# SADF AND NEIGHBOURING STATES

## WHAT IS DESTABILISATION ?

Those who claim that South Africa is involved in attempts to destablise certain of the countries in Southern Africa (i.e. Angola, Mocambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho and Botswana) see the destabilisation programme as aimed at:

\* damaging the economies of the frontline

\* giving material and back-up support to opposition dissident groups in these territories with a view to creating internal instability;

preventing these states from offering their territories as bases for South African and

Namibian guerilla fighters;

\* in some cases to install more sympathetic governments.

#### Strategies would include:

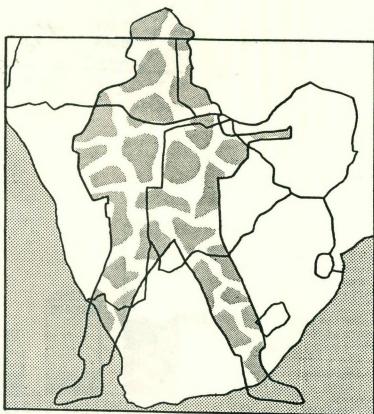
\* sabotage

\* SADF invasions

\* blockades

\* raids

\* support of dissident groups
(Adapted from WIP 24 1982)



NEW NATION 16.1.86

#### SOME QUOTES

"The 'new South Africa' refuses to apologise for anything, let alone apartheid. It spurns the 'cocktail diplomacy' of past and present Foreign Ministers. It is built on the reality of South Africa's economic and military power."

(The Economist 16.9.83)

"It is clear that terrorist elements continue to operate inter alia from within Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho, and Swaziland, despite repeated representations based on irrefutable evidence concerning the presence and activity of terrorist elements in these countries, and despite the abhorrence recently expressed by the United Nations in its unanimous repudiation of terrorism.

"The State Security Council is convinced that all South Africans consider these criminal and cowardly attacks on civilians of our country in a serious light and are unanimous in their condemnation of these acts of violence, particularly at a time when the most far-reaching reform is taking place in the country's political, social and economic life.

"It was decided that the governments of these countries must again be informed of the South African Government's grave concern at the increased terrorist activities from their territory, and that they be urged to realize that if this menace is allowed to continue, all the peoples of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price.

"The South African Government has a duty to protect the country's boundaries and the security of its citizens by all appropriate means." - State Security Council

(The Star 21.12.85)

#### FOOTNOTE:

As this dossier was being prepared for print in May 1986, the SADF was involved in attacks on alleged ANC targets in Lusaka, Harare and Gaborone.

## SOME FACTS AND FIGURES ON DESTABILISATION

#### SOME ACTS OF AGGRESSION BY S A

#### 1981:

January: SADF troops attacked ANC houses just outside of Maputo, killing several members and a Portuguese civilian. An SADF soldier was killed.

#### 1982:

December: SADF commandos struck at ANC houses in Maseru.

SADF Impala Mark III jets bombed and strafed targets in May: the Mozambican capital in retaliation for the Pretoria bomb blast which killed 17 people and injured more than 200. SADF claimed the deaths of 41 ANC members and 17 Frelimo soldiers. Mozambique denied this and said six civilians were killed in the attack.

October: SADF troops attacked ANC offices in Maputo, injuring four ANC members.

January: Major offensive by SADF forces into Angola -Operation Askari.

#### 1985:

May: Small commando of SADF Reconnaissance Battalion troops caught in Cabinda province. Two killed, one captured.

June: SADF troops killed 13 suspected ANC "terrorists" during a raid on 12 buildings in Gaborone.

September: SADF troops penetrated 250 kilometres into Angola in follow-up operations against Swapo.

December: An attack on Maseru in which 9 people, 6 of them allegedly ANC members, were killed. The SADF denied involvement and the LLA claimed responsibility, but it was reported that the attackers spoke Afrikaans.

#### 1986:

January: Blockade of Lesotho by SA - part of the chain of events leading up to the military coup in Lesotho.

