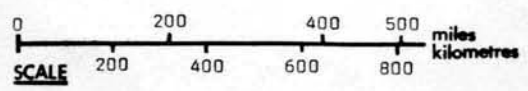


# STATE OF WAR

Apartheid South Africa's Decade of Militarism



# SOUTHERN AFRICA



# STATE OF WAR

## Apartheid South Africa's Decade of Militarism

INTRODUCTION .....	2
FROM RESISTANCE TO LIBERATION .....	3
PREPARING FOR WAR .....	7
ARMING APARTHEID .....	9
THE NUCLEAR THREAT .....	11
ARMY AND POLICE: PARTNERS IN OPPRESSION .....	12
WHITE MOBILISATION .....	14
WAR PSYCHOSIS .....	15
EDUCATION FOR WAR .....	16
NAMIBIA UNDER SIEGE .....	18
WAR AGAINST FRONTLINE STATES .....	20
RESISTANCE TO THE APARTHEID WAR .....	23
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES .....	24



Armoured cars thunder down Oxford Road, East London (one of South Africa's major cities)

# INTRODUCTION

Southern Africa today is a battleground. For several years, South Africa has been fighting an undeclared war against its neighbours. Military aggression, alternated or combined with economic pressure, is Pretoria's chosen way of ensuring regional domination.

The consequences have been devastating. Thousands of Angolans, Mozambicans, Namibians and South African exiles and citizens of other independent states have been killed, maimed or made homeless. Economic damage to Angola alone amounts to over ten thousand million US dollars.

Namibia's million and a half people are subjected to a ruthless military occupation by South African troops and police. A tenth of the population has been driven into exile; 80% live under a form of martial law; hundreds are detained without trial or have 'disappeared' after arrests. Church leaders have described apartheid rule in Namibia as a 'reign of terror'.

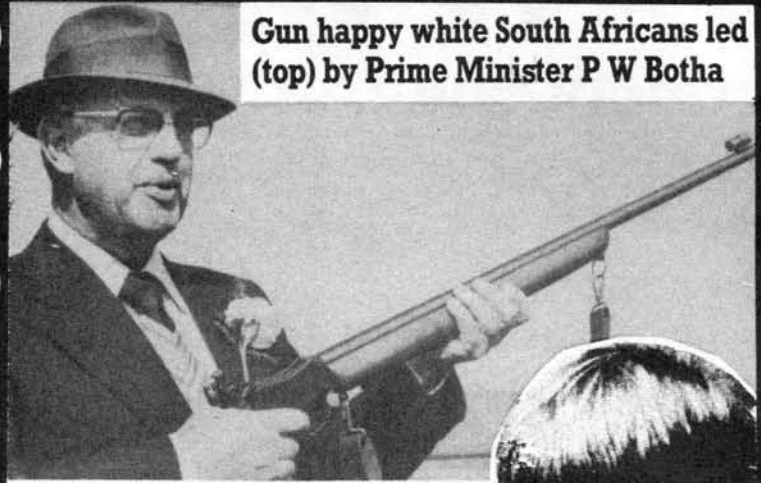
In South Africa itself, a massive militarisation drive coupled with a complex series of adjustments to the apartheid system — mistakenly referred to as 'reforms' — have centralised and consolidated state power under a new breed of military commanders who are committed to ensuring white domination into the 21st century, no matter what the cost.

At the same time, the oppressed black population of Namibia and South Africa, united in a common desire to rid the subcontinent of apartheid and establish democratic societies, is increasingly committed to a struggle that includes military means. They are supported in this struggle by independent Africa and by people and governments throughout the world.

This pamphlet examines some aspects of the conflict in Southern Africa, concentrating on the increasing threat that the apartheid military build up poses to regional and world peace.

It has been written and produced by members of COSAWR, the Committee on South African War Resistance, an organisation of South Africans who have become political refugees as a result of their refusal to fight in the apartheid armed forces. ●

Gun happy white South Africans led (top) by Prime Minister P W Botha



# FROM RESISTANCE TO LIBERATION

**"The country is becoming an armed camp, the Government preparing for civil war with increasingly heavy police and military apparatus, the non-white population for a general strike and long term non-co-operation with the Government."**

*Nelson Mandela, 23 May 1961*

When European settlers began to seize land in Southern Africa over 300 years ago, they met with fierce armed resistance from the African population which continued until the first decade of this century. With the defeat of the Bambatha Rebellion in 1906, the era of localised resistance to colonial penetration came to an end. In 1910 Britain, the colonial power, granted the white settlers exclusive political power in the newly created Union of South Africa, ushering in the white minority state.

African leaders from all four provinces came together at Bloemfontein in January 1912 to form the African National Congress (ANC), with the first task of resisting the 1913 Land Act which limited Africans to only 13% of the country.

The ANC came to embody the hopes and demands of the people. As they were forced off the land to work in appalling conditions, black people became increasingly conscious of their exploitation and oppression, but resistance was violently put down.

The Afrikaner Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, formalising and consolidating minority rule through the policy of apartheid and

there followed a decade of mass non-violent resistance led by the ANC. Commencing with the Defiance Campaign of 1952, thousands of blacks — and some whites — were jailed for protesting against the pass laws and forced removals. During this period the ANC-led Congress Alliance united the organisations representing all the oppressed groups — Africans, Indians, 'coloureds' — as well as democratic whites.

On 25 June 1955 one of the milestones in the liberation struggle was reached. Three thousand delegates from all sectors of the oppressed population came together at Kliptown to draw up a Freedom Charter listing the basic demands of the people. To this day, the Charter remains the lodestone of the struggle.

As it prepared to declare South Africa a white republic and further entrench white domination, the government demonstrated its resolve to crush all opposition with the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. The subsequent declaration of a State of Emergency, the arrest of thousands of anti-apartheid activists and the banning of the ANC and the breakaway Pan-Africanist Congress, forced the



*Nelson Mandela, imprisoned by the South African regime since 1962*

leadership of the liberation movement underground. It was only a short time before ANC leaders formed Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation, known as MK. With Nelson Mandela as Commander-in-Chief, this became the military wing of the ANC and had soon accomplished a series of nationwide sabotage attacks on strategic targets.

Although most of the initial MK leadership had been captured and imprisoned, or forced into exile by 1964, increasing numbers of young people were leaving South Africa to join its ranks. The risks and difficulties involved were almost overwhelming.



*The Congress of the People meet to draw up the Freedom Charter, Kliptown, 25 June 1955.*

Captured MK combatants faced torture and death, while the existence of the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola and of white minority ruled Rhodesia on South Africa's northern borders presented MK with grave logistical problems.

The turning point came in 1976. By then Mozambique and Angola had achieved their independence after sustained national liberation struggles, while the Smith regime in Zimbabwe was under considerable pressure from the Zimbabwean liberation movement. The ruthless suppression of nationwide uprisings in the black townships that year led thousands of young South Africans to seek out the underground structures of the ANC and the people's army, MK. The indiscriminate murder of civilians by the South African Police and Defence Force, combined with a

multitude of other repressive measures generated renewed support for the armed struggle.

Today, the liberation movement has never been stronger. The unity of the oppressed population against apartheid is demonstrated by the formation of a United Democratic Front (UDF) which by the beginning of 1984 involved 600 organisations representing well over two million South Africans. The UDF, formed to fight government attempts to co-opt sectors of the black population by granting token parliamentary representation, is uncompromisingly committed to ending apartheid.

Most of the groups involved in the UDF have endorsed the Freedom Charter, demonstrating the political continuity between the Congress movement of the 1950s and the student, community, trade union, reli-

gious, women's and youth groups active today. Although banned, the slogans, colours and songs of the ANC are constantly in use and the political leadership of the movement is acknowledged by millions of oppressed South Africans.

MK, too, has grown in effectiveness and stature and has demonstrated its ability to strike repeatedly at key economic, strategic and political targets throughout the country. From the army headquarters to the offices of multinational corporations, no apartheid installation is safe. The popularity of the armed struggle had been vividly demonstrated by massive turnouts at funerals and commemorative meetings for executed guerrillas.

In Namibia, the liberation movement SWAPO, which since 1967 has been engaged in an armed struggle to

# THE FREEDOM CHARTER

*Adopted at Kliptown, Transvaal, 26 June 1955.*

**We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:**

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

## THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

## ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime; All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

## THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

## THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

## ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people. Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

## ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

## THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

## THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

## THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

## THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

*Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."*



end South Africa's illegal occupation, is supported by an overwhelming majority of the population. Pretoria maintains control over the territory by force. An estimated 100,000 troops, including brutal special police units and mercenary squads, enforce a form of martial law over most of the country.

Despite the massive military occupation and repression that is even more intense and brutal than in South Africa itself, guerillas of SWAPO's armed wing, PLAN, operate with local support over wide areas of the country, and SWAPO's political organisation extends to all corners of the land.●



Members of Umkhonto we Sizwe undergoing training

## UMKHONTO WE SIZWE MANIFESTO

Leaflet issued by Umkhonto we Sizwe (*Spear of the Nation*) on 16 December 1961.

Units of Umkhonto we Sizwe today carried out planned attacks against Government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is a new, independent body, formed by Africans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. It is not connected in any way with a so-called "Committee for National Liberation" whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkhonto we Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organizations. Umkhonto we Sizwe fully supports the national liberation movement, and our members jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement.

It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organizations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all times, regardless of Government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government-inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

The Government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for Government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the Government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto we Sizwe mark a break with that past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been

made by the Nationalist Government which has rejected every peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful, non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces — enlarging and rearming its armed forces and drawing the white civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs — for full-scale military actions against the people. The Nationalist Government has chosen the course of force and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did at Sharpeville.

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the Government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation! Let the Government, its supporters who put it into power, and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist Government is leading the country!

We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought — as the liberation movement has sought — to achieve liberation, without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope — even at this late hour — that our first actions will awaken every one to a realization of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.

In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country — black, brown and white — whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people of this country.

*Afrika Mayibuye!*\*

Issued by command of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

\*Africa Return!



In 1976 ..... an estimated 1000 people, mainly children, were killed by police during mass uprisings which swept the whole of South Africa. Above: School children in Soweto where the uprisings began, 16 June. Left: police opening fire. Below: Two of the first casualties in Soweto.



