



APARTHEID TERROR

How Pretoria wages war on Africa

by Aziz Pahad

The apartheid regime has embarked on a concerted and co-ordinated campaign of economic, political and military destabilisation in Southern Africa. The gravity of the situation is reflected by the communique of the heads of Governments of the Front Line States (meeting in Maputo, March 1982) which noted that "The invasion and military aggression, the utilisation of armed bandits and agents, the acts of sabotage and economic blackmail, the massive and subversive propaganda campaigns conducted by South Africa are proof that there is currently an undeclared war situation engendered and supported by South Africa."

It is becoming increasingly clear that the regime is developing a massive capacity not only to hold back the revolutionary advances in South Africa and Namibia but also to subvert and undermine the gains already achieved in Southern Africa. The use of conventional war is becoming a central component of this regional strategy. Using the 'big lie' techniques of Goebbels they justify their aggression by claiming that the neighbouring countries pose a military threat to them. In the preface to

the 1982 Defence White Paper Magnus Malan (Minister of Defence) stated that: "It is alarming that more and more sophisticated weapons are pouring into neighbouring countries" and that "serious consideration should now be given to the possibility of conventional warfare."

Prime Minister Botha gave some indication of South Africa's intentions when he stated that "We are moving more and more in the direction in which the state of Israel has already been since 1948," and went on to warn that "South Africa's sphere of influence" extends to all its neighbours in Southern Africa.

Pik Botha (Foreign Minister) spelt this out more blatantly when he arrogantly declared that "The existence of a ring of marxist states ... around South Africa was inimical to South Africa's interests." This situation he said, could not be tolerated.

After announcing that South Africa would have to open up a "second front", Magnus Malan issued a warning that the "slogan in Africa should be: Obtain communist assistance and terrorist organisations to launch so called liberation

has production of minerals we all must have."

The Reagan nominee to become head of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Kenneth Adelman (presently deputy to Jean Kirkpatrick that other great 'human rights campaigner' and 'freedom fighter', and friend of the US and South African intelligence services) is reported to have said that if South Africa acquired nuclear anti-submarine weapons, these could be helpful to the west in protecting the Cape shipping route. He went on to say that such weapons could be turned into nuclear bombs to deter a land attack.

Given such open and brazen support by the Reagan administration it is hardly surprising that the South African 1982 since the winning of independence in Zimbabwe; since the attempts by the Front Line States to break out of the economic stranglehold of South Africa through the SADCC, and as a result of the intensified resistance in South Africa and Namibia.

