

# MILITARISATION

**DOSSIER**

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HUMAN AWARENESS PROGRAMME



SACC



SACBC



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# INTRODUCTION

This set of factsheets, documents, list of resource organisations and workshop material is intended to contribute towards a greater awareness and understanding of the increasingly warlike mode of everyday life in South Africa.

## MILITARISATION

Militarisation has been defined as:

"attempts to impose military solutions to civil problems, so excluding such civil solutions as negotiation" - Association for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA)

This approach eventually leads to a kill-or-be-killed perception of conflict. In such a situation there is, increasingly, a polarisation of positions with the gap between ever widening and less bridgeable.

We believe that this is what is happening in South Africa. Attempts by the South African Government to impose military solutions to civil problems have permeated every aspect of our lives: economic, political, social. "The enemy" and "total onslaught" are a constant presence in the lives of white South Africans. On the opposite side of the gap, in the face of a rising death toll, incidents such as the March 21 1985 shooting of 21 people by the police in Lange, Uitenhage, and the continued presence of SADF troops in the townships, black South Africans also talk of "the enemy". Civil war is no longer something that only happens in Northern Ireland or Lebanon.

Some of the effects of this are:

- war and violence are glamorised;
- a perception of being under siege, at war, makes the unacceptable acceptable;
- patriotism and nationalism replace reason and reality; and
- the possibility of political rather than military solutions is forgotten.

The process of militarisation is usually gradual and unnoticed. While it may be referred to in rhetoric, it is seldom dealt with specifically. We hope that this dossier will provide those organisations and groups working to counter the effects of militarisation, with easily accessible information to back their arguments.



## PROCESS

The Human Awareness Programme undertook the preparation of this dossier at the request of the Justice and Reconciliation Commission of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference and the Johannesburg regions of the End Conscription Campaign and the Conscientious Objectors Support Group.

Representatives from these organisations helped enormously in the collection of material over a six month period and were largely responsible for the initial selection of the most useful material from the vast range that was available.

Before the material was put together in its present form, we met with representatives of these organisations to discuss the proposed structure and contents. Once the initial draft was complete it was submitted to members of these groups for comment and criticism. Where possible these comments and criticisms were taken into account before the dossier was finalised.

The dossier is published under the joint auspices of the Human Awareness Programme, the South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishops Conference.

## CONTENTS

Inevitably there is, at times, an overlap of topics and other topics, items and facts are omitted that users may think should have been included. We were limited by the availability of material that was both referenced and not banned.

We have included many direct quotes as the actual words used by people can often be surprising, revealing and moving. For the reader they have an immediacy that cannot be matched by long explanations. We do not always give the actual name of the speaker because we believe that, in the context, who they are is less important than what they are and those whom they represent.

It is not our intention to provide in-depth analysis. That is something better done in academic journals. We hope the material, as presented, will enable people to draw their own conclusions.

June 1986



# PART A:

## THE MILITARY MACHINE

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# GROWTH OF THE SADF

## GROWTH OF SADF - RESPONSE TO RESISTANCE

<u>Threat to SA Gov</u>	<u>Growth of SADF</u>
1960 Sharpeville - state of emergency; banning of ANC and PAC; over 20 000 arrested.	
1961 Launching of armed struggle by liberation movements	Conscription introduced on ballot basis; 7 000 men for 9 months service
1964	Number of conscripts increased to 16 500; Defence Budget increased from R 44 m in 1960/1 to R 210 m in 1964/5
1966 Armed struggle launched by SWAPO	
1967	Universal military conscription for all white males of 17 for 9 months service
1971 20 000 Namibian contract workers on strike; SWAPO activity intensifies	
1972	National service extended to 12 months, plus 19 day camps for 5 years; first serious recruitment of blacks into SADF; Defence Budget approx R 300 m
1974	By 1974, SADF had taken over from SAP in Northern Namibia
1975 Independence of Mozambique and Angola; defeat of SADF in Angola	
1976 Soweto uprising; uprisings countrywide; increased guerilla activity	3 month operational duty camps introduced
1977	Conscription extended to 2 years plus 30 day camps for further 8 years
1979 ANC begins to attack police and military targets	By 1979, SADF annual intake equalled 30 000 and the budget was R 1 940 m
1980 Widespread uprisings herald the emergence of a broad-based and non-racial movement of resistance	Development of bantustan armies and introduction of Civic Action Programme
1982 Intensification of war in SA and Namibia; continued growth of internal resistance movement	Conscription extended to 2 years service plus 720 days camp over 12 years, plus 12 days per year up to age 55 ("Dad's Army")
1983 Formation of UDF	
1984 Growth of UDF; Vaal Uprising	The official Defence Budget for 1984/5 was R 3 755 m, up 21% on the figure for the previous year; conscription extended to immigrants



AFRAPIX

QUOTE - Minister of Defence,  
General Magnus Malan

"We build our own battle vehicles and we are busy developing our own armoured cars. Our guns are comparable with the best in the world. We maintain our aircraft and we build our ships.

"We also have the technical and scientific know-how to develop even bigger and better weapons. Should the onslaught against us escalate we can if necessary harness all our forces to meet it."

(Argus 18.6.85)



SOUTH AFRICAN QUERRILLAS IN TRAINING



## IMMIGRANTS

During 1984, following the promulgation of the South African Citizenship Amendment Act of 1984, thousands of immigrants aged between 15 1/2 and 25, became automatic citizens of South Africa. All the men in this category then had to register for military training within 30 days. Those men who rejected South African citizenship had to apply to the Department of Home Affairs for temporary work and residence permits.

- \* By April 1985, more than 600 people had refused South African citizenship to avoid military training. Thirty people had been deported for refusing citizenship. (Star 10.4.85)
- \* About 1 200 immigrants' sons were inducted into the SADF in July 1985, the first large-scale call-up after the passing of the 1984 Act. (Star 9.7.85)

SADF spokesperson: "We welcome these people into the SADF and are pleased to have them." (Star 3.7.85)

Immigrant recruit: "The army is a challenge to me which I am going to make the best of and use my opportunities. I am very positive about it." (Armed Forces September 1985)

## BANTUSTAN ARMIES

"The SADF has approached this task (of assisting in designing and setting up national security systems for the new states) by setting up a regional battalion for each group moving towards independence. This battalion is gradually fitted out with trained personnel and finally handed over to the newly independent state. SADF personnel are then seconded to the new force until local officers and NCOs have accumulated the necessary knowledge and experience. Training and organisation are generally on the basis of SA Army practice with allowances made to conform to local conditions, culture and military history."

(South African War Machine - SAWM 1985)

- \* Transkei Defence Force founded in 1975.
- \* Bophuthatswana Defence Force founded in 1976.
- \* Venda Defence Force founded in 1978.
- \* Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) founded in 1981.

In 1983, President Mphahlele of Venda offered the services of the Venda Defence Force to SA for operational duty to fight "communist inspired terrorism". (Race Relations Survey 1983)

## Immigrant doesn't feel at home in army

I am at present in the Defence Force doing my two years as a national serviceman. I am an immigrant from Europe "caught" at the age of 22.

This is due to the fact that at 16 I was told that I would not be needed. That is, until last year.

But that is not what I writing to complain about. My real problem is that we are being deployed in Uitenhage to quell the unrest if necessary. Now as I am a person with views which are frowned upon by the army, I am having a torrid time.