"The anger in me that was caused by this situation in South Africa made me join military training in order to enable myself to be able to fight against these things. I took myself to be a soldier, a freedom fighter.

*Jerry Mosolodi, executed by the apartheid regime, 9 June 1983*

SOLOMON MAHLANGU

JERRY MOSOLOLI

SIMON MOGOERANE

MARCUS MOTALUNG



6 APRIL 1979 JUDICIALLY MURDERED BY APARTHEID REGIME 9 JUNE 1983

**DON'T MOURN!  
MOBILIZE!**

"We decided that it was pointless taking papers and making placards, because one would only be shot whilst doing so. I decided to go out of the country. I decided to go out of this country to go and get myself a gun to fight against these people, because they would not have given me a gun. The only person who is given a gun in South Africa, is the person who defends the apartheid policy. I knew that I was an adversary of apartheid and I had to go out of the country."

*Simon Mogoerane, executed by the apartheid regime, 9 June 1983*





# PREPARING FOR WAR



Armoured cars in the streets of Johannesburg

The banning of the ANC in 1960, and the launching of the armed struggle by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), posed a potential military threat to the Pretoria regime for the first time in many years. While the early sabotage campaigns were crushed by the arrest and imprisonment of the underground leadership, the South African regime prepared itself for a protracted war in defence of apartheid.

All over Southern Africa there were signs that the oppressed populations were preparing to take up arms to defend themselves against Portuguese colonialism and white minority domination, and to fight for freedom. In 1966 the South African Police were involved in conflicts with the People's Liberation Army of

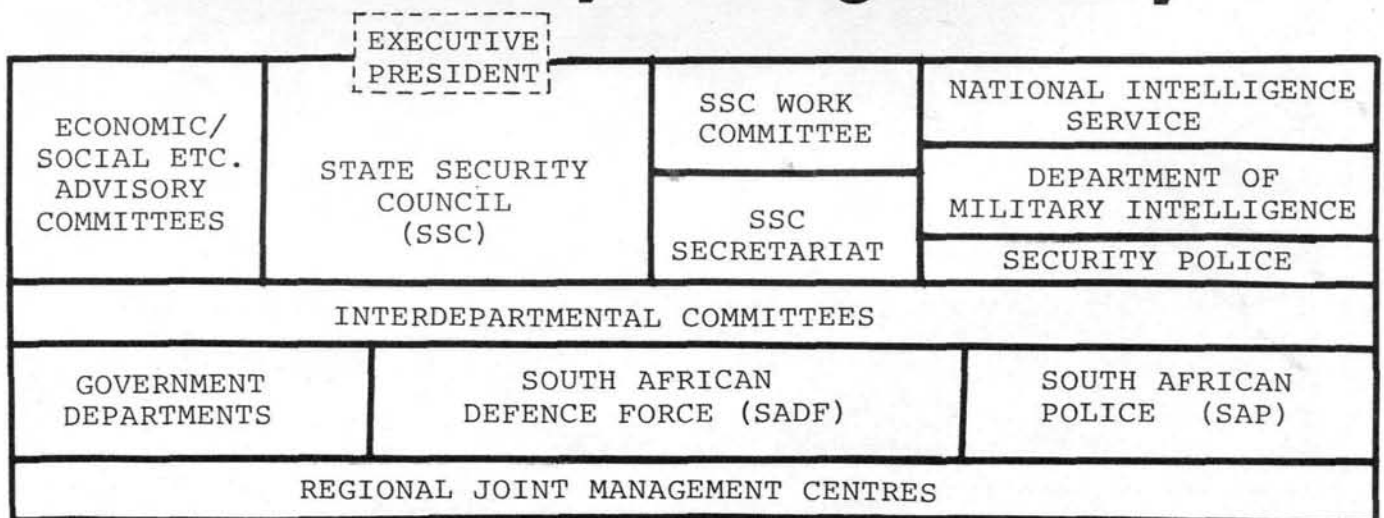
Namibia (PLAN), under the leadership of the liberation movement SWAPO, in the Caprivi Strip in Namibia. The following year a force of paramilitary police units was despatched to Rhodesia to assist the Smith regime against a campaign by joint forces of the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) and the ANC. South African military assistance was also extended to the Portuguese forces fighting the liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique.

Conscription of white South African men was stepped up, while the military budget, a mere R44 million in 1960, had grown to nearly R500 million by 1973 as Pretoria scrambled to modernise and strengthen its armed

forces. The pace of militarisation was significantly sharpened by the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal. The rapid collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire took South African military strategists and their Western allies by surprise. In an attempt to forestall Angolan independence under the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the South Africans undertook a risky invasion. Armoured columns struck towards the capital Luanda, but were turned back by the MPLA forces aided by Cuban troops.

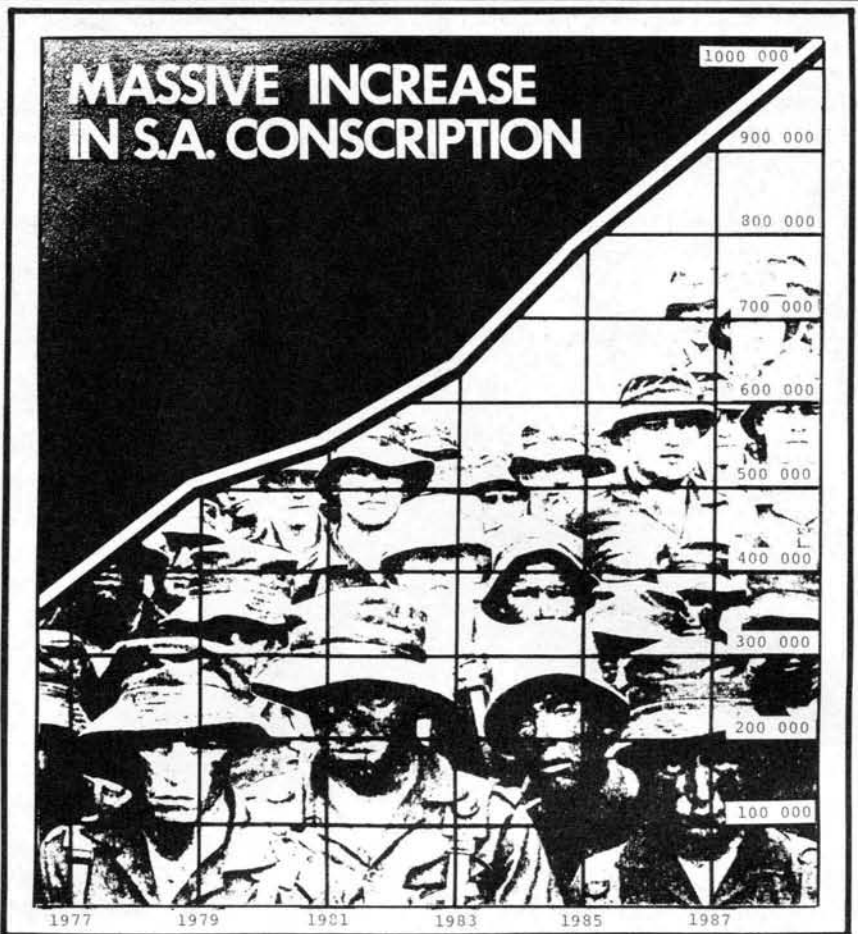
The 1977 Defence White Paper observed that 'developments in Africa and elsewhere have thrust the Republic of South Africa into the foreground'. The apartheid regime had

## National Security Management System



lost the 'buffers' provided by colonial Mozambique and Angola, which were now independent, and the Soweto uprisings had demonstrated the strength of black opposition in South Africa itself. The period of military service was increased again to 24 months, followed by annual 'camps' (often periods of up to three months active service) over the following eight years and the process of militarisation was speeded up.

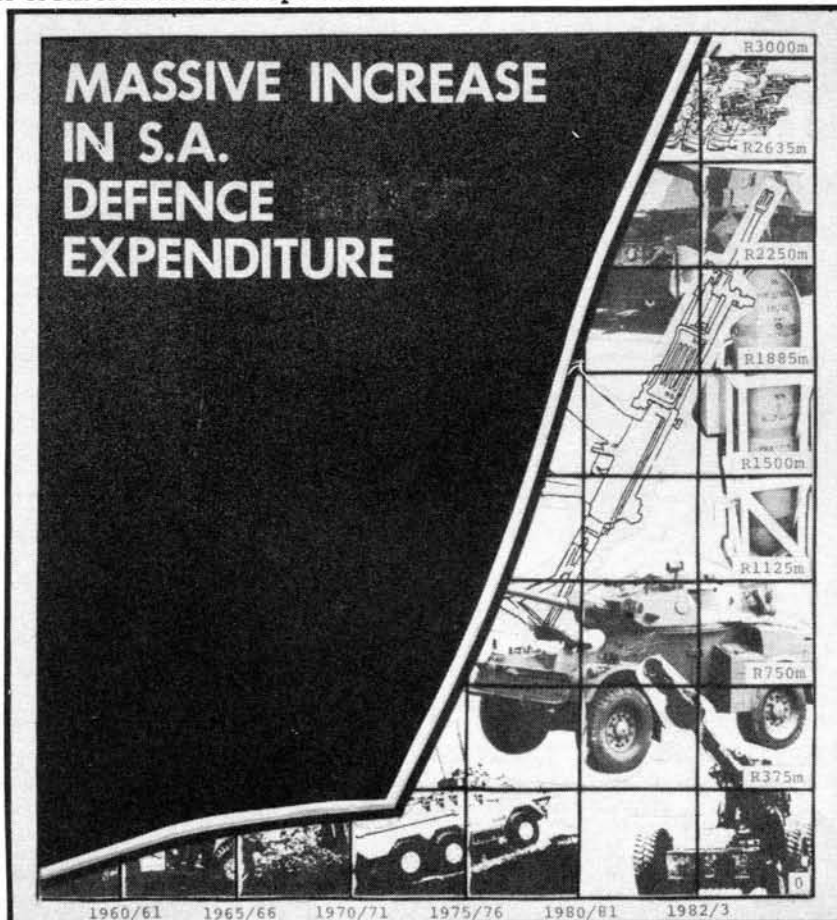
The 1977 White Paper ushered in a qualitative change in this process. The paper spelt out the extent of the crisis facing the regime and demanded that a 'Total National Strategy' be formulated at the highest level. Top military and state officials began demanding economic changes the centralisation of state power and a stronger role for the army and police. The following year, the apartheid military establishment effectively took political power. P W Botha, the Defence Minister, became Prime Minister and immediately set about implementing a new militarised 'national security' policy that involved a significant escalation in attacks on neighbouring countries and internal mobilisation for civil war. Power was centralised under the State Security Council, dominated by military and police commanders. Through a number of subordinate interdepartmental



Estimated total number of troops trained and available for military service; approximately 200,000 are under arms at any one time

bodies, the Council conducts strategic planning, formulating policies and directives which are rubber-stamped by the Cabinet. The Bureau for State Security (BOSS), the powerful intelligence agency upon which Premier Vorster's power relied, was downgraded and the Directorate of Military Intelligence now co-ordinates intelligence priorities.