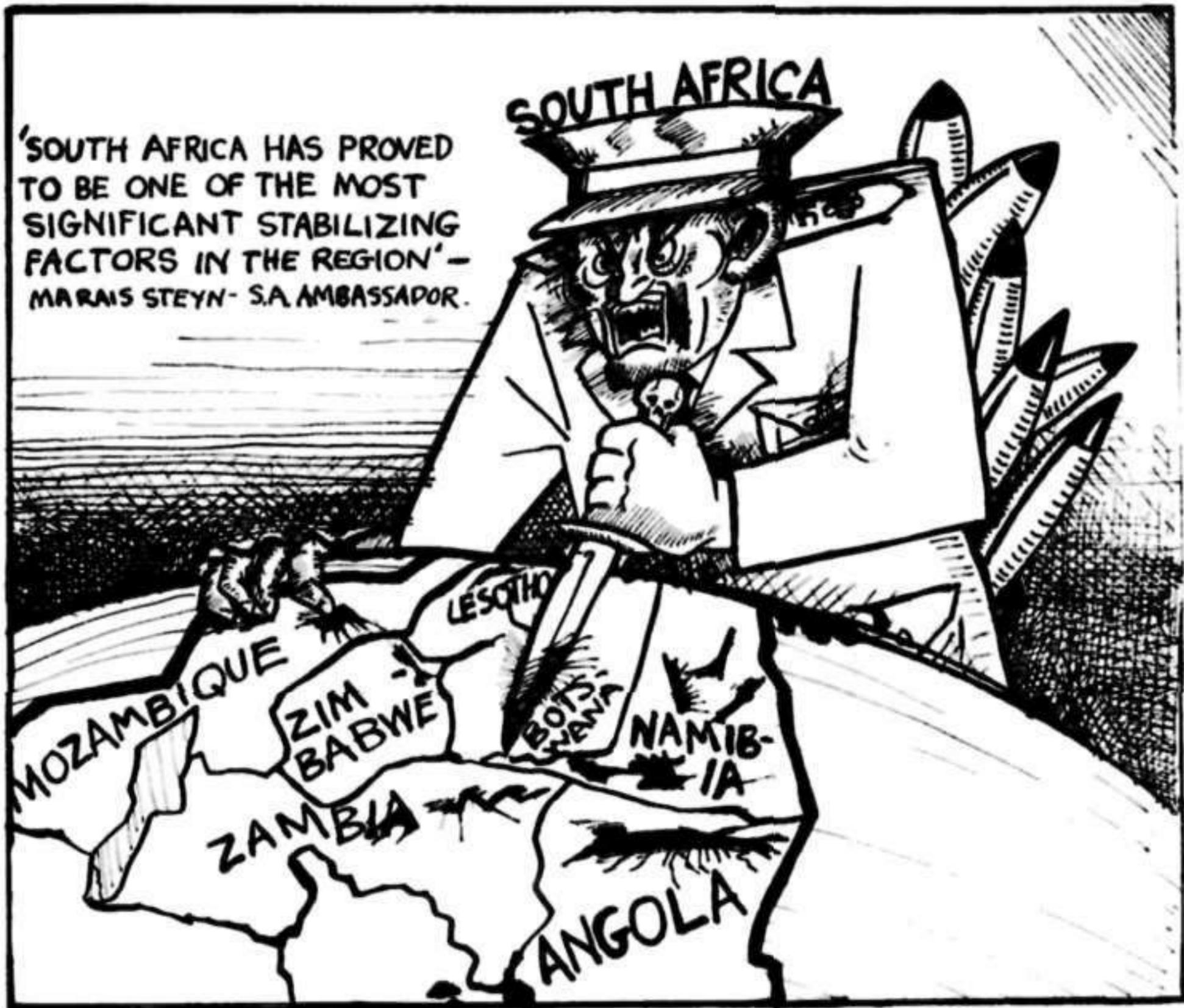
Imperialist Collaboration

South Africa's reactionary role by and large coincides with imperialist strategy for world domination and exploitation. The Reagan administration, under the smokescreen of anti-communism, anti-sovietism and "anti-terrorism", has launched a world wide counter-revolutionary offensive, and sees the apartheid regime as the instrument for achieving its global strategy on the African continent. In 1980 Crocker (U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) concluded that, "Washington could no longer simply enjoy its varied interests in Southern Africa. It would have to work actively to pre-empt Soviet-backed revolutionary change." He later went on to say that the "American stance towards the Republic of South Africa is inevitably the centrepiece of our regional policy... South Africa is by any definition an important regional power, and it is by far the most important country in the Southern African region.

It is in South Africa that the west's most important regional interests are at stake – both our tangible economic and strategic interests and also our political and moral interests in non-violent change".

On taking office, Reagan said, "Can we abandon a country which has stood with us in every war we have fought, a country that strategically is essential to the free world? Its movements and the end result is perish in misery."

South Africa is imposing its own version of the Monroe doctrine. This aggressive militarist strategy has been intensified since the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and the attempts to establish genuine people's democracies, leading to the socialist transformation of Angola and Mozambique; Defence White Paper concluded that "there are encouraging signs that the USA is once again prepared to play an active role as leader of the West." For South Africa, this has meant extensive cooperation in the exchange of intelligence and military personnel and information. There has been a gradual relaxation of the ban on military and military-related equipment from the US – for example, the Cyber 75 variety of computers, which can be used to model nuclear explosions, has been supplied to Armscor or its subsidiaries, and US brokers played a key role in helping South Africa buy almost 100 tons of enriched uranium. Export credit guarantees have been resumed by the US government, and the Americans were largely responsible for the granting of a 1.2 billion dollar loan to South Africa from the IMF in 1982. In Namibia the USA is spearheading attempts to halt the process of liberation. American subterfuges were revealed when, in a secret memorandum to Haig in 1981, Crocker stated that racist South Africans must be told of the US willingness to open up a new chapter in their relationship, based upon strategic reality and South Africa's position in that reality. He went on to say that the Namibian problem was a primary obstacle to this new relationship, and that



'SOUTH AFRICA HAS PROVED TO BE ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT STABILIZING FACTORS IN THE REGION' - MARAIS STEYN - S.A. AMBASSADOR.