(Adapted partly from The Argus 21.12.85 and The Star 14.6.85)

#### SOME FIGURES

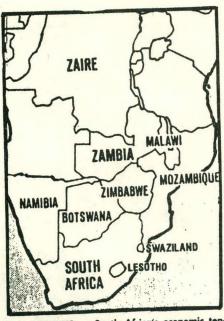
- SA's political and military destabilisaion of its neighbours has cost them more than R 23 000-million since 1981. This includes money for extra defence expenditure, loss of production and damage to property or productive capacity.
- At present 10 000 Zimbabwean troops are involved in helping Frelimo soldiers fight the SA-sponsored MNR.
- The whole of the Angolan army and some 15 000 Cuban, Soviet and East German troops and advisors are involved in rebutting both direct SA incursions and the activities of the Pretoria-supported Unita.
- South Africa produces 72% of the total GNP of the subcontinent with at least 75% of the output of coal, iron, wheat, maize, electrical power and rail transport.
- Between 1977 and 1985, South Africa's neighbours, despite their poverty, spent billions of rands on military equipment, much of it from the Soviet Union.

  (From: The Economist 16.7.83, Sunday Star 3.11.8

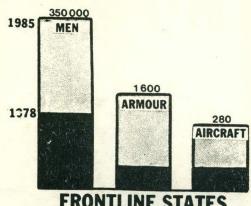
New Nation 16.1.86)



SUNDAY EXPRESS 8.3.81



THE OCTOPUS . . . South Africa's economic tentacles stretch from Transkei to Zaire. SSTAR 9.2.86



**FRONTLINE STATES** 1976 - 1985

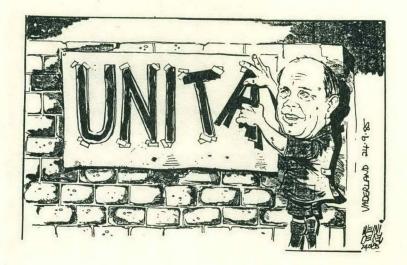
SUNDAY STAR 3.11.85

# DISSIDENT GROUPS ALLEGEDLY SUPPORTED BY SOUTH AFRICA

"Aid to organisations will ... be considered within the framework of South Africa's right to act in self defence, that is, as one of the ways of convincing a country not to make its territory available to terrorists and subversive organisations who plan and execute deeds of violence against South Africa." -General Magnus Malan

(Citizen 12.2.86)

Unita - Angola LLA (Lesotho Liberation Army) - Lesotho MNR/RNM/Renamo - Mozambique ZAPU dissidents - Zimbabwe



#### **ANGOLA**

"We are waiting for the Red Cross to send the body down. The army are helping us, but I would have liked to get it over with tomorrow. I remember what a performance there was with the last man that had to be sent down (from Luanda). I hope we don't have the same problems."

- Father of a 22 year old South African soldier killed in a skirmish between Unita soldiers and Angolan forces.

(Star 18.9.85)

- \* SA involvement in Angola began in 1975 with a full-scale invasion during the civil war, aimed at bringing Unita to power.
- \* A number of invasions by SADF forces have contributed to the ruin of the local Angolan economy, the boosting of Unita rebels and the death of thousands of Angolans.
- Reports indicate that, despite denials, SADF forces are constantly present in Angola. In 1985, SA vehemently denied any SADF presence in Angola until one SADF commando was captured and two were killed in a clash with Angolan forces. The captured commando told a news conference in Angola that the group he commanded had intended to blow up a key oil depot so as to cause "considerable economic setback to the Angolan Government".

(From: Citizen 26.5.85, ECC News V 1 No 1 1985)

## MOZAMB I QUE

"If we continued our past policies (of non-cooperation with SA) there would soon be nothing left to destroy in Mozambique" -Mozambican official before the Nkomati Accord was signed.

(Sowetan 8.2.84)

- \* In March 1984, Mozambique and South Africa signed the Nkomati Accord. Mozambique agreed to prevent the ANC from using its territory as a base and South Africa agreed to stop giving support to the MNR rebel forces. President Samora Machel of Mozambique said he had gone to Nkomati "to turn off the tap" on which the MNR depended. Mozambique's economic and political situation, exacerbated by South Africa's support of the MNR and Mozambique's economic vulnerability to South Africa, forced President Machel to sign the agreement.
- \* The Mozambican economy is heavily dependent on South Africa: many Mozambicans work on the SA mines as migrants, earning revenue for Mozambique; the SA Railways are crucial to Maputo.
- \* Since 1984 there have been constant violations, by the SADF, of the Nkomati Accord and SADF support for the MNR has continued.