However, even these drastic measures proved to be insufficient to curb the strength and unity of the liberation struggle. By 1982 General Magnus Malan was forced to admit that 'the permanent force and the present number of national servicemen' were no longer able to 'guarantee the safety' of the apartheid regime. In March 1982, the regime tabled legislation which trebled the period of military service after initial training and effectively doubled the number of troops in active reserve. The legislation also provided for a dramatic increase in the strength of the commandos, local part-time white militia which are supposed to provide the 'first line of defence'. It is estimated that these measures resulted in 626,000 South Africans being available for military duties in 1983, compared with approximately 78,000 in 1960. ●



Total annual military expenditure. The defence budget is slightly lower

# ARMING APARTHEID

In the early 1960s, when the call for an arms embargo was first raised in the United Nations, the apartheid regime imported nearly all its weapons, mainly from NATO countries. The spectre of an arms boycott led the regime to set up a parastatal organisation to control arms production, ARMSCOR. Absorbing an ever larger part of the annual military budget, ARMSCOR's turnover grew by an initial R32m in 1968 to R1,500m in 1982, by which time it was the third largest industrial concern in South Africa. ARMSCOR owns nine subsidiaries which produce weapons such as aircraft, artillery guns, tanks and armoured cars as well as bombs, rockets and ammunition.

The Minister of Defence has the power to compel any company to manufacture or supply goods to the Defence Force, and ARMSCOR policy has been to involve private industry in weapons production as far as pos-



**THE SOUTH AFRICAN 'JUNTA'.** General Magnus Malan, Defence Minister; Prime Minister Botha; General C Viojen, SADF Commander in Chief.

sible. By 1979 the corporation contributed to the employment of approximately 100,000 people in 800 companies on contract work.

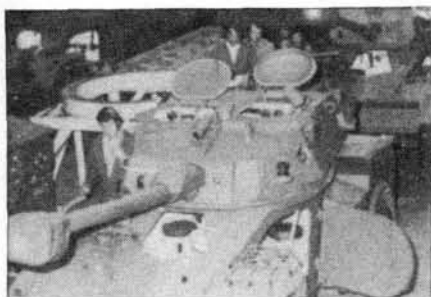
After the ANC attacked the vital SASOL oil plants in 1980, the government acted to further extend its control. The Ministry of Defence was empowered to order companies whose installations are classified as 'National Keypoints' to set up industrial commandos or company militias and to undertake other security measures. Censorship is rigidly imposed in matters relating to arms production, arms procurement, petroleum supplies and strategic installations, and designated 'Key Points' are kept secret.

With the collusion of multinational corporations and Western governments, Pretoria has pulled off some spectacular breaches of the mandatory United Nations arms embargo.

Less spectacularly, but equally importantly, the regime has benefitted from technology transfers, especially in the field of electronics and communications equipment which are now indispensable parts of every modern weapon system. There have been several instances of supposedly civilian equipment such as Plessey's computer-linked radar systems and Marconi's tropospheric scatter device being sold to South Africa for the military radar network.

In an effort to undermine the growing pressure for more comprehensive sanctions, the South African regime and its Western backers argue that the arms embargo has been ineffective.

The embargo has merely encouraged Pretoria to develop its own indigenous arms industry and it is now



*Armoured car assembly line.*



*Workers assembling ammunition at ARMSCOR factory.*

## SOME MAJOR MK ATTACKS ON MILITARY/INDUSTRIAL TARGETS (1980—1983)

- 1.6.80 Series of blasts at Sasolburg, 8 fuel tanks destroyed.
- 20.5.81 Port Elizabeth's rail link with Johannesburg and Cape Town ripped apart.
- 25.5.81 Railway lines damaged in Soweto and the Natal South Coast. Power lines cut in Vrede, Orange Free State.
- 21.7.81 Three-pronged sabotage attack on Transvaal ESCOM installations.
- 11.8.81 Voortrekkerhoogte military base hit by rocket attack.
- 1.11.81 Jeppes Reef house on Swaziland border, manned by SADF personnel, attacked and destroyed by rockets and grenades.
- 14.12.81 Pretoria power sub-station bombed.
- 28.5.82 Limpet mines damage fuel depot and ESCOM transformer in eastern Transvaal.
- 28.6.82 Railway depot at Vryheid bombed. Blast shatters Durban-Witswatersrand oil pipeline.
- 18/19.12.82 Four major explosions at the Koeberg nuclear power station.
- 21.5.83 Car bomb explodes outside S A Airforce HQ, Pretoria.
- 10.10.83 Limpet mines destroy 10 petrol tanks and tankers at Warmbaths.

# SOUTH AFRICA'S OWN?



Impala—Italy

Hercules C130—U.S.A.



Mirage—France

## AIR FORCE

Buccaneer—U.K.

Radar—U.K.



Mortars—France



Ratel—Belgium

## ARMY

Trucks—Fed. Rep. of Germany\Japan

R1 rifle—Belgium

R4 rifle—Israel

Tanks—U.K.\Israeli modified

Machine guns—Belgium\U.S.A.

Radios—U.K. assembled in S.A.

## NAVY

Submarines—France



G5 gun—U.S.A\Canada



Eland armoured cars—France



Missile Craft—Israel

self-sufficient, they argue. In fact, the South African war machine has been built up through persistent violations of the embargo, and through the transfer of Western technology and expertise. Most of the arms manufactured by ARMSCOR are modifications, copies or licensed productions of Western systems. Many of the components, particularly in high technology fields like computers and electronics, are imported directly from the West. Even the machinery used by ARMSCOR is imported, and one in ten of its employees are foreigners. ●

### THE MYTH OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY

All the major weapons systems shown above are direct imports or have been assembled under licence or manufactured on the basis of imported technology. For example, the G5 gun and its sister, the G6, which are two of the systems ARMSCOR is now trying to export, are modifications of a 155mm system imported from the Canadian/American Space Research Corporation with CIA assistance. The machinery to manufacture the systems in South Africa was subsequently imported from West Germany and other countries. It is also believed that ARMSCOR acquired the technology to convert the systems for nuclear use and that a nuclear shell fired from one of the guns was tested over the south Atlantic in September 1979.

# THE NUCLEAR THREAT

In July 1977 the world learned that South Africa was preparing to test a nuclear device in the Kalahari desert. In the event, this explosion never took place, but two years later a United States satellite detected evidence of a nuclear explosion off the South African coast.

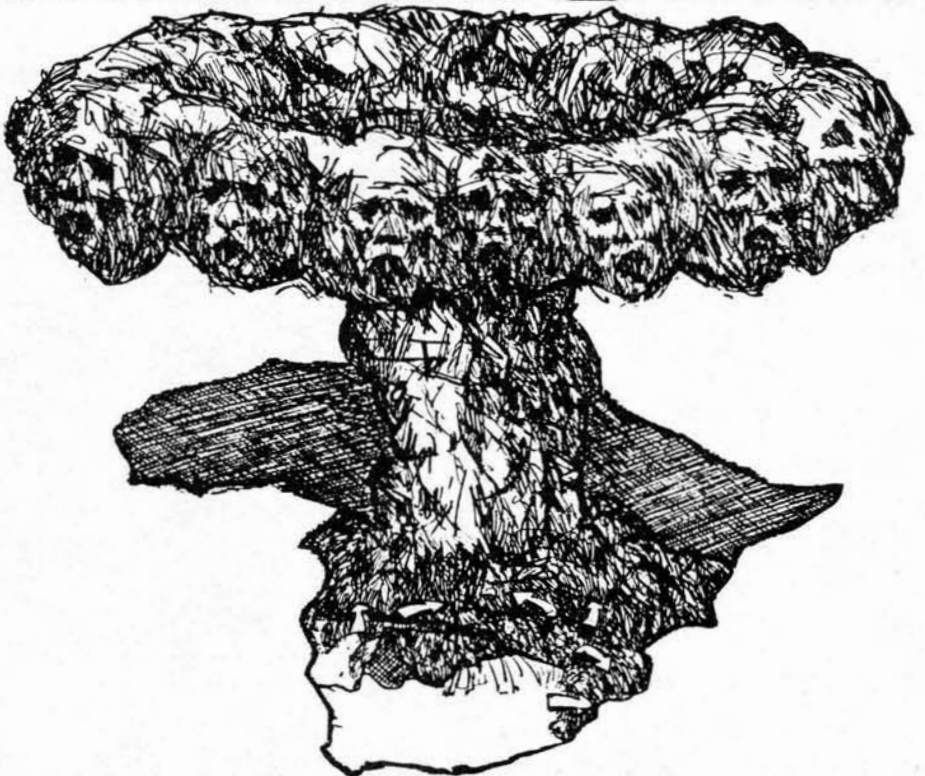
While the apartheid regime has always insisted that its nuclear programme is intended for peaceful purposes, it has steadfastly refused to ratify the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Despite this, for over 30 years, the Western nuclear powers have actively assisted the regime in building up its nuclear strength. It is now generally accepted that Pretoria has the ability to make and test a nuclear weapon at short notice, if it has not already done so.

South Africa's uranium mining industry expanded rapidly in the 1950s. In its early stages the programme was financed entirely by the USA and Britain, who also enriched the uranium to make it suitable for nuclear reactions.