"we are willing to work with them to find an internationally acceptable settlement which will not harm their interests."

This active and open collaboration of the Reagan-Thatcher administrations has undoubtedly encouraged the terrorist use of their muscle, and is turning Southern Africa into one of the most critical flashpoints in international politics.

In the last few years, there has been a steady escalation in the regime's use of economic sabotage and terrorism, commando raids and large scale military invasions, the strategic objectives being to:

- * maintain dominance of the region and prevent any socio-economic changes;
- * maintain racist South Africa as a base

for imperialist global strategy, and specifically for subversion, exploitation and destabilisation of the African continent;

- * limit support given to the ANC and SWAPO.
- * physically eliminate the ANC and SWAPO;

South African aggression affects virtually the whole of Southern Africa, and even farther afield, as the attempted coup in the Seychelles and the bombing of the ANC office in London showed. A brief look will give some indication of the nature and extent of this, and the serious challenge confronting not only the peoples of

Southern Africa but the entire international community.

Economic pressure

The colonial legacy has resulted in the fact that the economies of almost all countries in the region are interlinked with that of South Africa. South Africa's dominant position in this relationship has been used extensively to put pressure on these states.

In 1981 at a very crucial moment, racist South Africa unilaterally terminated a preferential trade agreement (dating back to 1964) with Zimbabwe. It simultaneously recalled about 80 railway trucks and diesel engines on long term loan to Zimbabwe Railways (this had a disastrous effect on the transport of the maize harvest).

Recently the racists warned Lesotho that unless she toed the line the job opportunities for Lesotho citizens in South Africa would be jeopardized (it is estimated that at present 40% of Lesotho's GNP comes from wages earned by Lesotho citizens working in South Africa).

However, the most dangerous disruption has been through the systematic destruction of the socio-economic structures. Roads, railways, bridges, electric and water supplies, oil refineries and depots, factories, dams and agricultural projects have been attacked and destroyed. To cite but a few examples:

The road, rail and oil pipeline connection between Zambia and Mozambique is continuously attacked. In October 1981 traffic between the the two countries was halted when the road and rail bridges over the Pungwe River were sabotaged.

In November 1981 the port of Beira was closed when 10 out of the 12 navigational buoys were sabotaged.

In January 1983 a major dam in Angola was sabotaged, causing extensive flooding and damage to a vital agricultural area.

The long term effects on the consolidation of independence and the process of development cannot be overestimated. The Angolan President said in his 1983 message: "South Africa's undeclared war against

Angola had once again obliged us to divert a great part of our manpower, material and financial resources to strengthening our defence capability, thereby jeopardising a number of projected development targets." Conservative estimates show that since 1975 the losses Angola suffered because of South African aggression amounted to a staggering sum of 10 billion dollars.

Other consequences, in terms of human suffering, ill health, loss of schooling, malnutrition, unemployment, displacement of millions, cannot be calculated fully.

Military aggression

Since the mid 60's the apartheid regime has adopted a highly aggressive and interventionist policy towards its neighbours.

Between 1967 and 1975 it was estimated that over 4000 South African troops supported by armoured cars, helicopters and planes were actively involved in Zimbabwe. There were over 1000 South African troops involved with the Portuguese in Mozambique and in 1969 under a Portuguese-South African agreement a joint command system was established in Angola to direct South African air reconnaissance and troop transport activities against Namibia and MPLA guerrillas.

However a new dimension was added in 1975 when over 6000 South African troops and foreign mercenaries invaded Angola in a last desperate attempt to prevent MPLA from coming to power and to instal UNITA in power. The CIA played a major role in initiating and underwriting this campaign. USA direct and open intervention was not possible at this stage because of the post-Vietnam mood of the American people and the disarray and confusion within the military industrial complex, arising from the Watergate affair. The dirty work had therefore to be spearheaded by South Africa with the assistance of mercenaries and UNITA and FNLA bandits.