I am being forced to uphold the peace for an apartheid regime which oppresses the millions for its own materialistic gains. We get fed

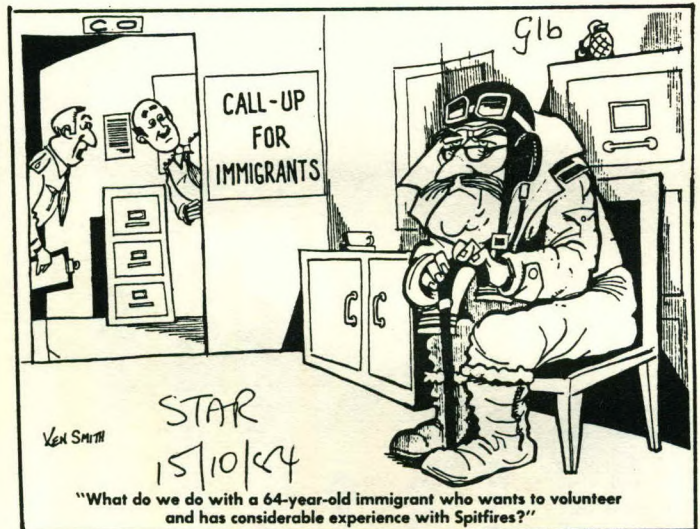
propaganda day and night to try to justify our presence in the townships.

I would like to warn other broadminded people who may have to go to the army of what lies ahead and the decisions they will have to face. My advice to all immigrants is to leave the country.

Being an immigrant in the South African Army is the most unpleasant experience one can imagine - an immigrant is forever being ridiculed and made the brunt of crude jokes.

Reluctant Soldier

Kempton Park





# BLACKS IN THE SADF

"It is now the privilege of all of us to have a share in the defence of our beloved country."

"National security concerns all the inhabitants of this country." - Defence Minister Magnus Malan (Argus 1.7.83)

Blacks are not conscripted into the SADF. Figures of those who applied to join the permanent force and citizen force in 1983 were:

	Applied	Accepted
Indians:	608	153
Coloureds:	3 891	2 055
Africans:	Incomplete data	745

(From Race Relations Survey 1984)

"The degree to which subject races can be encouraged to identify with the activities of the Defence Force may be more vital to hopes of gaining greater legitimacy for the state than political co-option and constitutional change." - Wits Academic (RDM 16.1.85)

## Why include blacks in SADF?

- \* Increased personnel
- \* The need to deracialise the conflict

## Why do blacks join the SADF?

- \* Unemployment
- \* "Hearts and Minds" programme

"It is the policy that all population groups be involved in defending the RSA. This means the representation of all population groups in the SADF, in other words, a Defence Force of the people for the people." - Defence Minister Magnus Malan (WIP No 28 1983)

Units that have become well-known include:

- \* The 21 Battalion (a non-ethnic, elite African battalion)
- \* The Cape Corps (recruited from the Coloured Community)
- \* SAS Jalsena (a separate Indian unit of the SADF)

"Fighting for one's country does not imply fighting for a particular ideology." - speaker at a Cape Corps Memorial Service (Citizen 30.9.84)

## SADF unit will aid unemployed

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — A decision has been taken in principle to establish a SADF unit for underqualified coloured men.

The aim is to provide military and technical training for young men unable to find work because of the economic situation.

Announcing this in the House of Representatives yesterday, the chairman of the coloured Ministers' Council, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said the decision had been taken in consultation with the Minister of Defence.

Mr Hendrickse said thousands of men applied each year to join the Cape Corps, but many were turned away because of low school qualifications.

The proposed unit would consist mainly of two wings:

- A military wing to provide military training, sport, physical education and other related training.
- An educational wing to provide training in a variety of trades including welding, masonry and agriculture.

COAT OF ARMS OF S.A. ARMY'S WOMEN'S COLLEGE



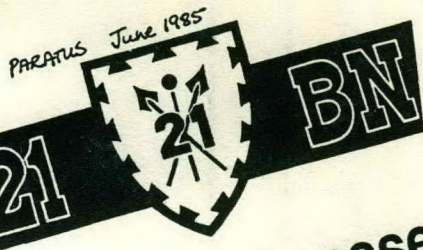
## WOMEN

(see also factsheet B6)

- \* The South African Army College for Women was opened at George in 1971 (it was initially called the Civil Defence College).
- \* By 1980 more than 60% of women in uniform had been commissioned.
- \* In 1981 12.5% of the full-time permanent army were women.

Whites alone can't defend SA — Malan

Militêre Diens: PARATUS June 1985  
BRUIN GEMEENSKAP  
BRING HUL KANT



A valuable asset to the SADF



## WAR GAMES

- \* In 1980 the SA Army battle school at Lohatlha in the north western Cape was said to be "the only such institution in the southern hemisphere." Located in 110 000 ha of desolate veld, densely populated with stunted bush, the school provides the backdrop for large scale war games.

(Citizen 31.7.80)

- \* In August 1984, over 11 000 troops were involved in the largest South African military exercise since World War II. Operation Thunder Chariot took place near Lohatlha and was a massive show of strength on the part of the SADF. It also involved almost 70 fighter aircraft, 4 210 armoured machines and a cost of more than R 1,3 million in fuel alone.

(Sunday Express 9.9.84)

Minister of Defence Magnus Malan said that South Africa's conventional warfare forces were "the best in Africa" and that Operation Thunder Chariot showed "we could go right through to Cairo". He said that the Operation had not been intended as a show of force but that it would make South Africa's enemies "think twice".

(Race Relations Survey 1984)





# STRUCTURE OF THE SADF

## CONSCRIPTS/PROFESSIONAL : COMPOSITION

% of Full-time Force

Permanent Force	25,52
National Servicemen	42,06
Voluntary National Servicemen	2,24
Civilians (Commandos and Citizen Force)	27,09
Auxiliary Service	3,09



(From 1984 White Paper on Defence and Armaments Supply)

## TOTAL NUMBERS IN SADF

According to the Race Relations Survey of 1984, Defence Minister Magnus Malan

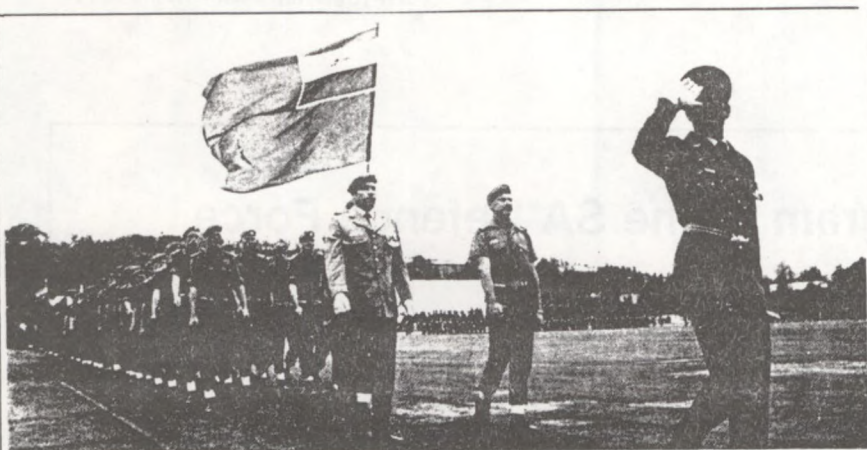
"refused to give figures concerning the numerical establishment of the SADF".

According to an article in Armed Forces of May 1985, in a wartime situation, the SADF (including the Army, the Airforce and the Navy) would, theoretically, have 400 000 mobilisable people. Of these, only about 20% (or 80 000 people) are in service during peace time.

### NOTE:

Estimates are that the African National Congress (ANC) has 8 000 to 10 000 trained guerillas in its Umkhonto weSizwe (MK = Spear of the Nation). An estimated four out of every five militants who leave the country because of harassment and on-going political unrest join the ANC. The ANC has declared 1986 "the year of The People's Army, Umkhonto weSizwe" and the slogan of the year is: "Every patriot a combatant, every combatant a patriot".