In 1960 an American company contracted to build the regime's first nuclear reactor, Safari 1, which went 'critical' in 1965. The USA supplied the Safari reactors with enough enriched uranium to make over ten Nagasaki-type bombs.

Britain has also played an important role in the regime's nuclear build up, and today British trained nuclear physicists dominate the South African Atomic Energy Board. The UK Atomic Energy Association has admitted that it has an official commercial agreement with South Africa. The clearest example of direct British collaboration was the involvement of the Rio Tinto Zinc Company with the South African authorities in establishing the Rossing uranium mine in Namibia in 1976. The main contract for the supply of uranium from Rossing was granted to British Nuclear Fuels and thousands of tons of uranium mined by Rio Tinto were sent to Britain in direct violation of United Nations rules. The United Nations Decree No. 1 on Namibia states that the mineral wealth of Namibia is the property of the Namibian people and should not be exploited before the territory is independent.

West German collaboration has led to the introduction of a uranium enrichment process known as the 'jet nozzle' technique. With secret German assistance the South Africans



**"..... The availability of immediate use which nuclear technology has, as compared to conventional military problems of distance, time and mobilization cannot be ignored ..... The acquisition of nuclear weapons will not necessarily isolate South Africa any further. Without a strong power base all modern diplomacy is doomed to failure. As Kissinger himself puts it: 'Peace therefore, cannot be aimed at directly; it is the expression of certain conditions and power relationships. It is to these relationships — not to peace — that diplomacy must address itself'".**

*(Translation) L.D. Barnard, Head of National Intelligence Service, 1977*

were able to open a small enrichment plant at Valindaba in 1975, which put the regime on the road to nuclear self-reliance. Valindaba has now been expanded, and as a result the government could well have a growing stockpile of enriched uranium ready to be used in nuclear weapons.

French-based multinational corporations have been responsible for building the Koeberg power station, South Africa's first nuclear power plant. 'On stream' in 1984, the Koeberg programme was set back a year by a successful sabotage attack by ANC guerillas. Experts believe that one of the aims of the Koeberg development is to provide another source of nuclear materials for weapons.

South Africa is now actively cooperating with Israel and all evidence suggests that these two 'outlaw states' are collaborating on a nuclear weapons programme. There have been reports that they are working on research into Cruise missiles.

There are two main uses to which nuclear weapons could be put by the apartheid regime:

- To suppress the growing internal resistance from the liberation movements by bombing rural areas in which there is a strong guerilla presence. Ten years ago the South African government carried out a survey to see in which areas of the country it would be 'safe' to explode a small nuclear device.
- To attack independent African countries who oppose apartheid by bombing their major cities.

Also, of course, possession of nuclear arms gives the South African regime much greater power to blackmail and make threats in the international arena.

A few years ago the Minister of the Interior announced that white South Africa would not hesitate to use every means at its disposal to ensure the preservation of the apartheid system. In 1980 the Deputy Defence Minister explained further that 'it would be very stupid not to use it if nuclear weapons were needed in the last resort'. ●

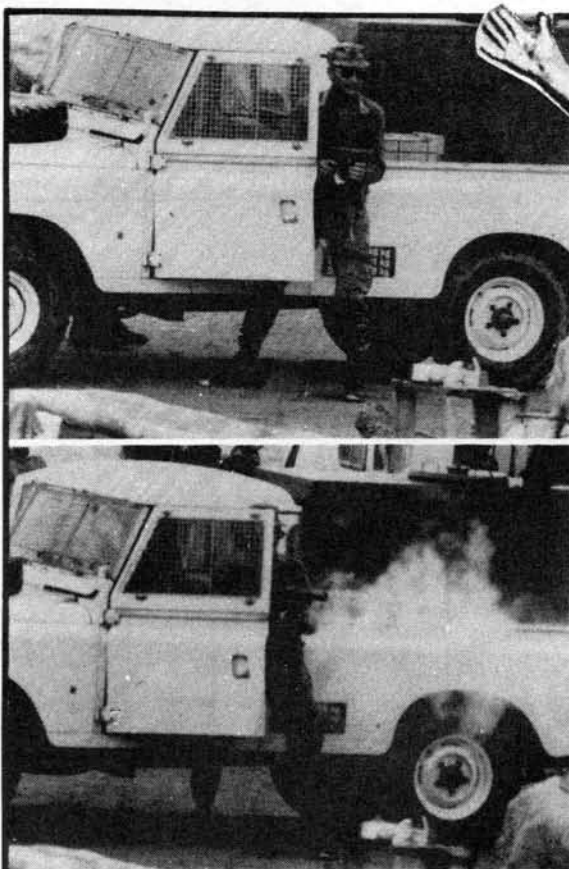
# ARMY AND POLICE: PA

Since the adverse publicity attached to the role of all the armed forces in the Sharpeville and Langa massacres of 1960 and the subsequent State of Emergency, the South African authorities have suppressed reports of army involvement in dealing with protests, demonstrations and strikes. Journalists who carry 'unauthorised' reports on military matters can and have been prosecuted. The best known case involved prosecution of the Johannesburg bureau chief of the press agency, United Press International, for reporting deployment of troops and armoured cars during industrial unrest in June 1981.

During the 1976 uprisings, publicity of the military's role in crushing civil resistance and in guarding key economic installations was rigorously suppressed. But as the points of resistance shifted around the country, involving progressively larger numbers of black people the military's role became indisputable. However, it was only in June 1981 that the Defence Act was specifically altered, allowing units to be called up in peacetime for the 'suppression of internal disorder'

According to the government, between 1979 and 1981 the South African Army combined with the South African Police (SAP) in joint operations that 'included 22 cordon operations and 633 road blocks'. This implies that other, undisclosed operations took place. The first major publicised operation involving the military since 1976, occurred in late March 1978. Soldiers armed with rifles and drawn bayonets combined with police and traffic officers to surround Soweto, Alexandra and other Reef townships.

All people and vehicles passing through the road blocks were stopped and searched by police or soldiers. The military presence was justified as 'crime prevention' and as a means of teaching 'police action' to soldiers. In early June 1981 the army and police sealed off Soweto yet again, and on June 15 it was reported that police and troops were standing by to move into Soweto on the following day. Probably the most publicised operation involving the South African Defence Force (SADF) centred on the schools boycotts in the Westbury Flats 'coloured' townships during June 1981. Initially the SAP sealed off the township while riot police conducted house-to-house searches. In the second phase of the operation the army



Clockwise from top: Police, riot squad and army unit in training. Soldiers deployed in Namibia. Soldiers forcibly arrested by police and carry away youth. Soldiers fire teargas at Cro. 1983. 'Stop and search'

"The requirements for the application of total strategy would appear to favour a system of unified command, joint central planning, decentralized execution and sustained vertical and horizontal co-ordination .....

Conventional organizations in democratic systems do not as a rule lend themselves to these procedures. Therefore organizational changes or adaptations would appear to be imperative".

Lieutenant General J R Dutton

# PARTNERS IN OPPRESSION

**"The effective indoctrination of the people is necessary to support the launching of military and police offensives."**

*Lieutenant General P J Coetzee, August 1981*



moved in. Conscript soldiers sealed off the entire suburb and heavily armed riot police conducted another house-to-house search.

The local commando units — 250 part-time white militia based throughout the country — are also involved in maintaining apartheid rule. Located in both rural and urban areas, their role has been supplemented by industrial commando units situated at plants such as the SASOL oil-from-coal refineries. In January 1982, the SADF launched a 'new' highly publicised strategy of 'area defence'. According to General Viljoen, Chief of the SADF, 'the first line of defence will contain any terrorist attack' while 'reaction forces will deal with the insurgents'.

This placed more responsibility on the under-staffed commando and civil defence systems and was a further attempt by the SADF to militarise the entire white population.

The SADF is also attempting to 'win the hearts and minds' of the black population in urban and rural areas through the Civic Action Programme. SADF conscripts work as teachers, engineers, doctors, dentists, traders, administrators, even as directors of tourism in the bantustans. They wear army uniforms at all times.

These troops distribute SADF journals and gather information on the local community. They are expected to monitor the attitudes of their pupils and have to fill out extensive intelligence reports after each activity in which they participate. All civic action personnel working in the townships fall under the regional military intelligence officer. ●

**Right hand corner: reservists in ban commando African soldier in school. Woman in police. Soldiers veto 1976. Police pads residents, ' at gunpoint.**



**"..... to project an image of the soldier as a man of action but who is nonetheless a friend of the black man and is prepared to defend him. We want the national serviceman to teach the black man whilst his rifle is standing in the corner of the classroom".**

*Major General Charles Lloyd, former Head of the South West African Territorial Force, now G.O.C. of Far Northern Transvaal Command*

# WHITE MOBILISATION

The 'voluntary' civil defence organisations are designed to take responsibility for essential services in times of natural and military emergency, relieving the armed forces of these responsibilities. One of the main aims is to mobilise the entire white population into hierarchical structures under overall military control.

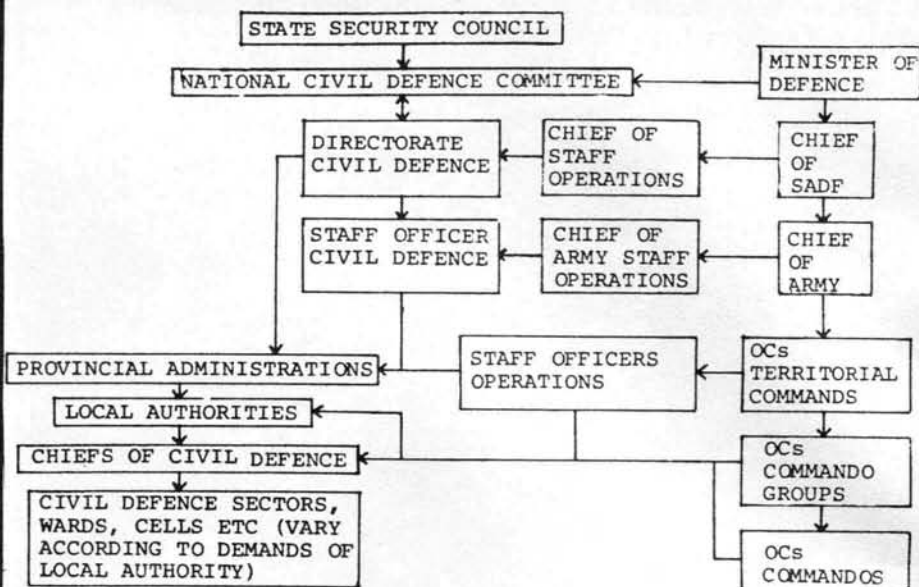
Training does not involve the use of military arms. However, given the fact that a million and a half white South Africans possess light arms, and given the broad legislative definition of civil defence, 'to provide for the protection of the Republic and its inhabitants in a state of emergency and in other incidental matters', it is clear that civil defence organisations will be used as reserve commando and police units.