This invasion of Angola by 3 South African armoured columns, code named



10 Eland armoured-cars on the road to the operational area (mid 1982)

“Zulu”, “Foxbat” and “Orange,” swept northwards capturing town after town. Within a short time they occupied the whole of the centre of Angola, the northernmost line of occupation stretching from Lobito to the capital of the Moxico Province in the east.

The invading forces reached within a few miles of Luanda. In response to the Angolans’ urgent appeal for assistance, Cuba and the Soviet Union reacted with unparalleled internationalist manpower and logistical support; further assistance came from other socialist countries and some third world countries.

Eight months after the invasion started, South Africa and its surrogates were forced out of Angola. Since then the South Africans have conducted a constant and systematic campaign of bombing raids, violations of Angolan air space, border provocations, infantry attacks, artillery shelling and minelaying.

It is estimated that from 1976 to 1979 the South Africans were responsible for:

- 193 mine laying operations
- 7 artillery bombardments
- 25 ground attacks
- 21 ground infiltrations

The scope and intensity of this “scorched earth” policy has increased yearly. From 1976 to 1979 there were 291 military attacks against Angola; during 1980 there were 1 100 acts of aggression; in the first 6 months of 1981 there were over 650 acts of aggression including:

- 472 reconnaissance flights
- 22 air attacks
- 111 helicopter-borne landings
- 4 paratroop landings
- 2 artillery bombardments
- 15 ground reconnaissance incursions
- 5 ground attacks
- 30 bombing raids

Worse was to come. In August 1981, following a massive troops build-up of over 45 000 on the Namibian border, the racists launched “Operation Protea”. This involved 11 000 troops, 36 centurion tanks, 70 armoured cars, 200 troop transporters, heavy artillery and long range missiles, supported by 90 aircraft and helicopters.

Today the invaders are still occupying an estimated 50 000 sq. kilometres of Angolan territory. This sad and tragic story is repeated in all other neighbouring countries. For example in November 1982, Mozambique alerted the United Nations

to the fact that the racists were massing thousands of troops on the border and that a full scale military invasion was imminent. There is little doubt that this timely warning and international action temporarily, at least,, halted the planned invasion. It has also been reliably reported that the racists had established a "Matabele brigade" commanded by Col. Breytenbach to carry out attacks against Zimbabwe. Training camps have been set up at Phalaborwa, Spacer Camp, Madibo Camp and the Ntabi camp. In April 1980 the Western Province of Zambia was invaded by 2 battalions of South African troops. They mined roads, attacked villages and burned crops. The area had to be declared a "disaster area." Such violations of Zambian territory take place continuously and Lesotho is increasingly experiencing such aggression.

Elimination of ANC and SWAPO

South Africa's aggression is intensifying at a time when the resistance of the people of South Africa and Namibia has reached unprecedented heights and the regime is facing mounting economic and political crises.

Today the legal, semi-legal and illegal activity of the oppressed masses is shaking the citadels of power as never before.

The black working class, the leading force of our revolution, continues to grow in strength, maturity and consciousness. Waves of militant strike actions affect almost all sections of major industries.

The youth and students, women's organisations, the churches, professional organisations, the masses in the rural areas and Bantustans are confronting the regime at every level.

Under the banner of "Unity in Action" the mighty forces of liberation and social emancipation continue to grow in strength.

The actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe have played a very significant role in this. Over the last two years units of Umkhonto we Sizwe have carried out sabotage actions throughout the country. The brilliant

attack on the Koeberg nuclear plant, one of South Africa's most carefully guarded installations, has sown panic in the ranks of the enemy.

The enemy believes that the "next five years is going to be decisive," (Gen. Magnus Malan) and has launched a massive offensive to stem the revolutionary tide. One aspect of this is to create an image of moderation internally, while in actual fact intensifying repression and control. Another aspect is the physical destruction of the ANC and SWAPO both internally and externally.