(City Press 12.1.86)



Year of the soldier: South African troops march under the SADF flag at a Voortrekkerhoogte passing-out parade. Below: Mourners dressed in the uniform of the ANC Youth League and carrying dummy rifles march under the ANC flag at a Queenstown funeral

Pictures: PAUL WEINBERG (Afrapix) and GIDEON MENDEL (AFP)



# THE LEADERS

- Chief of the SA Defence Force : General J J Geldenhuys
- Chief of Defence Staff : Lieutenant-General I R Gleeson
- Chief of the SA Army : Lieutenant-General A J Liebenberg
- Chief of the Air Force : Lieutenant-General D J Earp
- Chief of the SA Navy : Vice-Admiral G Syndercombe
- Surgeon-General : Lieutenant-General N Nieuwoudt
- Chaplain-General : Major-General C P Naude

# SOME SPECIAL FORCES

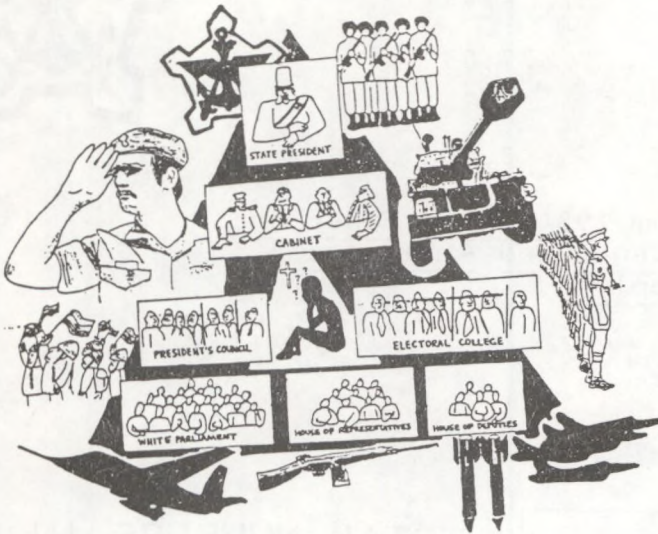
**1 Reconnaissance Command - The "Recces"**  
 A small specialist unit that gathers intelligence on activity in enemy rear areas. They also execute special operations in the enemy rear.

**44 Parachute Brigade - The Parabats**  
 Considered one of the toughest and most efficient elements of the SA Army. They are a fighting force (as opposed to the Recces' whose main function is intelligence gathering).

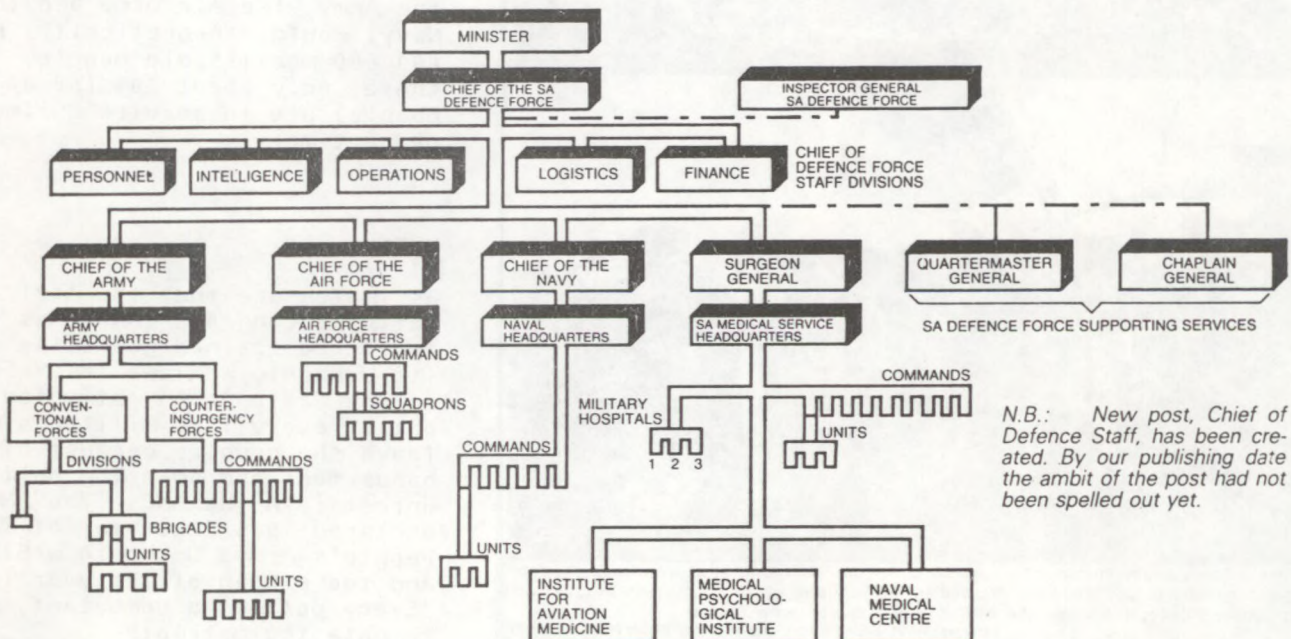
**32 Battalion - The new "Buffalo Soldiers"**  
 These men, who are largely black, operate well inside hostile territory with very little back-up support. They operate almost continuously in Southern Angola. They operate on foot, in relatively small groups and without heavy weapons. They have been accused of spending much of their time and energy on terrorising the civilian population of Southern Angola.

**South-West African Specialist Unit**  
 This is a counter-insurgency unit that combines highly trained infantry and expert trackers with the mobility granted by horses and motorcycles and the special abilities of well-trained dogs and their handlers.

(All information from South African War Machine 1985)



## Organigram of the SA Defence Force



*N.B.: New post, Chief of Defence Staff, has been created. By our publishing date the ambit of the post had not been spelled out yet.*

From: NATIONAL SERVICE '86 Pub. by ALLIED Bldg Society



# TRAINING IN THE SADF

## QUOTE - SADF

"We do our training on the basis of 'train hard, fight easy'. The harder our training, the easier we find the battlefield. Our soldiers' morale is of a very high standard because we want to fight and we will win this war."  
(Star 17.8.83)

## QUOTE - DEPUTY DEFENCE MINISTER ADRIAAN VLOK TO NEW CONSCRIPTS

"You are now standing on the side against enemies who want to bring tears and violence to our part of the world. But the price of peace is always a high one and only those of us prepared to pay that price will in the end have peace."  
(Citizen 5.7.85)

## BASIC TRAINING

"During basic training the Defence Force endeavours to turn the serviceman into a good soldier - someone who has the discipline to act quickly and effectively with his comrades. Many of the methods which are used to achieve this objective may appear strange and illogical to you, and some may well be so, but it will be worth your while in the long run to do your share and not try to shirk your duty."

(National Service '86  
ATTied Bldg Society)

The emphasis is on producing tough soldiers to combat "total onslaught".