"A year after the agreement Mozambican workers and peasants are still being killed and maimed, foreign citizens working on development projects are guned down or kidnapped, vehicles are still ambushed and burnt, economic installations destroyed. The aggression, in short, continues. While in a number of provinces, the military and security situation has improved, due to concerted action by the Mozambican armed forces and the local militias, in other parts of the country the situation is worse than it was before Nkomatin notably in Maputo province, which has two borders with South Africa, one to the south with Natal, and one to the west with the Transvaal." — Mozambique Information Agency (AIM) Bulletin (March 1985)

(From: CNL March 1984, ECC News V 1 No 1 1985)



#### **LESOTHO**

"It is being speculated that recently South Africa completed a successful test of its most efficient diplomatic weapon to date, one it can use to bring into line any neighbouring state that in any way threatens its interests.

"The weapon is not the dreaded nuclear bomb - it is the dreaded economic blockade, the kind which crushed Chief Leabua Jonathan in Lesotho." (Sunday Star 9.2.86)

- \* Lesotho, accused of "harbouring ANC terrorists", has been the target of a number of SADF raids in the past.
- \* Lesotho is totally landlocked by South Africa.
- \* 99% of Lesotho's imports come through SA.
- \* 89% of Lesotho's exports go through SA.
- \* 86% of Lesotho's labour force is employed by SA.
- \* In January 1985 SA imposed a blockade on Lesotho "to protect South African residents from 'terrorist attacks' launched by African National Congress members." Although Lesotho insisted that refugees from Lesotho were genuine refugees and not ANC cadres, the blockade led to a military coup, the fall of Chief Leabua Jonathan, and the expulsion of South African refugees from Lesotho.

  (From: CNL

January 1985, <u>S Star</u> 9.2.86)





SUNDAY TRIBUNE 21.6.86

#### BOTSWANA

"When we receive refugees, we do not distinguish whether they are black or white, nationalist or progressive, ANC or PAC ... we receive them as a duty and as an international obligation." -President Quett Masire of Botswana

(Star 19.6.85)

- \* In June 1985, the SADF, for the first time, carried out a raid into Botswana, attacking 12 locations it claimed were "ANC buildings". The death toll was 12, and included three women and a five-year-old child.
- \* 25% of Botswana's imports come through SA.
- \* 88% of Botswana's exports go through SA.
- \* 50% of Botswana's labour force is employed in SA.

"The machinery exists for a dialogue between our military forces. Unfortunately there is sabre rattling on the part of South Africa. Yet, we will have to talk.

"With South Africa we do not know where facts begin and end.
Nonetheless, we believe that talking will obviate the bad relations that exist between our two countries." Botswana's Foreign Minister

(Weekly Mail 17.1.86

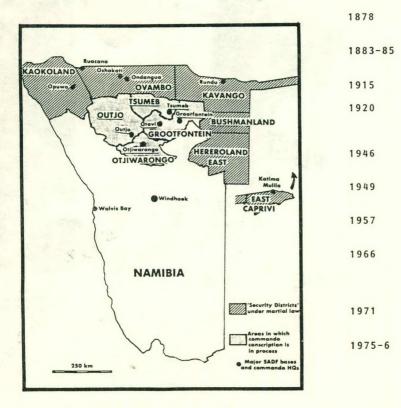
(From CNL June 1985)

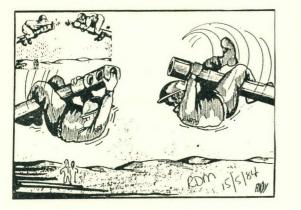
#### ZIMBABWE

- \* Prior to the establishment of Zimbabwe, South Africa was involved directly on a military level in Rhodesia.
- \* Zimbabwe alleges that, since independence, SA has engaged in an active policy of military destabilisation, making use of former members of the Rhodesian Army to engage in acts of sabotage.
- \* 68% of Zimbabwe's imports come through SA.
- \* 65% of Zimbabwe's exports go through SA.
  - In February 1986, General Magnus Malan warned that some members of the Zimbabwean government were seeking a confrontation with SA and that the ANC was using Zimbabwean territory for its actions against SA in the hope of causing a conflict between SA and Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe, while accusing SA of planning an MNR type organisation in Zimbabwe, said it could not protect ANC units operating out of Zimbabwe.

(From: S Star 9.2.86, Citizen 2.12.85,18.12.85 Weekly Mail 20.12.85)

# NAMIBIA





1978

1983

1986

## BASIC FACTS

Name

: Namibia, but referred to by South Africa as South West Africa/Namibia.

