit weapons were a lone voice, malicious, and indeed have no basis in reality and lacks factual certainty.

In this article, I'm attempting to show that the president and his administration are trying to mislead the public (intentionally or not), hide the shortcomings of the previous

regimes, and for reasons known to them and them alone are not doing enough to stop this illegal trade on our soil that in fact has tarnished the image of our country more than any movie or artistic expression could have done.

By trying to ignore, underestimate, or hide this vice, this administration is relegating on its constitutional duty to protect the country from enemies “inside our borders and outside them”. Instead of talking about "mapanki" (split heads of Nile Perch) the administration should have tried its best to curb this activity of illegal arms transfers through our land.

Before I go on and trace the history of the allegations that have been made against Tanzania of its role as a transit point of illegal arms trade, I need to make some few things quite very clear so that there is no ambiguity of any sort whatsoever of what I’m talking about.

1. Tanzanian soil has in the past been used to train and equip “our” freedom fighters (“their” rebels) during the liberation struggle of the Southern African States. We (Tanzania) provided not only moral but also material support to organizations such as ANC (South Africa), ZANU PF (Zimbabwe), FRELIMO (Mozambique), MPLA (Angola) etc., We as a people are and should be proud to have done this for our brothers and sisters for we rightly knew then that our independence was not complete unless all African countries have broken from the yoke of colonialism and apartheid. This however, is not the subject of my article.

2. Tanzanian soil is still being used by legal arms shipments to landlocked countries adhering to international arm treaties, conventions, and protocols. These weapons are declared at the points of entry and there are legal procedures that govern such transportation. If you have lived near major highways in Tanzania, you might have witnessed such arms convoys passing by just as it was reported recently to have occurred in Dodoma. The governments of Uganda, DRC, Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia, and Malawi (to mention a few) have always used our country to transport their legal arms. This isn’t the subject of my article either.

3. What we are talking about is the illegal arms trafficking that is done under the cover of the night, disguised under different names, and destined to warring zones, and specifically to the different parties sometimes of the same conflict. These arms transfers are illegal and against international laws. Sometimes the arms dealers and their helpers bypass arms embargoes imposed by the international community. These are the weapons that have reached groups like UNITA, Interahamwe, DRC rebels, Hutu militia, Rwanda RPF (then a rebel movement), SPLA, LRA etc., Yes, these are the weapons that have flamed different conflicts in the region and have led to so much bloodshed, suffering and pain. These are the weapons that have killed millions of women, children and many civilians, and maimed thousands others, and have left many more as refugees, most of them ironically residing in Tanzania. The most prominent of these weapons is the infamous AK-47.

The allegations

The report by Human Rights Watch, which detailed the role of Tanzania in arms trafficking, was released on December 8, 1997. It was a ground breaking and earth shaking report. In this report named "Stoking the Fires: Military Assistance, Arms Trafficking, and the Civil War in Burundi", the HRW charged that some members of the international community have provided arms or some other forms of military assistance to the warring parties. It also declared that some African countries have let their territories be used by arms traffickers notwithstanding the UN embargoes. Tanzania was among the named countries in the report. This report went as if unnoticed by the media and the public officials in Tanzania.

On June 20, 1998, a Portuguese weekly *Expresso* reported that it had seen an intelligence document which indicated that UNITA in 1998 had acquired weapons from ten different countries through land routes in "Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, and by air directly to the UNITA bases at Jamba, Cazombo, Andulo and Lusamba". In another report by HRW titled *Angola Unraveled*, it was declared that in "1998 and 1999, however, with both Congo-Brazzaville and the Democratic Republic of Congo off-limits to major sanctions-busting operations for UNITA, southern African supply routes, especially through Zambia and Tanzania, once again became important." So here again, not only Tanzania is accused of allowing its territory to be used for shipment of arms to Burundi and Rwanda, but also it allowed illegal arms to pass within its borders to troubled Angola.

In 1999, the Human Rights Watch again released a report on *Arms Transfers to Abusive End-Users*. On the question of arms transfers in Africa, the report said:

"Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda were heavily involved in these conflicts—either directly, or indirectly as transshipment countries for arms or as training and staging grounds for rebel forces."

By naming Tanzania, the HRW report once again dared to point a finger where no one has dared before. According to this report, Tanzania was one of the countries that were involved directly or indirectly in "transshipment for arms or as training and staging ground for rebels." The HRW report put Tanzania on the map for closer scrutiny. It was following this report that in March of the same year the then Prime Minister Mr. Fredrick Sumaye while visiting Namibia "refuted allegations that his country has been used as a transit to supply arms to the war-torn Democratic Republic of (the) Congo" (*XINHUA March 24, 1999).* This marked the beginning of more reports to come.