Included in the six to eight months basic training are

- military drill
- handling weapons
- getting physically fit
- looking after your kit

Tips from "Guide to National Service":

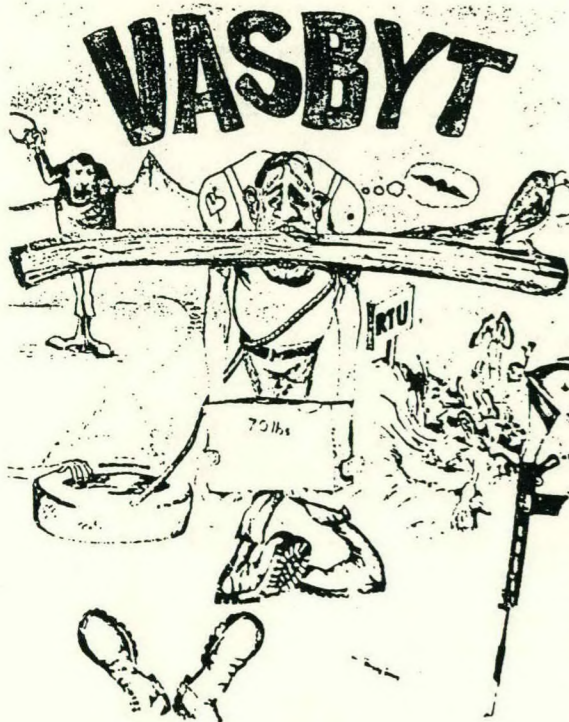
- have your hair cut before you come to camp
- toughen your hands and feet beforehand
- get fit before the Army starts doing it



from AFRAPix



# BEING A NATIONAL SERVICEMAN (NSM) - "DIENSPLIG: GEREED VIR DIE GROOT AVONTUUR" (Paratus)



FROM: SOUTH AFRICAN WAR MACHINE 1985

## Pass laws are cruel

Having been born a white South African male I automatically qualified for the privilege of doing national service.

This same privilege qualified me to be an object of abuse. All rights to individualism are withdrawn. Freedom of religion, freedom of choice and freedom of movement are almost non-existent.

Doing national service has given me an understanding of what it is like to be a black person in South Africa.

I was once stopped in a city by two military policemen. I never had a valid pass, so I was sworn at, ridiculed and arrested. These "law-enforcers" took me to their headquarters, where I was charged and reprimanded.

I was only slightly luckier than a black without a pass in that I did not have to spend the night in prison and then appear in court.

I realise now just how cruel our pass laws are.

B Hammond  
Benoni STAR 16.8.85

Above: A recruit's impression of life as a trainee with 1 Para (drawn on a hangar wall) showing the standard features of the training programme.

### THE RHETORIC:

"The onslaught against the Republic of South Africa is a continuing onslaught which the enemies of South Africa are waging with every means at their disposal. These are applied in every conceivable field, against all possible targets, military as well as civilian, wherever and whenever the enemy believes he can score a mark.

"In your formative years this onslaught was also aimed at you. Knowingly or unknowingly, you were subjected to a systematic, subtle process which has possibly given you a distorted view of certain principles and institutions - including the Defence Force. Soon, however, you will gain first-hand knowledge about the SA Defence Force and the role which you as an individual must play in the defence of your heritage.

"For every national serviceman a new facet of life lies ahead, a time of expectation and sometimes even doubt. But rest assured of this - you stand at the threshold of service of the highest order to yourself, your nation and your fatherland." (General J J Geldenhuys, Chief of the SADF)

### THE REALITY:

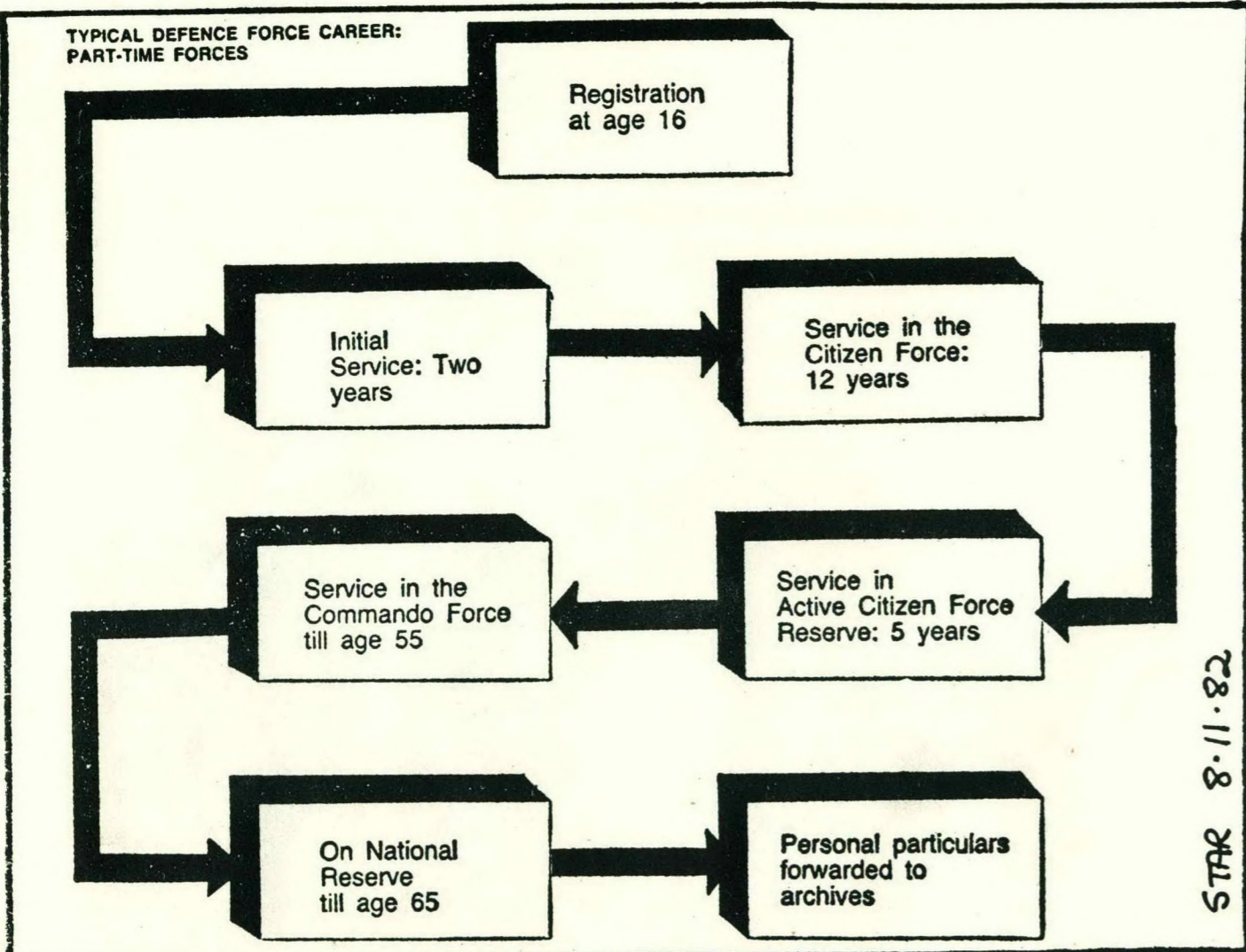
- \* There were 25 SADF suicides during 1984, 37 during 1985 and 2 by early March of 1986. The number of attempted suicides was far higher. (ECC pamphlet, Citizen 7.3.86)
- \* A mother's story: "On March 23, about six weeks after my son had been called up to a regiment at Springs, he was approached by five servicemen.  
 "He had taken what the army calls a 'misfit' under his wing, a boy called Grundling who never had any money.  
 "Grundling was accused by the five servicemen of smelling dirty, although my son had been buying soap and toothpaste for him."  
 She said her son and Grundling had been taken to the ablution block and stripped naked.  
 "A cattle dip called Keral was poured over their bodies and they were scrubbed with hard-bristled brooms. Afterwards Garth said that it felt as if his body was on fire.  
 "He saw an army doctor and asked for some cream for the burns.  
 "The doctor insisted on examining Garth and when he saw how seriously he had been burned he immediately booked him into hospital and ordered him to tell him what had happened.  
 "It was the army doctor, not Garth, who reported the matter to the commanding officer and laid charges against the five national servicemen."