Government

Languages

: International law recognises the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal authority, and in turn the UN recognises the South West African People's Organisation, SWAPO, as the sole authentic representative of the people. De facto Namibia is occupied by South Africa, with the infra-structure of the northern areas generally under military control.

contro

Capital : Windhoek

Area : 824 000 km.

Population : 1,4 million (estimate) (70% rural)

annual growth rate 3%

People : African - 85% Coloured - 10%

White (excluding up to 90 000 military) - 5%

Religion : 70% Christian (of which half Lutheran, 10% Catholic, 9% Anglican).

: 9 spoken: Ovambo by half the population.

SWAPO uses English as a common language.

Skills : Literacy approx 45% of African adults have com-pleted secondary school and 12% primary school.

.....

: Britain annexes port of Walvis Bay (later transferred to South Africa).

: German "protectorate" declared over the rest of Namibia.

: Germans surrender to South African troops.

: League of Nations gives British Crown Mandate for Namibia, to be exercised by South Africa.

: South Africa refuses to recognise UN as successor to League of Nations.

: First petition to UN by Namibians for end of South African rule.

: Toivo ja Toivo founds Owamboland People's Organisation (to become SWAPO in 1960).

: UN ends South Africa's Mandate and orders South Africa to withdraw. First SWAPO military actions (August 26, 1966 is "Namibia Day").

 International Court of Justice rules that South Africa occupies Namibia illegally.

: Independence of neighbouring Angola and abortive South African invasion of Angola. First Cuban troops arrive in Angola after SA invasion. South Africa calls white-dominated Turnhalle Conference of internal groups which is rejected by churches as unrepresentative.

: Western proposals, incorporated in UN Resolution 435, accepted by SWAPO and, initially, South Africa. But South Africa kills 700 Namibian refugees in Kassinga raid into Angola, then rejects UN plan and instead holds internal elections, won by the DTA - an alliance of parties from the Turnhalle Conference (SWAPO and centre parties boycott elections).

: DTA Ministers' Council resigns in Windhoek, and South African Administrator General resumes direct rule. Multi-party Conference (MPC) of internal parties meets.

The South African government set an August deadline for the implementation of Resolution 435, on condition that all Cuban troops are withdrawn from Angola.



#### **SWAPO**

"Only when we are granted our independence will the struggle stop. Only when our human dignity is restored to us, as equals of the whites, will there be peace between us.

"We believe that South Africa has a choice - either to live at peace with us or subdue us by force. If you choose to crush us and impose your will on us then you not only betray your trust, but you will live in security only as long as your power is greater than ours."

SWAPO Leader Toivo ja Toivo

- \* There is a distinction made by some between: external SWAPO (PLAN People's Liberation Army of Namibia) which is at war with the South African Security Forces in the operational area of the north; and internal SWAPO. The internal wing is not banned but operates under considerable difficulty.
- \* SWAPO's colours are red, green and blue.
- \* SWAPO's aim is to "fight relentlessly for immediate and total liberation of Namibia, from colonialist and imperialist occupation" and to establish a non-exploitative and non-oppressive society.
- \* The independence of Angola in 1975 gave SWAPO the external bases it needed to heighten the armed struggle.
- \* SWAPO disrupts SADF supply lines through sabotage. It also runs nutritional, health and educational programmes.
- PLAN forces within Namibia have never numbered more than 2 000. PLAN has a total of about 10 000 members.
- \* Leader of SWAPO Sam Nujoma, General Secretary of SWAPO - Toivo ja Toivo

"It appears to us that SWAPO has overwhelming support, not least from the main-line churches and their leaders." (International Delegation of Anglican Bishops, Objector April 1984)

#### **QUOTES**

- "The people speak about the SADF as 'terrorists' while they refer to SWAPO guerillas as 'our boys'." - Pastor Kameeta of the Namibian Council of Churches
- \* "The war in Namibia is a proxy struggle for South Africa's own survival against the background of its retreat into a laager against external military, political and psychological threats." Namibia: The Violent Heritage by David Soggot



#### SOME FIGURES

- \* There are over 90 000 SADF troops in Namibia.
- \* The Namibian war costs South Africa more than R 2 m every day.
- \* It costs about R 1 m to kill one SWAPO guerilla (SABC figure).
- \* 10 000 Namibians have died in the war since 1966 (about 1% of the entire population).
- In 1980 P W Botha announced that R 3 000 m had been spent on "infrastructure and defence" in Namibia.