In the same year, another report well researched, and documented was released by BASIC, NISAT AND PRIO. The report was co-authored by Brian Wood and Johan Peleman and detailed the trafficking of illegal arms worldwide. This report titled *The Arms Fixers – Controlling the Brokers and Shipping Agents* the role of Tanzania in illegal arms trafficking was pointed out once again (possibly relying much on the same

report by HRW). The Arms Fixers pointed out that Tanzanian soil has been used by UNITA (the then rebel movement in Angola) to traffic their weapons through the country to their bases in Angola. The report declared:

From late 1997, UNITA developed at least two major arms-supply strategies. Each could reinforce the other. First, there were new routes and deals within the surrounding sub-region. In particular, UNITA's traditional brokers and carriers based in South Africa – some with US, West or East European nationality – shifted their operations to enable land, sea and air routes via Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania and neighboring territories.

It was in this report that we fully understand how the arms traffickers use different covers to hide their cargoes. Kilimanjaro International Airport is also named.

However, on 7 February 1999, the old Boeing ploughed into the mud at the end of the runway at Bratislava airport. The Swiss owner of the Boeing, who had registered the plane in Cyprus, said he did not know anything about illicit arms flights. He said that the Belgian had chartered the plane to ship frozen fish from Tanzania to Austria.

This was not the first time that a largely British crew had flown arms towards the Red Sea using a cover story. In 1994, another British pilot told a UK television company that he unwittingly flew arms to the Yemen and Angola. Both countries were at the time subject to international arms embargoes and devastated by wars in which large numbers of civilians were being deliberately targeted. As with the most recent deliveries, the flight documents were dodgy and the routes were deliberately devious, to get around any suspecting authorities.

Describing one episode in 1994, the British pilot said:

We actually left the United Kingdom flying a charter flight carrying relief goods down to Kilimanjaro in East Africa…for the Rwandan crisis. …While we were in Kilimanjaro we were given instructions to proceed to a place I'd never heard of before, Plovdiv in Bulgaria. We weren't told what the nature of the operation was. It was just another charter. We flew from Kilimanjaro to Plovdiv where we embarked on a series of arms flights…I do not know on what point we became aware…I guess we knew they were arms flights when we actually saw the aircraft being loaded…with what we were told was government-to-government cargo. … Although there was no paperwork accompanying the boxes, it was quite clear that's what's in them.'

The report also named an Irish businessman in Tanzania who in the 80s used to supply arms to Tanzania. For those who know legal cases in Tanzania the name Reginald John Nolan is not new. He had been involved in a legal dispute with another businessman (arm dealer) that has been on going for sometimes. Yes, this is the same Nolan who during the energy crisis of the 90s, with the help of some senior government officials:

"(proposed) a 109 megawatt turbine manufactured by General Electric. (his) bid (was) based on a ludicrous tariff of 14 cents per unit of power, more than twice the current Tanzanian price and three or four times more expensive than electricity produced by modern diesel generators".

His role in the energy crisis that later culminated in the signing of one of (if not the most) corrupt contracts in Tanzania is detailed in another report by Transparent International titled *The Power and Vain Glory – The Anatomy of 100 Million Malaysian IPP in Tanzania*. On Nolan's involvement in arms trafficking the report alleges that:

He (Nolan) had a clause inserted into the contract for the prawn business that would allow the African Fishing Company to import into Tanzania $570,000 worth of arms and ammunition per year.

The detailed report on Nolan's involvement were detailed in an article "Tanzania: Gunning for Prawns', Africa Confidential*, 9 October 1998, vol. 39, no. 20, 1998.*

According to the report *Angola Unravels*, the Speaker of Angolan Parliament Mr. Roberto de Almeida told a meeting in London on May 20th 1999 that arms shipments that were destined for Uganda were then diverted to UNITA in Angola. He attributed this information to the then Tanzanian foreign Minister, Mr. Jakaya Kikwete (the current President). And the following month on June 4, an intelligence analyst from US told HRW that "we know what's being delivered in the Tanzanian ports, but then we lose track of some of it. Some of this may be turning up in Angola for UNITA." The report threw more punches by saying that "Weapons destined for UNITA have sometimes been transported by rail from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika, from where they were ferried by boat to Kalemie in Zaire and from there by plane to UNITA forces in Angola."

On March 15, 2000, Tanzania joined other countries in the Great Lakes region in issuing the Nairobi Declaration on the Problem of the Proliferation of Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, and by thus recognizing the problem that is within its borders and outside it.