Civil Defence structures really only got off the ground after the 1976 uprisings. A uniform Civil Defence Ordinance Act set out the responsibilities and powers of provincial administrations and local authorities. Industries, commercial enterprises, schools and universities were encouraged to establish their own internal civil defence organisations.

In 1979 the SADF noted a 'marked improvement' in the state of preparedness of civil defence organisations. But three years later in the Transvaal, interest in civil defence had dropped dramatically, with no municipalities having more than 600 active volunteers. In the Cape Province, out of 264 municipalities and divisional councils, only 10 had achieved required standards.

Civil defence has been slightly more successful in some of the large companies. For example, Eastern

## CIVIL DEFENCE STRUCTURES



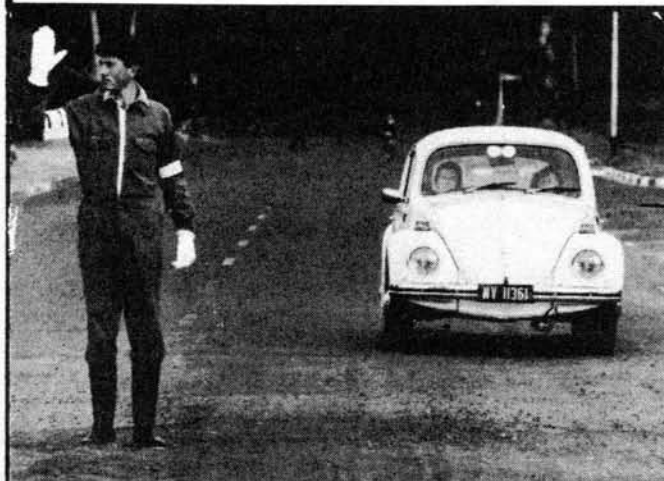
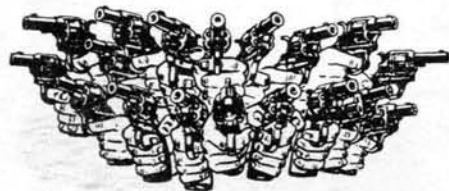
→ DIRECTION OF AUTHORITY

*In the words of Lt. Gen. J R Dutton:*

**"Every white urban area is divided into two or more wards, normally according to geographic location. Ward leaders plus the Managers of Emergency Services could constitute the local civil defence committee under the chairmanship of the Chief of Civil Defence of the area.**

**Every ward is in turn divided into a number of cells. The cells normally comprise a limited number of families living in close proximity to one another. A Cell leader is appointed to advise and co-ordinate the action of householders in his cell, and most important of all, to initiate on-the-spot activity. In this way the civil defence organization aims at involving every white man, woman and child in the country."**

Province Command has trained white workers at factories around Port Elizabeth in the protection of industrial sites. Volunteers undergo a three-week course, including drill, musketry, fieldcraft, crowd control, roadblock routines, anti-riot procedures and lectures on internal security. ●



Children on civil defence exercises of traffic patrol and fire-fighting



# WAR PSYCHOSIS

There are many ways in which a war mentality is inculcated in South Africans. The superficial trappings of war are evident at all levels of South African society. Military parades are regular occurrences in most towns and cities; civilian light arms sales are booming; the sale of war games in toy shops increased by over 500% in just one year; and the sale of defence bonds has rocketed.

The media plays a vital part in conditioning people to accept the war situation. Strict censorship laws prohibit the coverage of sensitive issues, and the government controlled media bombards listeners and readers with militaristic propaganda. Radio request programmes for the 'men in uniform' take up many hours of broadcasting time each week. SABC TV decision-makers meet regularly with army generals to discuss propaganda.

Advertisers, too, have used the growing war psychosis to push their products. Paratus, the official SADF journal, is full of adverts directed at soldiers.

Other adverts reflect and capitalise on the general militarisation of society. A light truck is a 'little tank'; a lawn mower fights the 'battle of the lawn'; an electronics company 'shoots down high prices' and calls on customers to 'march in for the best prices'; and a video camera is marketed under the banner 'Shoot the workers — it's the only way they'll learn'.

People are encouraged to dig deeper into their pockets to help the war effort. The Southern Cross Fund,

which gives financial assistance to dependents of soldiers and sends comforts to the 'boys on the border', had by 1978 raised R5 million since its formation ten years previously.



Chain store millionaire, Raymond Ackerman, hands over R25,000 to the Southern Cross Fund.

**BARCLAYS**

If you've received your marching orders we'll get you started on the right foot.

Operation Ride Safe is a way of making hitch-hiking safe for soldiers. Motorists are indemnified against claims by military passengers and servicemen are provided with special accident cover. Special pick-up points have been marked along routes from army camps.

Johannesburg offers national servicemen free use of public transport, while many hotels give special discounts to wounded men and their families.

SADF chaplains play a vital role as mouthpieces of military propaganda (the Christian faith versus the Anti-Christ, the forces of evil and Marxism). According to the *Cape Times* Defence Reporter, Captain Willem Steenkamp: 'Chaplains play a tremendously important role in sustaining the morale of the men in the Defence Force, more than people outside realise'.

As well as their ideological role, chaplains also attempt to off-set some of the serious psychological effects of war on soldiers. These harmful effects are reflected by the fact that the number of published crimes committed by Defence Force personnel has increased by over 500% in the last three years. In the role of helping the psychological adjustment of the soldiers, the chaplains are assisted by various civilian organisations which help to reorientate the soldiers to 'civvy street' (civilian life).●



Military chaplains on parade.

Extracts of advertisements from official military journal, Paratus

**While you're out there helping to look after South Africa, is anybody helping to look after you?**

**Yes!**

**United**  
Your biggest friend helping World of the land

**"Next to Inspection, it's the closest shave I've ever had!"**  
Gillette. First in swivel-head shaving.

**DATSUN PULSAR**  
Your friend for life!  
Nissan/Datsun. One and the same. DATSUN

**A fighting man's friend**

**Step out at Holiday Inns... for half price.** Holiday Inns  
WELCOME TO OUR PEOPLE PLEASING PLACES.

# EDUCATION FOR WAR

Major developments are currently taking place to maximise the contribution of schools, colleges and universities to the apartheid war effort. The white Afrikaans universities now have University Military Units (UMU's) and plans are underway to establish similar structures at teacher training and technical colleges.

Apart from the UMUs, all universities and a number of tertiary institutions have been incorporated to some extent in the state's military research programme. Senior students and academic staff investigate and report on various priority areas in the commercial, military, industrial, political and scientific fields through organisations like the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the Human Science Research Council (HSRC).

The Defence Force's own university, the Military Academy, attached to the University of Stellenbosch, offers a wide variety of courses and research projects. At most universities there are also academics who serve the SADF in a professional advisory capacity.

Paramilitary cadet training for white schoolboys has long been established, but the militarisation process is now taking place in a far more structured manner under direct army control.

The cadet system is now organised as part of the SADF's 'area defence' system, each province being divided into command and group areas. There is close liaison between cadet detachments and local army units. Military officers are being seconded to schools. Teachers are expected to develop military skills — for instance, the SADF recommends that art teachers learn camouflage techniques.

Training camps run outside school hours have also been encouraged. Pupils are taught subjects like 'terrorist hunting' and given lectures on the 'communist threat', as well as being subjected to vigorous military discipline and taught how to handle arms.

In 1978 the SADF announced plans for a cadet programme for 'coloured' schools, linked to plans to conscript 'coloured' men into the army. These plans have been severely set back by the strong opposition of large sections of the black community. However,

5. Terrorist jag en Skyfskiet  
Hunting terrorists and  
Target shooting.



*'The Leerlekker Adventure Camps are organised for pupils of good character, with a pleasant attitude and friendly face'. Extracts from Leerlekker ('learn nicely') Adventure Camp brochure.*

*An SADF deserter described the indoctrination they received and the endemic racism in the army:*

**"The enemy is always identified as the blacks. The indoctrination is very powerful. Like the first time we shot with our rifles, afterwards the battery commander came up and said something like: 'Ja seuns, julle moet lekker wees want eendag sal jy 'n kaffir met daardie geweer skiet'. (One day you will kill a 'kaffir' with that gun.)**

**And they used to give these examples like: 'What if a 'kaffir' rapes your sister. You should be proud to kill him. You won't only be doing something for yourself, but you will be doing a duty for your country'. Almost every day I used to end up in arguments."**





*'Coloured' children at youth adventure camp run by the South African army which attempts to indoctrinate the youth.*



*White children are often taken to military displays and bases. These toddlers aged between three and six years inspect weapons at 3 SA1 Base.*

militarised holiday 'adventure camps' and training programmes for 'coloured' and Indian children have been in existence for several years. These camps seek to indoctrinate participants through activities aimed at discovering or developing leadership, patriotism, military discipline and familiarity with weaponry. Each racial group is trained in accordance with Pretoria's view of their role. The Indians, for instance, are militarily incorporated almost exclusively in the Navy, so Indian children have to be naval cadets.

The SADF has also started running 'adventure camps' for children in the African townships around Cape Town. The camps have enraged parents. One of them explained: 'We simply received a circular informing us that our children had been selected to take part in education camps and would be cared for. The next thing we knew, they were being taken from the school premises in army trucks'. The SADF said the camps were being held because the army was trying to win their trust. An armed parent described the camps as 'part of a slow, subtle indoctrination process' and added, 'it all seems so innocent, which in my opinion makes it more dangerous'. ●



*Child stands guard at 'adventure' camp.*

Universiteit van Suid-Afrika

University of South Africa MC

University Examinations, February 1978

HONOURS STRATEGIC STUDIES : PAPER 4

(ATHPIW)

ADVANCED STUDY OF INTERNAL WAR

Tydsduur) 3 Uur/Hours  
Duration)

100 (Punte  
(Marks)

Eksaminatore/Examiners: 1. Mnr./Mr D.F.S. Fourie  
2. Mnr./Mr H. Lass

Answer any THREE questions.