One of the five culprits was later fined R 50; the court martial president, an army captain, called him an "honest witness".  
(Sunday Times 15.9.85)

- \* A nineteen year old national serviceman was shot dead on guard duty by an epileptic whose medical classification made it illegal for him to carry firearms or stand guard. Because his unit was short-staffed, he had been ordered to stand guard. The Lance-Corporal in charge at the time of the incident admitted that handling of firearms in the unit was "very, very bad".

"Some of the guys used to carry rifles across their shoulders like logs. There were bullet holes in the floor of the guard room from people fooling around with firearms." (Sunday Star 15.9.85)

"One of the first things you will learn is that every order must be obeyed. Unconditionally! You may not see any sense in it. It will not be prefaced by 'please' nor followed by 'thank you', but you will DO IT, and do it at once..... Immediate unquestioning obedience to orders may one day save your life." (from: Guide to National Service)





## ADVERTISEMENT

### A CAREER IN THE DEFENCE FORCE

(This advertisement appeared in The Star Careers Supplement 25.9.85)

The task of the Permanent Force is to organise and administer the SADF, to plan for war and peace and to lead and train the Citizen Force and Commandos.

The SADF pays particular attention to the training of officers and other ranks. Apart from the military and other specialised and post-graduate courses, young men and women are trained in a variety of fields.

In order to train matriculants for a future career as officers in the Permanent Force, the SADF has an outstanding in-service training system, which may include academic training, on full salary.

The training course candidates must be bilingual citizens of South Africa or Namibia, be medically fit and unmarried, not younger than 18 and not older than 23 at the commencement of the course.

Those interested in the academic courses must have a university entrance certificate and, except in the case of BA courses, must also have passed mathematics as a matric subject. Academic training will follow after two years of officer training.

A Std 10 certificate without university exemption is sufficient in the case of those who are accepted for direct officer training.

In the training of doctors, dentists and nurses a certain number of selected students are accepted for employment as candidate officers in order to undergo training as dental

and medical officers. There are also training facilities for nurses in various fields.

Candidates interested in engineering may be accepted as candidate officers to study for a degree while they receive full salary. Training in engineering is preceded by at least one year's officer training.

In the Air Force, selection for flying and navigation training takes place twice a year - in January and July.

Apart from the normal requirements, candidates for flying training must possess a matriculation certificate or equivalent with Afrikaans, English and mathematics as subjects. They must also enter into an agreement with the State, undertaking to serve in the SAAF for a period of at least 10 years after successful completion of their training.

Various military and technical courses for other ranks are offered within the SADF and through technical colleges. Apart from the fact that every other rank can improve his or her qualifications by means of these courses, it can also count towards promotion. A large number of apprentices is accepted annually to serve apprenticeships of about three years in one of some 66 trades. Technical college training is offered concurrently with apprenticeships and apprentices can qualify as tradesmen at the end of their third year.

These are only a few of the career opportunities offered by the SADF. For further information write to:  
Chief of Staff Personnel  
Private Bag X626  
Pretoria  
0001





# POLITICAL ROLE OF SADF

## BACKGROUND

- \* 1966-78: P W Botha was Minister of Defence. He modernised the defence force, rationalised the system of command and control, and won an increasing share of resources to provide a conventional and a counter-insurgency capability.
- \* 1978: P W Botha became Prime Minister. He instituted changes that greatly enhanced the position of the State Security Council (SSC), established in 1972 and now seen as the apex of the security establishment. At its regular meetings it acts as a gatekeeper through which all important Government business must pass before submission to the Cabinet.
- \* 1980: General Magnus Malan became Minister of Defence. He has a B Sc Mil and joined the army in 1950 and was previously Chief of the Defence Force under P W Botha as Minister of Defence.

**QUOTE** General Constand Viljoen, then Chief of the SADF

"We do not stand divorced from the political and diplomatic efforts and we admit that the final solution of this kind of ideological problem is not the military one. The military has the very important job of preventing defeat but also of maintaining enough peace and stability so that the normal political process can go ahead."

(Argus 18.4.85)

**QUOTE** Politics Professor

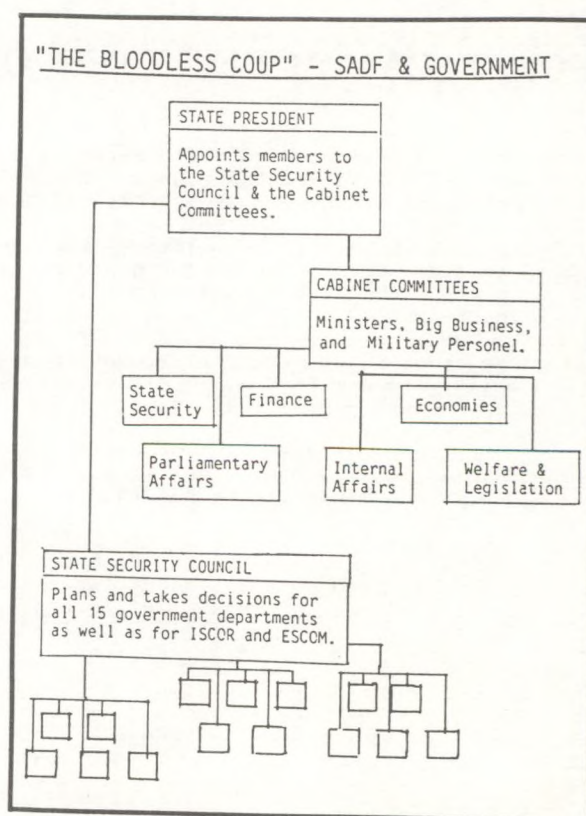
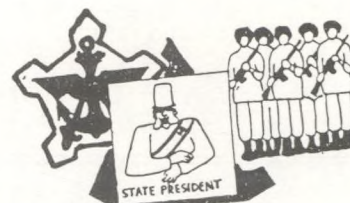
"The South African state of emergency and the army's heightened visibility during the recent disturbances have provoked renewed questioning about the military's true position.

"Is South Africa becoming a garrison state with soldiers involved in decision-making?"

(Sunday Tribune 1.9.85)

## THE STATE SECURITY COUNCIL (SSC)

- \* The SSC is made up of representatives of big business, politicians and the SADF. It was established in 1972 as a consultative body between the government and the chiefs of the security apparatuses.
- \* In 1979 its role was redefined as "to conduct" rather than "to advise upon" the "national planning process".
- \* The SSC is, technically, only one of five Cabinet Committees.
- \* It is, however, chaired by the State President and covers a wide range of interests as part of a "total national strategy" to combat the "total onslaught".
- \* It is the core of the six components of the "security establishment", the others being the SADF; the National Intelligence Service (NIS); the Security Police, and the Department of Military Intelligence (DMI); centres for strategic studies and private firms engaged in research and policy advice on security and strategy; the armaments and related industry; and the S A Police.
- \* SSC meetings, at which the State President presides, immediately precede Cabinet meetings.
- \* The SSC is seen in some quarters as an "inner Cabinet".





# PARTY POLITICS AND THE SADF

## THE PFP POSITION ON THE SADF AND CONSCRIPTION

"As a party we (the Progressive Federal Party) believe that military action is necessary to preserve stability, to create a shield behind which we can pursue the goal of peaceful constitutional change. As a political party operating in Parliament we accept the necessity for stability in order to bring about constitutional and evolutionary change. Such change has never taken place anywhere in the world under conditions of instability and chaos.