On December 22, 2000, the United Nations issued extraordinary dossiers that detailed illegal arms trade which have fueled Africa's prolonged wars. In the report that dealt with Angolan conflict, the UN named Mr. Victor Anatoliyevich Bout (Butt???), a former KGB agent and arms dealer as one of the most responsible individuals who through his activities has fanned the flames of wars in Africa. The following day, The Guardian (UK's Newspaper) said that Mr. Bout " holds at least five passports and uses as many as seven aliases, is identified as the businessman responsible for fuelling civil wars across Africa, including conflicts in Sierra Leone, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo. He is accused of ferrying heavy weapons, automatic rifles, and ammunition from eastern Europe to rebel groups that control diamond mines."

Mr. Bout with his associates and with the help of corrupt public officials was able to carry at least 38 flights from Bulgarian arms companies to African rebels between 1997-98. According to the Guardian "Most of the 38 arms flights involved delivered their illegal cargoes to UNITA-held territory in Eastern Congo. Their final destinations were registered as Kindu in the Congo or Mwanza in Tanzania 'to give a semblance of legitimacy'"

Once again, Mwanza specifically and Tanzania in general are somehow connected to this illegal activity. It is in no wonder that On July 1, 2001, the US Department of States released a fact sheet titled *Arms and Conflicts in Africa* through its Bureau of Intelligence and Research. This fact sheet was an extra nail in the in proverbial coffin or the proverbial "straw that broke the camels back". A few things need to be pointed out from this report.

- First of all, the report says that "Neither the UN nor any of its member states has focused on Africa's role in arms trafficking. In particular, there has been no UN action against countries like Burkina Faso, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda; all are major transshipment points for arms shipments to west, central, and eastern Africa"
- Secondly, not only Mwanza is connected to the transshipments of illicit arms, so is Dar-es-Salaam. The report says, "African seaports used by arms traffickers include Aseb, Beira, Conakry, Dar-es-Salaam, Djibouti, Durban, Luanda, Merca, Mombassa, Monrovia, and, Nacala. After arrival, arms are forwarded to their destination by road, rail, air, or ferry. For example, shipments through Dar-es-Salaam normally are sent by rail to Mwanza, a port on Lake Victoria, and then loaded onto a ferry for Port Bell in southern Uganda or other regional destinations."

This report (with other factors) contributed a lot in the formation of Tanzanian National Action Plan. It was at the end of August that same year that the five-year plan to combat SALW proliferation and trade was in place. This plan was in part responding to all these allegations and the proliferation of small arms in Tanzania itself resulting in increased violent crimes in the country. The Plan was hailed as the first step to the right direction. This however, did not stop more reports from being released and hence a continued watch by human rights groups and the international community.

In its Newsletter of *June 2002 (Terror Trade Times News, Issue 3),* Amnesty International wrote:

In November 2001, Pakistani officials claimed to have discovered a letter sent from Russian businessmen to Afghan traders in June that year referring to a meeting in May which agreed secret air routes for forthcoming arms deliveries to be listed in the flight manifests as "fish from Tanzania" and sent via several countries including the United Arab Emirates

This, once again, is another linkage of small arms trade and fishing industry in Tanzania. In April 18, 2001 the United Nations released its report on monitoring the situation in Angola pursuant to UN resolution 1336. In its conclusion, the report (which was quoting reports from the ground) found that:

" That whereas the end-user certificates from Togo proved to be forgeries following forensic expertise, those from Burkina Faso proved to be authentic. The report contained detailed information concerning the transportation logistics of the arms shipments dominated by flights operated by Air Cess, as well as details of flight itineraries, most of which involved transits at airports in Nairobi and Khartoum, with final destinations given as Kindu, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Mwanza, United Republic of Tanzania"

Another report makes a more obvious connection. In its situation report for *May/June 2002, Regent Tanzani*a (a major clearing and forwarding company) said that:

"Top Tanzania security officials have been accused of complicity in an illicit trade involving arms smuggled in by Russian-made aircraft that fly fresh Nile perch fish fillet from Mwanza to Europe."