Warlord Malan recently reiterated warnings that "We are determined to wipe out the terrorists even if we have to cross our borders to do it." Specially created assassination squads and regular forces of the South African Defence Force have carried out this policy with a lunatic frenzy. Joe Gqabi, Ruth First, Petrus and Jabu Nyaose represent a growing list of victims of racist acts of terror.

South African troops blatantly invade neighbouring countries to carry out their murderous work. For example in 1978 South African troops attacked a SWAPO camp at Kassinga ruthlessly slaughtering about 1 000 unarmed Namibian refugees. Eye witnesses were shocked by the "spirit of extermination and destruction" of the South African troops.

In January 1981 South African troops invaded Mozambique and attacked ANC residences murdering 12 unarmed people and kidnapping two.

In December 1982 over 100 South African troops invaded and occupied Maseru the capital of Lesotho. In an orgy of indiscriminate and ruthless violence they murdered 42 South African and Lesotho citizens.

This sharp escalation in the actions of the regime and its murder squads gives warning that the regime, threatened by internal resistance and haunted by the spectre of socialism in neighbouring countries, is committed to unleashing a



P.W. Botha with J.C. Heunis shown deep inside Angola at the end of 1975, together with the UNITA guard of Jonas Savimbi. 'Die Burger' 5.2.77, from which this picture is taken, said it was a "great opportunity for Dr Savimbi's guards to meet these two South African leaders." Also in the picture is Jannie de Wet, then Commissioner General for Namibia.

reign of terror across its borders in a vain attempt to roll back the tide of history

Features of apartheid terrorism

Some features of racist aggression have been:

Growing brutalisation and almost total breaches of international conventions. These include terror attacks against civilians, indiscriminate bombings, assassinations, the use of poison gas etc.

Increasing use of surrogate forces. These include UNITA in Angola, MNR in Mozambique and the LLA in Lesotho. Documents captured after the Portuguese revolution, as well as accounts by CIA defectors like Stockwell, confirm reports that Savimbi worked for PIDE and the CIA. Since 1975 he has been actively

working with the apartheid regime. The MNR is nothing but an extension of the SADF. When Mozambican troops captured an MNR base at Garngua (Dec. 1981) they found large quantities of South African arms and equipment, signs of SADF instructors, and documentation which showed that all actions carried out by the MNR were determined and controlled by the SADF. The LLA has bases in South Africa and receives financial and logistical support from the SADF.

Increasing use of mercenaries. These are recruited from the USA, Britain, West Germany, Latin American countries (those with close links with the USA), Israel and other western countries. In many cases western governments have given tacit approval to such recruiting. They have

not only failed to take effective action against it but, on the contrary, have facilitated the work of these "whores of war." Are certain major western countries consciously using mercenaries and bandit organisations to achieve objectives in situations where it is not politically possible to use their own armed forces?

Need for Urgent Action

South Africa has given notice of its aims and objectives in Southern Africa and also the extent to which it will go to achieve these. The war psychosis being developed in South Africa and the constant warnings that it will take further military actions if it considers its security to be threatened, are ominous. A senior spokesman of the regime recently stated that "the acceptance of Soviet military aid by those states is destabilising the region because it provides a military umbrella for subversive elements. It is the government's duty to protect South African interests ... We will not hesitate to take action against Russian missiles and radar bases on our neighbours' territory ... It does not matter if the communist military forces are there legitimately as allies of these states."

Such arrogant display of big power chauvinism; such total disregard of all conventions of international law and morality; such blatant distortion of facts which turns victim into aggressor; such contempt and disregard for international opinion; such callous disregard of human suffering has few parallels in modern history.

Can the world allow the apartheid regime to unleash another holocaust? The military industrial complexes using the smokescreen of the "red bogey" helped Hitler rise to power. This generation cannot and must not allow history to repeat itself.

A massive international campaign must be launched to stop the apartheid regime's terroristic aggression against neighbouring states. Mass militant pressure by the peoples must compel the US, British and French Governments to stop abusing their powers of veto in the Security Council of the United Nations. Effective and total sanctions must be imposed against South Africa.

All-round political, material and diplomatic support must be given to SWAPO and the ANC.