"Yet as an opposition party in Parliament, we have to be ever-watchful that military action does not simply become an extension of the goals of a particular political party or that the Defence Force is nothing but the National Party in uniform or that its actions are calculated to maintain the status quo which we reject, because then we either have to protest against this as vigorously and as hard as we possibly can or get out of parliament.

"These are hard and difficult facts which we have to come to terms with. I say 'hard and difficult' because when a young man comes to me as a politician and asks me 'Must I do military service?' my answer to him is 'yes, you have to do military service so that you can prevent those who wish to bring about violent change from being successful in order that we, behind the protective shield which you create through your military action, can bring about evolutionary and peaceful change in South Africa'." - Van Zyl Slabbert, then leader of the PFP.

(Deurbraak February 1983)

More recently, the PFP has called for a gradual phasing out of conscription, while the PFP national youth organisation has called for an immediate end to conscription.

## THE LABOUR PARTY POSITION ON TROOPS IN THE TOWNSHIPS

Labour Party Leader Allan Hendrickse was reported as saying, at a party congress: "Commies want troops out of the townships so they can do their own thing."

(City Press 22.9.85)

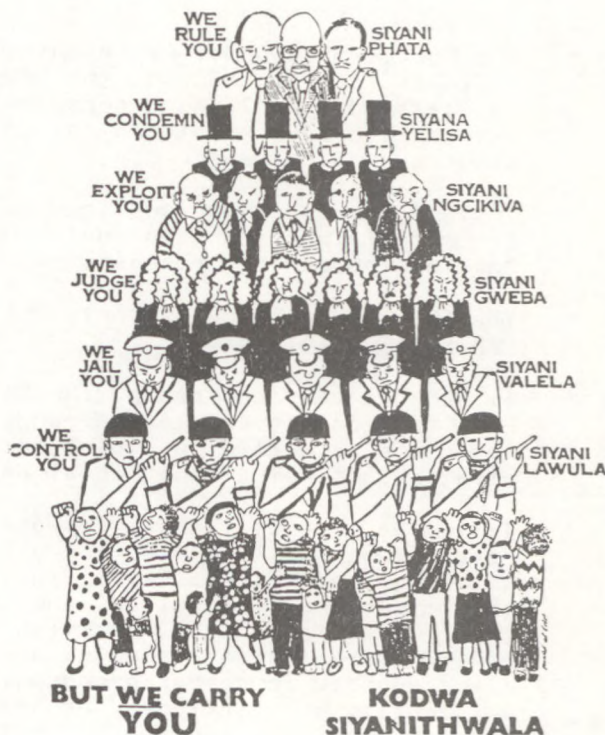
## THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY ON CONSCRIPTION

The Conservative Party has called for the extension of compulsory military service to coloureds and Indians, saying it is a "gross injustice" to young white men to be forced to do military service while coloured and Indian youths are given a choice. The CP has also said that only white South African soldiers should serve in the border operational areas, while coloured and Indian servicemen should be utilised in separate units in unrest areas.

(Citizen 22.7.85, Star 19.3.86)

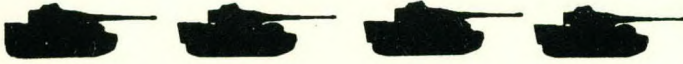
## POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF SADF

- \* Soldiers dominate the State Security Council and make up the secretariat of the council, producing wide-ranging economic and social, as well as military, briefings.
- \* The SADF provides the military clout that overshadows negotiations with neighbouring countries. This is seen as creating "a shield of stability" to deter "terrorist" incursion.
- \* The regular deployment of troops in black, and even white, areas within South Africa since September 1984, is an overtly political usage.
- \* SADF troops involved in the Civic Action Programme are seen as fulfilling the political role of "winning the hearts and minds of the people."
- \* The SADF was authorised by the Defence Act of 1957 to be employed (1) in the defence of South Africa (2) for the prevention and suppression of terrorism (3) for the prevention and suppression of internal disorder and (4) for the preservation of life, health or property or the maintenance of essential services. It interprets its brief broadly.





# MILITARY INDUSTRY



## ARMS EMBARGO

In 1963 the United Nations Security Council declared an advisory arms embargo on South Africa, in abhorrence of apartheid. In 1977 it became a mandatory embargo.

"The Coventry Four - the boycott-busting quartet at the centre of a diplomatic storm between South Africa and Britain - operated as undercover arms agents for five years before being caught."

(Sunday Times 28.10.84)

During 1985, a researcher told a UN hearing that the international arms embargo against South Africa was being evaded through a "brisk invisible military trade". (Citizen 19.9.86) South Africa uses "front" companies, foreign companies establishing local subsidiaries or selling licensing agreements, and secret agents to obtain the armaments supplies it needs.

The arms embargo has been seen in South Africa as part of the "total onslaught" and the beating of the embargo as a patriotic duty. The most significant effect has been the creation of Armscor.

**QUOTE** Government White Paper on Defence and Armaments Supply 1984

"There is a direct relationship between the preparedness of the South African Defence Force and that of the supporting armaments industry. For this reason it is necessary that the armaments capabilities that have been created should be maintained at a high level."



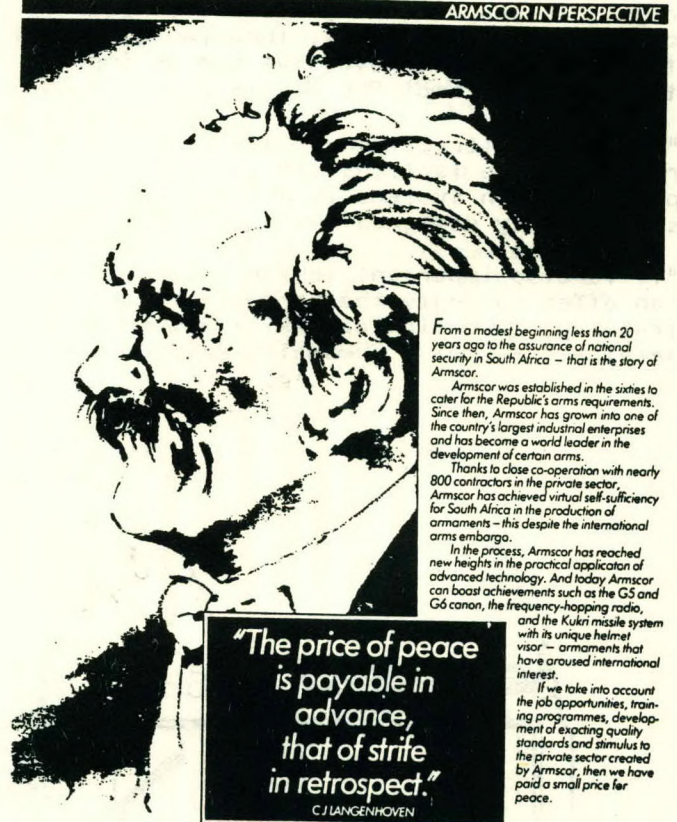
## ARMSCOR

The Armaments Development and Production Corporation (ARMSCOR) was launched in 1964. It falls directly under the authority of the Minister of Defence, and is linked to the Defence Planning Committee.

- \* By the early 1980's Armscor was the third largest financial undertaking in South Africa (after Anglo American and Barlow Rand).
- \* Between 1974 and 1984 its assets grew more than R 1 000 million and now through its own factories and contracts, it involves about 100 000 people and has assets of R 15 000 million or more.
- \* It is the largest arms manufacturer in the southern hemisphere, the 10th largest in the world.
- \* Because of Armscor, South Africa is now 95% self-sufficient in military hardware production.
- \* In 1982 South Africa began selling arms internationally and a concerted export drive was launched. The Corporation says weapons are sold only to "approved" countries.