1. Evaluate the more prominent reasons advanced for the resort to internal war as a means of achieving revolution.
2. Discuss the nature and role of terrorism in internal war.
3. Discuss critically the statement by J. Bowyer Bell which is quoted below:  
"The guerrilla revolution ... has been, and is, repeatedly proposed as the inevitably successful means to secure victory - and yet the weight of evidence indicates that such means rarely succeed."
4. Experience in countries such as Greece, The Philippines and Malaya showed the possibility of ending internal war to the advantage of the incumbent regime. Discuss this statement with reference to appropriate examples which you know.
5. Describe and discuss John McCuen's view respecting the overcoming of revolutionary war.

*Extract of University exam paper on Advanced Study of Internal War.*

# NAMIBIA UNDER SIEGE

The vast territory of Namibia, conquered with extreme brutality by German colonists, was occupied by South African troops during the First World War.

Since then, South African and multinational companies have plundered its immense mineral and fishing resources, while Pretoria has resisted international pressure to force it to withdraw from the territory. The people of Namibia have been subjected to apartheid rule by a battery of repressive legislation and systematic violence.

Today, Namibia is a ravaged land, torn apart and plundered by years of apartheid rule, and its people subjected to a reign of terror under one of the most intensive military occupations in the world.

There are an estimated 100,000 troops under South African control in the territory. The presence of this vast army of occupation overshadows the lives of all Namibians, 80% of whom live under a form of martial law that gives the occupation forces the right to detain and arrest people and shoot them on sight at night for violating the curfew.

A host of paramilitary and military forces operate in the populous northern areas where guerillas of the liberation movement, SWAPO, are most active. The most notorious of these units is Koevoet, a widely feared police unit that has carried out a number of assassinations, massacres and atrocities over the past few years. Throughout the northern areas, small military bases are dotted around, serviced by larger, highly fortified garrison towns like Opuwo, Ruacana and Oshakati. Interrogation centres are attached to larger military bases. Hundreds of Namibians have simply disappeared after being detained and tortured by the 'security forces'.

South African military commanders in Namibia are often quoted as saying that the battle is 80% political and 20% military. This is the justification for the military takeover of what remains of the health, education, transport and administration structures in the northern areas. The 'civic action' programme has also entailed the forced resettlement of thousands of people and the incorporation of some 10,000 black Namibians into the occupation army.

However, 'civic action' has failed to win the hearts and minds of the

## Rauna Nambinga

*Namibian refugee, witness at the Second Session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the crimes of the racist and apartheid regime in Southern Africa.* Luanda, 30 January—3 February 1981

"I was arrested again on the 15th of July, 1980, by the military police of the South African army. I was taken to Oshakati Prison where I was interrogated again. They asked me to tell them about the assistance we give to the freedom fighters who are reported to be around our area. If I did not do it myself, at least I must tell them anybody I knew who has done it, and at least I must tell the truth. This was the 16th of July; then on the 17th of July I was called back to the office and asked the same question. I gave the same answers.

"Then a black policeman came with a rope, tied my arms behind my back and blindfolded me, then electricity was attached to the little fingers of both my hands. It was switched on and off and I screamed. They said they were not going to disconnect me from the electrical instrument. To avoid the noise I was making when I screamed, they put cotton wool into my mouth and covered my mouth with a cloth so I could not breathe properly. They kept on switching the instrument on and off. I felt all the agony, the pain until I was no longer myself. This started from eight in the morning until two o'clock".

people. The overwhelming majority of the population support SWAPO and its armed wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, PLAN.

Formed in 1960 to unite the Namibian people in the struggle for independence from South African rule, SWAPO was engaged in non-violent organisation until 1966, when it became evident that it would take more than diplomatic pressure to dislodge apartheid rule. After a series of bloody massacres by occupation authorities, SWAPO declared: 'We have no alternative but to rise in arms and bring about our liberation'. Although the guerilla war started on a small scale, the brutal response of the South African police forced increas-

ing numbers of peasants and workers into exile, where they joined SWAPO.

In December 1971, in response to SWAPO initiatives, a general strike was organised. Several thousand contract workers who went on strike were sent back to the 'homelands' in the north, where they were attacked by the police. The people retaliated, destroying the border fence with Angola, attacking government installations and leaving the country to join SWAPO guerilla forces. Soon after this the SADF took control of counter-insurgency operations and the process of militarisation was accelerated.

The independence of Angola in 1975 led to further intensification of the military presence in northern



*Armoured column moves through the streets of Windhoek, capital of Namibia.*

**"SWAPO holds the conviction that armed resistance to the South African occupation of our country is the only viable and effective means left for us to achieve genuine liberation in Namibia. However, much as we are convinced that armed struggle must be the main form of our liberation activity, we do not beautify war as a purpose or regard it as a form of sport. We see war for what it is — an extension of politics by other means."**

*Extract from SWAPO's Political Programme*



*Sam Nujoma, leader of SWAPO*



*SWAPO guerillas attend to the medical needs of rural Namibians.*

Namibia and most of the towns in the area were transformed into military bases. Many of the South African troops retreating from their invasion of Angola, together with defeated remnants of UNITA, were settled into their new bases along the border.

Despite the imposition of martial law, the intensive militarisation of the north, the use of the 'civic action' programme, the widespread terror employed by the South African forces, and the occupation of areas of southern Angola where SWAPO supposedly has 'bases', it is clear that PLAN forces are firmly established inside Namibia and are able to operate with increasing effectiveness. It is often said by locals that 'the Boers control Namibia by day, SWAPO by night'.

Protected by the population and operating with their support, relatively small numbers of guerillas are thus able to tie down thousands of South African troops, carrying out sabotage operations, attacking South African patrols and military bases and assisting in political work. However, SWAPO has never seen military action as a substitute for political work, and as much effort is devoted to the task of political education and mobilisation as to the guerilla struggle. ●



*Namibians demand the implementation of UN Resolution 435, the internationally agreed upon formula for a ceasefire and free elections.*

In the greater part of Namibia South Africa maintains its hold over the country by means of ordinary police and security police. In the operational area there is a complex of army units, police, security police, special constables and home guards under the control of the army. Many are recruited from the local population.

Service in the army, the police or the home guard means some kind of income in a situation of widespread unemployment. Headmen, collaborating with the regime, have to be protected by home guards. The whole complex of security forces in the operational area is designated by the Ovambo word 'omakakunya'. We found it hard to determine the literal meaning of the word, but its implications are by no means flattering — 'bloodsuckers', 'bonepickers' and so on. Not all units may be guilty of atrocities but the local population is inclined to lump all security forces together under one common label .....

That detention and interrogation in any part of the country are accompanied by beating, torture, spare diet and solitary confinement is accepted as common knowledge. We found this attitude among most Church representatives we met and among many others as well.

Reports of what occurs in the operational area indicate that it is commonly accepted that in searching out SWAPO guerillas the Security Forces stop at nothing to force information out of people. They break into homes, beat up residents, shoot people, steal and kill cattle and often pillage stores and tea rooms. When the tracks of SWAPO guerillas are discovered by the Security Forces the local people are in danger. Harsh measures are intensified. People are blindfolded, taken from their homes and left beaten up and even dead by the roadside. Women are often raped. It is not unknown for a detachment to break into a home while black soldiers keep watch over the family, white soldiers select the best-looking girls and take them into the veld and rape them. There is no redress because reporting irregularities or atrocities to commanders is considered a dangerous or fruitless exercise.

*Report on Namibia, May 1982  
The South African Catholic Bishops' Conference*

# WAR AGAINST FRONTLINE STATES

## THE KASSINGA MASSACRE



One of the mass graves of Namibian refugees killed by South African troops at Kassinga, 4 May 1978. Inset: Namibian refugees before the massacre.

To ensure its own survival, South Africa's apartheid regime is determined to maintain its grip over all the newly independent states in the region. These countries, working through the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), are equally determined to break the ties of economic dependence that bind them to Pretoria. South Africa hectors, threatens and attempts to destabilise its neighbours. Outright military attacks alternate with economic pressure and funding of subversive activities.

Angola, the least dependent on the apartheid economy, has suffered the most. In 1975, the SADF, in co-operation with the USA, invaded Angola with the aim of instituting a 'friendly' regime before the MPLA liberation movement could institute an independent republic. The attempt failed and the South African forces were driven back into occupied Namibia. Since then, Angola has been under constant attack with large scale invasions in 1980, 1981 and 1983-84.

In August 1981, about 5,000 troops occupied most of Kunene Province in southern Angola. They carried off agricultural machinery, vehicles, cattle and other property from Kunene and destroyed crops and communication links. In other parts of the country, bridges, highways, railway lines, factories and public buildings have been bombed or blown up and crops and cattle destroyed. The vital Benguela railway has been repeatedly closed by UNITA bandits, and the Luanda oil refinery attacked by a South African Commando unit.

The military aggression and occupation has caused continued suffering and hunger for the people of southern Angola and the thousands of Namibian refugees in the area. In one attack alone, at Kassinga in May 1978, over 600 Namibian refugees, many of them children, were massacred by South African paratroopers. The roads to the camp were then mined to prevent medical aid getting to the victims.

Some of the most damning evidence of South African atrocities has come in the statements of former mercenaries, members of the notorious 32 Battalion based at Buffalo in northern Namibia. This battalion, established in 1975, is officered by SADF regulars and white mercenaries from countries such as Britain and Zimbabwe, with its ranks consisting mainly of former

## THE WAR CRIMINALS

Col J Breytenbach, Combat Commander (no photo available).



Lt Gen Viljoen, Chief of Army, present at and in overall command of massacre. Promoted to General and Chief of SADF.



Maj Gen I Gleeson, Commander of 101 Task Force, responsible for all operations in Namibia. Promoted to Lt Gen, Chief of Staff (Ops.) SADF.