This report (without naming sources) accused "top Tanzanian security officials" to have been involved in this illicit trade. One of the most elaborate flights to Mwanza is that of Ukrainian Cargo Airways (UCA) which was destined to Angola. According to HRW detailed investigative report, the Airplane landed at Mwanza. The report continues to say:

"Divergent accounts have emerged regarding what happened on the plane's next stop, in Mwanza, by Lake Victoria in Tanzania, where flight records indicate it landed at 8:40 am on October 2, 2001, and left at 2:10 pm the next day. Media report from Tanzania said that officials at the airport temporarily halted the UCA plane, registration number UR-UCK, shortly after it landed at Mwanza, on suspicion that it was carrying undeclared weapons cargo. The aircraft was allowed to leave, but some months later a Tanzanian official stated that authorities had indeed discovered undeclared weapons cargo aboard and added that they had only released the plane on orders of top Tanzanian security officials"

The report of this mysterious flight was the basis of the news article on *The East African* newspaper of June 24th, 2002, which was titled *Dar Officials Accused of Abetting Arms Racket.* Richard Mgamba, the special correspondent who wrote the article for the

newspaper (and appeared in the controversial documentary "Darwin's Nightmare), quoted the then Regional Commissioner of Mwanza Mr. Stephen Mashishanga to have said, "We received the information from our security officers at Mwanza airport about cargo planes being used to bring in arms in the country and we informed top-level security organs for action"

According to the news article, it was by the orders from high level security officials in the country (who were not named) that the aircraft was released the next day. On this flight, the IA report titled "*Dead on Time – arms transportation, brokering and the threat to human rights*" concluded that "the flight was part of a complex "multinational" operation that involved the delivery of ammunition as well as military aircraft spare parts, and other cargo to the Angolan government".

However, either through sheer ignorance or a deliberate attempt to mislead the public, Mwanza Airport Manager Mr. Deogratius Malongo was quoted by The East African of April 4, 2005 to have said,

"They need to substantiate their claims, because we have never come across any plane from Russia, Ukraine or South Africa with arms on board." One of these people is lying to Tanzanians.

On February 3 2003, *BBC Monitoring International* reports, reported that,

"Tanzania has become a major route for legal and illegal arms trafficking to supply the conflicting factions in Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as ethnic wars continue to escalate in the Great Lakes region."

In September 2003, Prince M. Bagenda, a recognized human rights activist and a prominent lawyer in Tanzania, wrote an article that was published in *Monograph No. 86* on Tanzania, and in it he recognized that

"Arms smuggling involve networks of persons performing different roles. These include obtaining or stealing arms, transportation, securing arms in safe places, marketing and delivery. Tanzanians, nationals of other African countries, Russians and Lebanese nationals are allegedly involved in this trade"

The project to construct an ammunition factory in Mwanza in 2004 proved to be a false start. The project was to be financed by a Belgium company, New Lachaussée which had received the go ahead and a credit line of about $10 Million to build the plant. It had already received blessings from the Tanzanian government. The plan however, was shelved after human rights groups and other civil organizations raised some objections. The main ground of their objection was the fact that there was a possibility that these ammunitions produced in Tanzania will find their way into the war zones of the Great Lakes region. On this project, another AI report titled *Undermining Global Security: the European Union's arms exports,* we read this:

"In February 2004, Minister Van Cauwenbergh (the prime minister of the Walloon government) announced that the licence for the export to Tanzania had not been approved due to the uncertain violent situation in the region of the Great Lakes."

In a letter by the Chairman of *Security Council Committee* established pursuant to resolution 1533 (2004) of the United Nations concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo released on January 27, 2006 we find the main reason why Mwanza airport could be used for trafficking illegal arms. Although Mwanza's geographical proximity to the troubled regions could be seen as a good reason, the committee from the United Nations (which visited the airport) found another, more logical reason why arms traders would transfer their arms through it. The letter says:

"the partnership's practice of supplying the project sites with direct flights from Mwanza (United Republic of Tanzania) to Doko (Democratic Republic of the Congo) is not complying with international civil aviation rules"

The report also gives a specific example of such non-complicity by Mwanza airport. It says,

"during its visit to Mwanza airport in the United Republic of Tanzania. Upon examination of the airport's air traffic records, the Group of Experts noted that the Butembo Airlines Antonov 28 had flown on 28 December 2004 from Mwanza to Butembo (Democratic Republic of the Congo). Since the latter is not a customs airport, this flight appears to be a violation of the regulations on the entry of aircraft to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and consequently, this company and its pilot should be subject to penalties"

Basically, the UN committee found out that the administrators of the airport were not following known rules of aviation and hence allowing illegal and non-customary flights to and from Mwanza. This is a major loophole, which any criminal element (domestic and international) could use to their advantage. (the committee of experts took some pictures of planes that have landed at the airport in the middle of the night! – you can see the pictures on their website)

There are more reports that I have omitted for editorial purposes, which carries most of the same information. In all these years, the government of Tanzania had tried with very little success to silence its critics on this question. The best attempt for the government to clear the matter was a response from our embassy in France. The Embassy issued a polemic response to the film "Darwin's Nightmare". On the question of arms trafficking the response said:

Great distances (more than 600 kilometers) separate Mwanza, a major airport on the Tanzanian side of Lake Victoria, from the former Zaire (renamed Democratic Republic of the Congo) where the infamous wars were raging in the 1990s. The city of Mwanza, therefore, was nowhere near the war zone. Consequently, the logistics of arms delivery over a 600 km stretch of poor road networks would have been a nightmare requiring

heavy armed escorts that only the military could provide. Nowhere in the film, was Hubert Sauper able to shoot any scene of a military escort to give credence to the perception that has been created that the Tanzania government either gave active support to illegal (or legal) arms trafficking or decided to turn a blind eye over what was going on. Thus, we strongly argue that Hubert Sauper just fabricated this aspect of the story to make his documentary film more appealing to viewers particularly in the Western film market.

After a careful and in depth analytical look of most of these reports, some questions have formed in my mind (probably yours too) that the government needs to address to satisfy the curiosity of many Tanzanians and to restore confidence in our security policies. Some of these questions are:

1. Does the government want us to believe that all these reports that I have traced and speak of the role that Tanzania plays in the world of arms trafficking are mere fabrications, have no basis whatsoever, and are pure conspiracies against our country? For whose gain?

2. Why did the government react to Mr. Sauper's film so strongly on the questions of arms trafficking while there have been many more independent reports since 1994 to present which have said basically the same thing? Why act as if Mr. Sauper's film is the first and lone voice that ever pointed a finger at Tanzania?
3. When Mr. Kikwete was the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, did he know at any time of arms trafficking through Tanzania to the great lakes region, and when did he know it?
4. How sure is the government that Tanzanian Airports are secure enough and that no Airplane lands with undeclared arms destined to troubled countries? Has the government in the past found and seized arms in any of its airports, seaports or land routes?
5. Why does the government continue to do business with people who are allegedly involved in arms trafficking? Who is protecting Nolan and his partners in Tanzania? Does the government have any dealings with Victor Bout? Has he ever been in Tanzania or any of his planes flying in Tanzania?
6. When the then Mwanza RC Stephen Mashishanga told the East African that a plane carrying weapons was seized in Mwanza and he was later directed to release it (on the orders from high level security officials), who are the people who ordered to release the plan, and why?
7. If concrete evidence is found that in fact illegal arms have been transferred through the country for sometime now, is Mr. Kikwete (and the supporters) willing to discipline anyone for providing him with erratic information? Is he willing to offer an apology for misleading the nation?
8. Is the President/Parliament willing to allow the formation of an international and independent commission to review security arrangement at all airports as far as arms trafficking is concerned? A commission that will be vested with subpoena and immunity power to question anyone who could provide them with information on arms trafficking in Tanzania? Will he (the President) and his

subordinates be willing to make themselves available to be questioned by such a commission without prejudice?

9. Is there anyone in the current administration who at any time in the past was involved in any way, shape, or form in arms trafficking or dealing? If yes, are these people (if there is any) still involved in any capacity in arms trade? If no, is there anyway to ensure that government officials are not involved in such a trade?

I hope that, the new government under Mr. Kikwete will be more forthcoming and willing in the future to tell the Tanzanian people the truth (even when it hurts). The time to hide information from the people or manipulate it for political gains is past. Tanzanians have sacrificed so much for the liberation of Southern States and later in taking part in peace negotiations around the great lakes region and for this they deserve nothing less a government that is candid and transparent. Before we as a nation go on way condemning other people for tarnishing our images, we have to look at ourselves and see if we do more harm to our image than other people.

* Ms. Grace Mujuma is the Minister Counselor of the Permanent Mission of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations (During the 2006 Review Conference of the United Nations Program of Action to prevent and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects New York June 27, 2006)

You can read some of these reports at your own leisure here:

- Africa's Merchant of Death
- Arms and Conflict in Africa
- The Arms Fixers: controlling the Brokers and Shipping Agents
- Illegal Arms trade (The Standard)
- Issue 3 - The Terror Trade Times - June 2002 - Amnesty International
- A response from the Tanzanian Embassy in France
- United Nations General Assembly DC/3032
- DRC: Arming the East
- Arms Transfers to Abusive End Users
- Dar Officials Accused of Abetting Arms Racket (The East African)
- Angola Unravels
- Amnesty International: Undermining Global Security: the European Union's arms exports

M. M. Mwanakijiji is the Executive Director of "Cheche za Fikra" an online Swahili newsletter. You can reach him at : mwanakijiji@mwanakijiji.com