(From SAWM 1985; In Whose Defence? 1984; Cape Times 31.12.84; Star 23.5.85; Citizen 4.9.85)

### ARMSCOR IN PERSPECTIVE



From a modest beginning less than 20 years ago to the assurance of national security in South Africa - that is the story of Armscor.

Armscor was established in the sixties to cater for the Republic's arms requirements. Since then, Armscor has grown into one of the country's largest industrial enterprises and has become a world leader in the development of certain arms.

Thanks to close co-operation with nearly 800 contractors in the private sector, Armscor has achieved virtual self-sufficiency for South Africa in the production of armaments - this despite the international arms embargo.

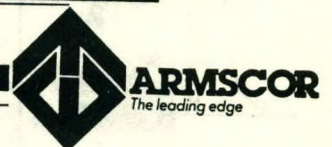
In the process, Armscor has reached new heights in the practical application of advanced technology. And today Armscor can boast achievements such as the GS and G6 canon, the frequency-hopping radio,

and the Kukri missile system with its unique helmet visor - armaments that have aroused international interest.

If we take into account the job opportunities, training programmes, development of exacting quality standards and stimulus to the private sector created by Armscor, then we have paid a small price for peace.

**"The price of peace is payable in advance, that of strife in retrospect."**

C.J. LANGENHOVEN



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## SOUTH AFRICA'S ARMS SHOP

"To keep the arms industry in South Africa going - which it is imperative for us to do - we cannot allow a situation where more and more of our expertise is lost.

"The only way to prevent this is to enter into the export market. In a bigger way than we have up to now.

"This is the challenge of the future." - Cmdt P G Marais, Armscor Chairman

(Citizen 18.9.85)

"Born of necessity. Tested under fire." - Armscor Advertisement

"Gain the proven advantage without fanfare. Think Armscor. You can't buy better, neither can we." - Armscor Advertisement

\* In 1982 Armscor entered the international market when its exhibit at an arms show in Greece attracted international attention.

\* Armscor said it was aiming at yearly sales of between R 100 million and R 150 million.

\* In 1984 Armscor exhibited at an international air show in Santiago, Chile, and a spokesperson for Armscor said that the response had exceeded expectations.

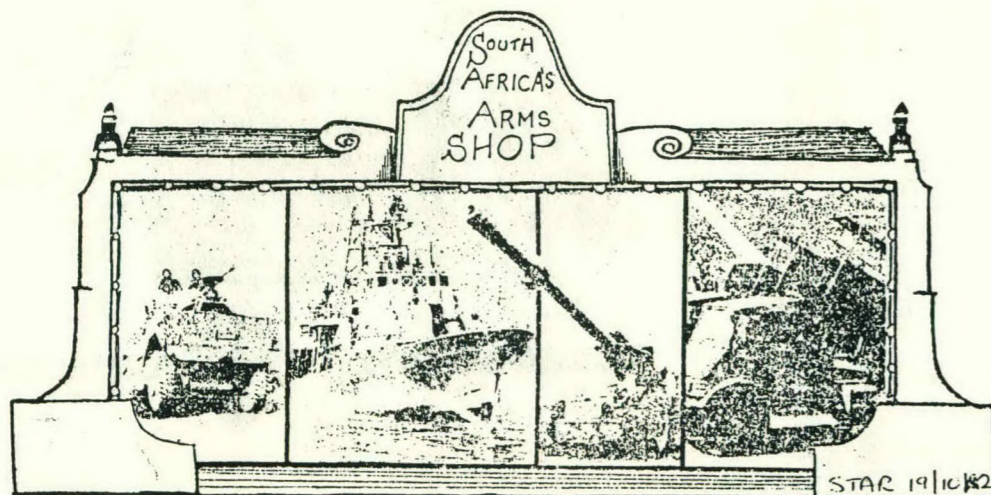
\* In 1986, at the Fida International Air Show in Chile, suppliers from the South African private sector took part for the first time and the overall South African exhibit was one of the biggest. A number of new South African weapons and armament supplies were on display.

"At the end of the day, I believe that if your product is right, is sought after, a country needs it and all the other circumstances are right, then you will still (even in the face of a proposed overseas ban on importing SA arms) be able to export." - Cmdt P G Marais, Armscor Chairman.

"Armscor's attractiveness as an armaments supplier lies rather in the fact that it is able to supply complete combat-proven weapon systems in which all the components are specifically designed for one another.

"It is also important to the prospective client that Armscor can offer not only the hardware but also the necessary training, technological skill and support of a continuous service." - Cmdt P G Marais, Armscor Chairman.

(From Star 30.8.83;  
RDM 3.3.84; Sunday Times  
11.3.84; Citizen 18.9.85)



### DOES YOUR GUN HAVE A NAME?

A list of names of some of SA's home-developed military armaments:

Casspir  
Olifant tank  
Ratel-20 ICV  
G-5 towed 155 mm gun  
G-6 155 mm self-propelled gun  
Samil truck family  
Eland armoured cars  
Kukri air-to-missile system  
Frequency-hopping radios  
Buffel



## NUCLEAR CAPACITY

"... there is little doubt that South Africa has the ability to develop and produce nuclear weapons if desired." - South African War Machine 1985

"If nuclear weapons are a last resort to defend oneself, it would be very stupid not to use them." - from Deputy Defence Minister Kobie Coetzee

(Newsweek 1979)

\* In 1979, the USA accused South Africa of detonating a nuclear bomb in the South Atlantic. South Africa denied this.

(Race Relations Survey 1979)

\* In 1983 the Argus (13.7.83) reported that the State was pouring millions of rands into the Cape Province's "missile and nuclear triangle" between Cape Agulhas, Mossel Bay, Cape Town, Atlantis and Springbok. The article predicted that the next decade would see

- Nuclear research facility, possibly with reactor, at Mossel Bay
- Koeberg nuclear power station (operational since 1984)
- Nuclear waste dump at Gamoeep
- Nuclear casualty treatment facility at Parow (opened in 1982)
- Nuclear accelerator at Faure (installed in 1982)
- Uranium mine in Beaufort-West
- Missile site at Cape Agulhas
- Rocket fuel plant near Wellington (already established)

\* A military expert from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said, during 1985, that South Africa could build two atom bombs a year from nuclear material produced by its secret Valindaba (Zulu for "we keep silence") uranium enrichment plant near Hartebeespoort Dam. No inspectors of the IAEA are allowed into the plant and South Africa has decided not to fall under the safety standards set by the IAEA.

(Star 14.9.85)

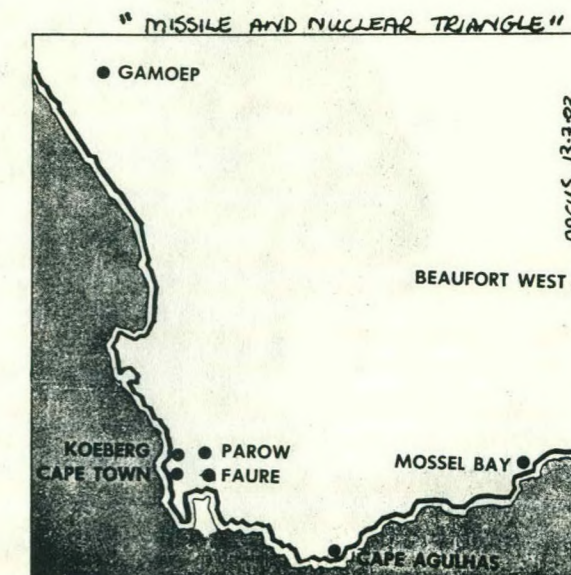
\* The existing nuclear research facility at Pelindaba (Zulu for "let's discuss this") in the Transvaal has no room to expand further, hence the Mossel Bay site.