Brigadier M J Du Plessis, Commander 44 Parachute Brigade. At Kassinga as observer, in charge of all paratroopers. Promoted to Maj Gen and Inspector General of Army.



Cpt A Marais, Buccaneer pilot and Maj J Church, helicopter pilot; both awarded the Honoris Crux medal for their role in the massacre.

## ANGOLA 1975-76:

Following the collapse of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal in 1974, it became clear that Angola would soon be independent under the MPLA, the liberation movement that had fought for independence for the previous fourteen years. Alarmed at the prospect of a genuinely independent and socialist state in the region, South African forces crossed into Angola in August 1975. Their aim was to seize the capital Luanda before independence day, 11 November, and hand over power to the UNITA group, which had previously collaborated with the Portuguese and was now under South African tutelage.

Simultaneously, in an elaborate scheme worked out with the American CIA, Zairean troops invaded from the north. Despite vigorous resistance by the Angolan people, the South African armoured car columns and Zairean forces were finally halted, with Cuban assistance, only a few miles from Luanda.

Having failed in their objective, the South African forces turned tail and fled for the Namibian border. The flag of independent Angola was hoisted in Luanda on schedule, and the MPLA set about the task of constructing a new society.

members of the defeated Angolan group which took part in the 1975 South African invasion. 32 Battalion has been responsible for systematic 'scorched earth' tactics and the terrorisation of the local population. Trevor Edwards, a British mercenary previously employed in the Rhodesian Selous Scouts testified that:

*'Our main job is to take an area and clear it. We sweep through it and we kill everything in front of us, cattle, goats, people — everything. We are out to stop SWAPO so we stop them getting into the villages for food and water.'*

An equally important part of the destabilisation strategy is the use of UNITA, a group originally under Portuguese and CIA control which was involved in the 1975 South African invasion. UNITA, which now functions as an arm of the SADF, is based and trained in Namibia and has been active in the south-east and central regions of Angola since independence. UNITA destroys communications, attacks villages, destroys economic targets and has captured foreign aid workers to seek publicity.

Kunene Province has often been described as being under UNITA 'control' and the South African occupation was partly aimed at bolstering UNITA's credibility. It was also an attempt to establish a 'buffer zone' in the belief that this would stop SWAPO military activity in Namibia, but as SWAPO is firmly established inside Namibia this did not have the desired effect.

South African aggression has cost Angola dearly in human suffering and economic loss. In November 1982, President dos Santos announced that since November 1975, South African

aggression had caused material damage estimated at 10 billion dollars. Added to this are the setbacks to national reconstruction and development, and the enormous military drain on manpower and resources. Losses in terms of sheer human suffering, ill-health, interruptions of schooling, malnutrition and unemployment cannot be quantified.

Support for the bandit military group the MNR (Mozambique National Resistance) is also part of the South African strategy aimed at destabilising Mozambique. Established in 1976 by Portuguese colonialists, backed by the then Rhodesian security forces, the MNR headquarters was moved to South Africa after Zimbabwean independence.

Notes of meetings between the MNR and South Africans in October 1980, which were captured by the Mozambican army, are very revealing. Dhlakama, leader of the MNR,

praises his South African patrons: 'We can't do anything without you', he is recorded as saying, 'you are just like our parents'. Trained in the north east Transvaal, MNR groups have set up well equipped bases in remote areas in Mozambique and are supplied by air and sea from South Africa.

The MNR has caused havoc in rural areas, attacking farms, villages and development projects and disrupting communication and power supplies throughout the centre of the country. Road and rail communications with the hinterland have also been attacked, forcing Zimbabwe and Botswana to channel their goods through South Africa rather than Mozambique. In little over a year the vital oil pipeline from Beira to Zimbabwe was sabotaged five times. In December 1982, South African seaborne commandos destroyed the Beira oil depot, causing a petrol crisis in Zimbabwe that almost paralysed its transport network.

Atrocities committed by roving MNR bands have been widely reported. However, the FRELIMO government started turning the tables in 1983, reactivating former guerillas, arming the population and forming local militias. Forty per cent of the rural population of Sofala Province is now armed. FRELIMO forces have also destroyed a number of the bandit bases.

The political reasons for the deployment of these surrogate forces are obvious: Pretoria can deny that it is responsible for aggression against its neighbours, presenting the bandit groups as alternatives to the governments of Mozambique and Angola and encouraging tribal divisions. But any support the bandits may have had in the past has evaporated as a result



*The ruins of Cahama hospital after South African bombing, Cahama, Angola, September 1981.*



*Workers in a jam factory killed by South African air raid on Maputo, Mozambique, 23 May 1983.*

of their terror tactics. Neither UNITA or the MNR have developed any comprehensible political programmes.

Since 1981, Pretoria has been deploying a smaller surrogate force against Lesotho — the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA). South African troops have also carried out attacks on the western provinces of Zambia from the Caprivi Strip.

Over the past few years, thousands of ex-Rhodesian troops have been trained, some of them in special units which may in the future become a surrogate force. Pretoria is known to be behind much of the dissident banditry plaguing certain areas of Zimbabwe. South African units have also carried out sabotage operations in Zimbabwe.

South African and Namibian refugees have not only come under attack in Angola. The SADF attack on Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, on 9 December 1981, left 42 dead, mainly South African refugees. A similar

attack on residences in Matola, outside Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, resulted in the murder of 13 members of the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Since then, Mozambique has been constantly threatened with further attacks unless it clamps down on South African refugees. On 23 May, 1983, SADF Impala fighter-bombers and Mirage jets strafed and bombed Maputo, killing innocent civilians and damaging property. South African troops have been massed on the border and small raiding or scouting parties have crossed into Mozambican territory, clashing with Mozambican soldiers and kidnapping civilians.

The South African regime has also carried out assassinations against political opponents in neighbouring countries, murdering the ANC representative in Zimbabwe, Joe Gqabi, in June 1981, and killing exiled writer Ruth First by letter bomb in Maputo in August 1982.

In February and March 1984, in response to increased international pressure, the South African regime launched a massive propaganda and political drive to present itself as a 'peacemaker' in the region. Pretoria signed a far-reaching security pact with Mozambique and began withdrawing its forces from Angola. However, the proxy UNITA and MNR forces continued their terror activities while the security arrangements with the front line states had little initial effect on the liberation struggle in either Namibia or South Africa. Representatives of the UDF pointed out that while Botha would talk to President Machel he would not talk to the leaders of the South African people themselves, and both SWAPO and the ANC vowed to intensify the overall struggle for freedom. ●



*Mozambican whose nose was cut off by MNR bandits.*

**"Our bases are in South Africa itself, our bases are among the people of our country, in the cities, in the mountains, near to Koeberg nuclear power station in the Cape, a thousand miles from any border, near to the SASOL petrol tanks in the heart of the country, and yes, right in Pretoria itself, close to the Voortrekkerhoogte military headquarters, which we have successfully shelled. The regime cannot find these bases. Therefore it invents mythical bases in neighbouring territories. For it is easier to massacre refugees in their beds or to send bandits to murder teachers and health workers in Juham than it is to stop the revolutionary process inside South Africa.**

**"That is why we have war in Southern Africa, and why we will never have peace in our zone as long as apartheid exists ....."**

*Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, in an address to the Fourth Congress of FRELIMO, April 1983*



*ANC President Oliver Tambo.*



# RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID WAR

The apartheid state has faced little more than token opposition from the ranks of its main beneficiaries, the white minority. Groups such as the Congress of Democrats and the Christian Institute, and individuals like Bram Fischer, Denis Goldberg and Neil Aggett stand out as exceptions.

However, there are small but growing numbers of progressive whites committed to the liberation struggle and the militarisation process itself has led to more widespread dissent. Conscription in particular has been a source of alienation. Each year at least three thousand conscripts fail to turn up for military service. Most of these are individuals who have personal reasons for resisting, a few hundred of them are pacifists, and a small but significant proportion are political objectors opposed to apartheid.

Some of these political resisters, particularly those who have remained in South Africa, have argued from explicitly Christian grounds. Pointing out the injustice of the apartheid system which the SADF protects and enforces, they have refused conscription in both a combatant and non-combatant position. The first conscientious objector publicly to raise these arguments in South Africa was a Baptist, Peter Moll. He was sentenced to twelve months in detention barracks in December 1979, with the prospect on his release of successive military call ups, trials and further periods of imprisonment.

In detention barracks, Moll immediately began a struggle to be recognised in the same way as pacifist objectors who were given non-military clothing and exempted from military drilling. Richard Steele, another religious objector opposed to apartheid, followed him into detention barracks, and the two of them refused to wear army overalls or take part in drilling, on the grounds that this would identify them with the SADF. They were deprived of their clothing, left in conditions of extreme cold, subjected to solitary confinement and put on a spare diet.

Eventually after 125 and 150 days in solitary confinement respectively, they were granted the same 'concessions' as pacifists and allowed to wear non-military overalls for the remainder of their sentences. These events generated considerable publicity and forced many of the South African churches to take a public stand in sup-

port of the resisters.

Unwilling to risk further adverse publicity, the military courts from then on imposed relatively lighter punishment on a number of anti-apartheid objectors who followed Moll and Steele. Some of these resisters raised even clearer political arguments than those employed by Peter Moll. Billy Paddock, for instance, stated that the SADF was engaged in a civil war against South Africans who have fled the 'oppressive and exploitative' apartheid system and described the SADF in Namibia as 'foreign occupation force'.

In January 1983 a government commission which had been investigating the issue suggested introducing an alternative non-military form of national service for recognised pacifists, while imposing longer prison sentences on other objectors. The Defence Amendment Act, based on the recommendations of this commission, was introduced soon afterwards. Its purpose was to suppress political conscientious objectors, imposing six-year prison sentences and trying to isolate them from church support by introducing a form of 'alternative service' limited to religious pacifists.

Significantly, the Act was introduced shortly before the implementation of a new 'constitutional dispensation' which extended token political rights to 'coloureds' and Indians. Part of this plan, which had been strongly rejected by all sections of the black population, is to conscript 'coloureds' and Indians. The likelihood of mass resistance was no doubt one of the factors motivating the introduction of harsher penalties for objectors.

While attention inside South Africa has focussed on the small numbers of political resisters who have been imprisoned, the vast majority of resisters have gone into exile. Others have gone on the run inside the country or reluctantly entered the army in a mood of disaffection. The high number of AWOL (absent without leave) cases in detention barracks attests to this. This disaffection cannot be dismissed as mere aversion to military discipline. While all armies depend on discipline, no two armies ever fight the same war. In South Africa, as many resisters have pointed out, the SADF is fighting to uphold a brutal system universally condemned as a crime against humanity. ●



**Billy Paddock:**

"I support the overall goal of freedom that the liberation movements are striving for. I cannot serve in the South African Defence Force because then I would be taking sides with the oppressors, and Christ calls on us to take the side of the poor and oppressed .....

"Because the whole system is unjust and oppressive, I refuse to do national service ....."



**Peter Hathorn:**

"Given the profoundly unjust and immoral nature of South African society ..... for me going into the SA Defence Force would involve a complete denial of the ideas I value most highly .....

The only way I can do my duty to the people of this country is by taking an uncompromising stand against the call to fight, and to accept the consequences of that action."

# THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

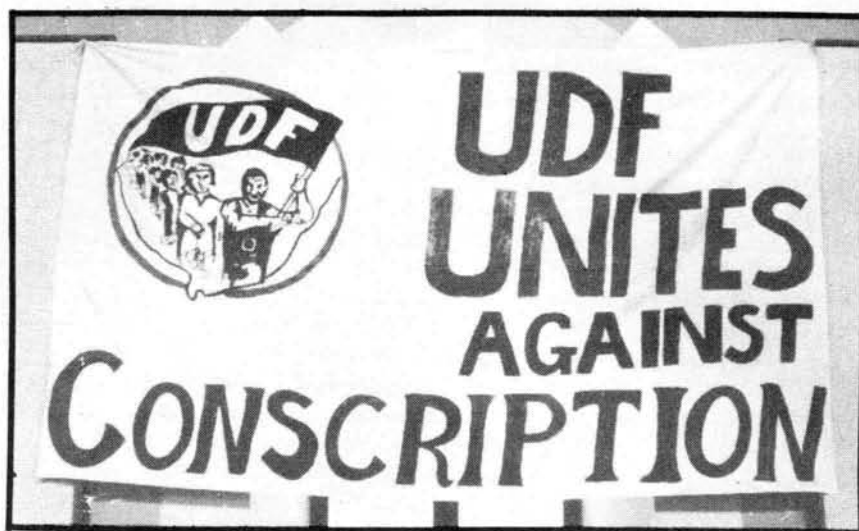
In an attempt to co-opt sections of the black population into supporting apartheid, the South African regime is restructuring the parliamentary system to give limited representation to 'coloured' and Indian people, while permanently excluding the African majority. Part of the price to be paid by these communities for this 'concession' will be military conscription, which is likely to be extended gradually over the next few years. The SADF badly needs the extra manpower and attaches considerable importance to the propaganda value of using black troops in its war against the liberation movement.

But conscription of blacks, even on a limited basis will be firmly resisted. In Namibia the extension of conscription in 1981 led to thousands of black people leaving the country to escape military service — many of them instead joined the SWAPO forces. The United Democratic Front, which unites millions of South Africans opposed to the new constitutional system, has raised the call: 'No to Conscription'. This campaign to resist apartheid conscription is being taken up by student unions, conscientious objector support groups and other organisations around the country.

The growing resistance to the regime's military drive is just one aspect of an overall mobilisation against apartheid that, despite vicious repression, is daily gaining ground. In the Bantustans, people are rising up against the corrupt leaders imposed by Pretoria. Boycotts, demonstrations, strikes and armed actions which take place throughout the country are all

**"Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of the armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule."**

— message from Nelson Mandela, smuggled off Robben Island, 1980



indications of the rising resistance to apartheid. Non-racial independent trade unions are spreading rapidly, youth, student, community and women's organisations are drawing more and more members — and most of these groups are united in the UDF and committed to ending apartheid.

Most worrying for the regime is that despite ruthless clampdowns, incessant propaganda and attacks on refugees in neighbouring countries, the liberation movements SWAPO and the ANC are gaining rapidly in support, organisational strength and military ability.

Faced with continual internal turmoil, bogged down in a losing war in Namibia and increasingly isolated internationally, the South African regime is beset by crises. The apart-

heid economy is in deep recession, a condition exacerbated by the immense cost of the militarisation programme, and its political efforts to co-opt 'coloured' and Indian people are clearly failing. There is growing dissension in white ranks and unity amongst the oppressed.

While the ability of the apartheid regime to increase its aggression against the people of Southern Africa remains a formidable threat to regional peace, it is clear that the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia are moving rapidly forward to the overthrow of apartheid and the establishment of non-racial and democratic societies. As the South African Defence Minister, General Malan, himself has admitted: 'Bullets kill bodies, not beliefs'. ●

Freedom-loving people of South Africa say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united democratic South Africa based on the will of the people, and will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid and economic and all other forms of exploitation, and in our march to a free and just South Africa we are guided by these noble ideals:

We stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country.

We stand for a single, non-racial, unfragmented South Africa, a South Africa free of Bantustans and Group Areas.

We say all forms of oppression and exploitation must end.

In accordance with these noble ideals we join hands as community, women's, students', religious, sporting and other organisations and trade unions to say no to apartheid.

We say no to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill — a Bill which will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth.

We say no to the Koornhof Bills which will deprive more and more African people of their birthright.

We say yes to the birth of the United Democratic Front on this historic day.

We know that this government is determined to break the unity of our people, that our people will face greater hardships, that our people living in racially segregated and relocated areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities, that rents and other basic charges will increase and that our living standards will fall, that working people will be divided race from race, urban from rural, employed from unemployed, men from women.

Low wages, poor working conditions, attacks on our trade unions will continue, students will continue to suffer under unequal education created to supply a reservoir of cheap labour.

Ethnic control and unequal facilities will remain, apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms.

The religious and cultural life of our people will be harmed.

The sins of apartheid will continue to be stamped on the culture and religions of our people. The oppression and exploitation of women will continue.

Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws, women will be divided from their children and families.

Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life.

The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by our families, non-racial sport will suffer, there will be less money for the building of sports facilities, and forced separation will deal non-racial sport a further blow.

We know that apartheid will continue, that white domination and exploitation will continue, that forced removals, the Group Areas and the Bantustans will remain.

We know that there will not be an end to the unequal distribution of land, wealth and resources of the country, that the migratory labour system will live on to destroy family life.

We know that the government will always use false leaders to become its junior partners and to control us.

Our lives will still be filled with fears of harassment, bannings, detentions and death. Mindful of the fact that the new constitutional proposals and Koornhof measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination, we commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be in the cities and countryside, the factories and mines, schools, colleges and universities, houses and sports fields, churches, mosques, and temples, to fight for our freedom.

We therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit ourselves to work together to organise and mobilise all community worker, student, women's, religious and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front, consult our people regularly and honestly, and bravely strive to represent their views and aspirations, educate all about the coming dangers and the need for unity, build and strengthen all organisations of the people, and be united in action against these Bills and other day-to-day problems affecting our people.

And now therefore we pledge to come together in this United Democratic Front, and fight side by side against the government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills.

*Declaration of the United Democratic Front  
Cape Town, August 1983*

In response to calls from the people of Southern Africa, organisations have been established throughout the world to campaign in support of the liberation struggles in Namibia and South Africa. The external offices of the liberation movements also provide information on the struggle for freedom.

In Britain, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has campaigned for twenty five years for the isolation of the Pretoria regime and in support of the Namibian and South African people, while the Namibia Support Committee focusses on the independence struggle in Namibia. The Mozambique and Angola information offices distribute information on those countries.

Internationally, the World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa co-ordinates actions to end military support for the apartheid regime. The International Defence and Aid Fund produces a wealth of books, pamphlets, photo exhibitions and other visual materials on apartheid.

**The Anti-Apartheid Movement**

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**The African National Congress**

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**International Defence and Aid Fund  
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**The Namibia Support Committee**

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**SWAPO of Namibia**

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**Mozambique Information Office**

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Tel: 01 636 7108

**Angola Information**

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London W1P 9FG  
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**The World Campaign Against  
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Lindeberg Gaard  
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**This booklet has been written and produced by COSAWR, the Committee on South African War Resistance, in Britain. COSAWR is an organisation of South Africans exiled as a result of their refusal to fight in the apartheid armed forces. COSAWR campaigns in support of war resisters imprisoned in South Africa and exposes the growing militarisation of the apartheid regime and its threat to peace. A bi-monthly journal *Resister* is available for £3.00 annually.**

**COSAWR (UK), B.M. Box 2190, London WC1N 3XX. Tel 278 6928  
COSAWR (N), Postbus 543, 1000AN Amsterdam, Netherlands.**

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Southern Africa today is a battleground. For several years, South Africa has been fighting an undeclared war against its neighbours. Military aggression, alternated or combined with economic pressure, is Pretoria's chosen way of ensuring regional domination.

The consequences have been devastating. Thousands of Angolans, Mozambicans, Namibians and South African exiles and citizens of other independent states have been killed, maimed or made homeless. Economic damage to Angola alone amounts to over ten thousand million US dollars.

Namibia's million and a half people are subjected to a ruthless military occupation by South African troops and police. A tenth of the population has been driven into exile; 80% live under a form of martial law; hundreds are detained without trial or have 'disappeared' after arrests. Church leaders have described apartheid rule in Namibia as a 'reign of terror'.

In South Africa itself, a massive militarisation drive coupled with a complex series of adjustments to the apartheid system — mistakenly referred to as 'reforms' — have centralised and consolidated state power under a new breed of military commanders who are committed to ensuring white domination into the 21st century, no matter what the cost.

At the same time, the oppressed black population of Namibia and South Africa, united in a common desire to rid the subcontinent of apartheid and establish democratic societies, is increasingly committed to a struggle that includes military means. They are supported in this struggle by independent Africa and by people and governments throughout the world.

This pamphlet examines some aspects of the conflict in Southern Africa, concentrating on the increasing threat that the apartheid military build up poses to regional and world peace.



£1.00