(Argus 13.7.85)

\* Although South Africa ascribes to the aims of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (which aims to curb the spread of nuclear weapons), it is not a signatory of the treaty.

"For South Africa there are some advantages in deliberate ambiguity about one's (nuclear) intentions. By remaining uncommitted there is reason (for Western capitals) to handle South Africa with circumspection lest it should feel compelled to flex its nuclear muscle." - IAEA expert

(Star 14.9.85)





## PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT

"I want to unite the business leaders of South Africa ... behind the SA Defence Force. I want to unite the private sector behind the SA Defence Force. I think I have succeeded in doing so." - P W Botha in Parliament in 1980

- \* The National Supplies Procurement Act of 1970 gives the Minister of Defence the power effectively to commandeer industrial plants for military use in times of crisis. The National Key Points Act of 1980 enables the Minister to declare any factory a "National Key Point", thereby demanding that prescribed security standards are complied with.
- \* There are about 800 major private arms factories in the country, operating on contract to Armscor and relying on Armscor as a major source of income. Another 300 minor sub-contractors are involved. Another 1 200 firms regularly supply items from their normal production.
- \* The Grinaker group has been involved in the development of the SADF's "frequency-hopping" communications systems.
- \* The Defence Advisory Council, a body which advises on national policy formulation concerning the internal workings of the SADF and on arms procurement, includes, or has included, representatives from Anglo American, Barlow Rand, Tongaat and SA Breweries.

(From Cape Times 31.12.84;  
In Whose Defence? 1984;  
SAWM 1985)





# MILITARY AID



QUOTE - US State Department Documents leaked to US Press May-June 1981.

- " - We want to open a new chapter in relations with South Africa.
- " - We feel the new relationship should be based upon our shared hopes for the future prosperity, security and stability of Southern Africa, constructive internal change within South Africa and our shared perception of the role of the Soviet Union and its surrogates in thwarting those goals.
- " - We can foresee co-operating with you in a number of ways in our efforts to reestablish regional stability.
- " - US/South African cooperation is indispensable for the success of these efforts. Failure to cooperate will encourage further Soviet gains, and jeopardize the interests of both our countries."

## SA - USA CONNECTION

Of the more than 400 US companies doing business in South Africa, 33 of them are ranked among the top 100 US Department of Defence contractors during 1984. This provides a structural context for evading the arms embargo. This context is difficult to monitor.

(From American Friends Service Committee research, quoted in The Citizen 19.9.85)

Loopholes used to beat the arms embargo:

- \* Overseas production by US Corporations: US corporations can supply SA through subsidiaries in other countries.
- \* Diversion and use of Front Organisations: Where goods are supposedly meant for "non-embargoed agencies", they can be diverted for use by the SADF. Front organisations include the CSIR (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research) and its subsidiaries. These agencies are not embargoed and are able to act as intermediaries for the SADF.
- \* Training: Corporations selling equipment to SA for non-military purposes, nevertheless offer training which is probably open to government staff, including the military and police.
- \* Transfer of know-how: there is an informal flow of strategically useful information to SA.
- \* Discretion in Licensing Procedures: "dual-use" equipment with military and civilian applications are exported to SA but not to the USSR.

"Can we abandon the country that has stood by us in every war we have fought, a country that strategically is essential to the free world?" - President Ronald Reagan

(CBS News, March 3, 1981)

- \* More than \$28m in American military-related equipment is alleged to have been sold to SA since the Reagan administration took office in 1981.

(Race Relations Survey 1984)

- \* In March 1986 President Reagan called on the US Congress to vote financial aid to Unita rebel forces in Angola. This was seen by many as indirect aid to South Africa which has been providing support to Unita for many years.

(SATV News)

## TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

"Transnational corporations are undoubtedly the most important conduit for the supply of strategic and military-useful technology to South Africa." - testimony by American Friends Service Committee researcher to a UN hearing.

Points made:

- \* The 1977 arms embargo imposed by the UN Security Council had stopped the flow of most official government to government arms transfers to South Africa.
- \* A brisk military trade exists with a number of TNCs (Transnational Corporations).
- \* In this way, South Africa has been able to build up the largest arms industry in the Southern Hemisphere by gaining access to the high-tech building blocks of modern weaponry - computers, microprocessors, instrumentation equipment, electronic components and sub-assemblies for use in larger systems.
- \* This was being done with the tacit approval of the governments in which the trading companies are based.

(From The Citizen 19.9.85)

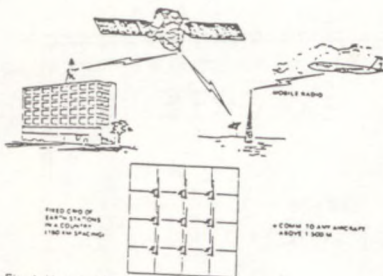


Fig 4. Nationwide communications to aircraft.

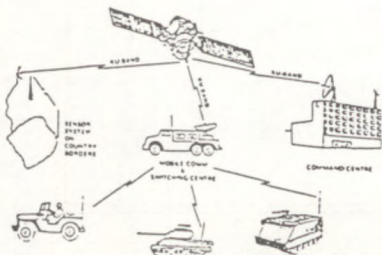


Fig 5. Military use.

Applications of a communications system promoted in South Africa by General Electric Electronics and Instrumentation from AUTOMATING APARTHEID NARMIL 1975



## SA - BRITISH CONNECTION

In the 21 years since 1964 when the then Prime Minister, Mr Harold Wilson, imposed an arms embargo, and since the mandatory UN embargo was imposed in 1977, Britain has continued to supply South Africa with:

- \* Nuclear technology and personnel
- \* Radar equipment and computers
- \* Codified Nato information
- \* Aircraft and arms "laundered" through third countries or smuggled out of Britain (by agents like the "Coventry Four").

(From a memorandum from the Anti-Apartheid Movement to the British Foreign Secretary, Star 11.7.85)



**Sharing  
a world of experience  
to meet  
South Africa's needs.**

In less than a generation, IBM employees in South Africa have increased from four to over 1,400. In less than a generation, IBM customers can be found from Sibasa to Mossel Bay, from Richards Bay to Oranienburg.

This growth has been based on the successful interaction between technology, dedicated staff, and a resulting customer confidence—three sound ingredients for the years to come.



IBM's 370 computer is used by many South African government agencies. Maryknoll

## ISRAELI - SA CONNECTION

- \* Increased military cooperation became evident in 1979 when a series of top level military visits between Israel and South Africa occurred.
- \* In 1979 the BBC reported that 50 South African Navy personnel were being trained near Haifa to operate Reshet missile-carrying boats.
- \* Many Israeli-designed weapons are produced under licence by Armscor. Of special importance here is the R4 assault rifle which is a copy of the Galil assault rifle, the Gabriel surface-to-surface missile and the Reshev class boats now being built under licence in Durban.
- \* The disgraced General Charles Sebe visited Israel and spoke at a seminar on security and was photographed with the now deceased Major George Haddad, the leader of a right-wing Christian Phalangist group supported by Israel prior to the invasion of Lebanon and allegedly involved in the Shatilla refugee camp massacre.
- \* Following the detention of General Charles Sebe, it was announced that the Ciskei had secured a contract with Israel to supply and train a Ciskeian airforce. The Ciskei agreed to buy "about six" aircraft from Israel and Israeli Air Force instructors were to come to the homeland to run "phase one" of a pilot training scheme.



### ARMS EXPORTS

ARMSCOR exports arms to a number of states, including:

- Paraguay
- Chile
- Taiwan
- South Korea
- Indonesia
- Morocco



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