  (From: ECC Factsheet 1985;

  In Whose Defence? 1984;

  Star 22.8.83; Objector
  V 2 No 3)



South Africa gave the press a show of military might in northern Namibia this week, bringing out three Swapo prisoners and a variety of captured weapons to drive home wits claims to be winning the war on the border. Here, Brigadier Joep Joubert wields a Soviet-made grenade launcher. WEEKLY MAL Picture: GIDEON MENDEL, AFP

# NO WAR IN NAMIBIA



FERRED CO COME End Compaign

#### KOEVOET

- \* Koevoet is a "police unit", thus, if Resolution 435 were implemented, and all military units had to be withdrawn, Koevoet could remain.
- \* Koevoet is an Afrikaans word meaning "crowbar" or "lever".
- The unit was originally established at the request of the SADF as a counter-insurgency unit, "the eyes and ears" of the military. SA Minister of Law and Order le Grange called it a "strong military machine".
- \* Koevoet members are all volunteers. There are about 1 000.
- By early 1984, Koevoet had accounted for some 1 624 deaths.
- Koevoet relies to a very great extent on information from the local population. There have been repeated claims that Koevoet's methods include murder, rape, robbery, assault and extortion.

"Crowbars, it is true, can be and frequently are used to bludgeon victims into submission." - South African War Machine, 1985 (See also Losing Hearts and Minds)

(From SAWM 1985; In Whose Defence? 1984; Race Relations Survey 1984)

# SOUTH WEST AFRICA TERRITORY FORCE (SWATF)

- \* SWATF was established in 1980, by the SADF, as the basis of a future independent South West African defence force.
- \* It is under SADF operational control.
- \* There are about 20 000 Namibians in the SWATF.
- \* There is compulsory registration for all Namibian men between 17 and 55 years of age for military service in the SWATF.
- The SWATF is recruited on an ethnic basis and ranks are largely black, while the officer corps is almost exclusively white.

"At the time I was drafted I didn't know a SWA army existed. No one tells you you're not in the SA Army any more - just all of a sudden you're in the SWA army.

(From SAWM 1985; Objector Vol 2 No 3; Windhoek Advertiser 14.5.85)



ONE OF THE 2000 Namibians called up for national service by the SWA Territory Force in the 1986 intake, has his chest measured at a medical examination at Luiperdsvallei Base on January 6.

The Registrating Officer,

S.W.A.T.F. P. B. 13307 Windhoek 9000

NAMIBIA

Attention : Sergeant Fleischmann, Staff Sergeant Straemke.

re: Call-up by the S.A.D.F. and its affiliate, S.W.A.T.F.

I am making use of this letter, to tell you, that I have moved to West Germany, not only to continue my studies through the sponsorship of SWAPO, but that I am out of Namibia and South Africa primarily because I refuse to do service in an Army, which is the instrument used by the Apartheid State to surpress brutally the rightful political, social and economic aspirations of the majority of the Namibian people.

I, and thousands of others, who have been forced into exile, will be back in Namibia as soon as a true independence has been won.

H.B.Rumpi

## WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS

"We are winning I think because we get the local population on our side. Despite the fact that we are winning militarily, we get the local population's hearts and minds." - SWATF Commander Major General George Meiring (Argus 23.12.85)

"SWAPO controls Owambo and Kavango, because the people support SWAPO." -SWAPO slogan (WIP No 29)

- \* From 1968 on, the SADF talked of the necessity of winning "the confidence of the people among whom it is fighting."
- \* In 1974, after the military had taken over command in Namibia, a Civil Action Programme was introduced to win "the goodwill, support and co-operation of the local population."
- \* Paratus said: "Supportive services evolve around the principle of building and maintaining a contented, if not prosperous community which otherwise would have fallen prey to subversive SWAPO activities which is an imminent threat to all of SWA/Namibia's 11 population groups."
- Assistance is supposedly offered in education, adminis-tration, agriculture, health and welfare, nature conservation, veterinary science and technical maintenance. The largest group of CAP personnel consists of trained teachers seconded to secondary schools.
- \* Etango (Owambo) and Ezuva (Kavango) are quasi-military "cultural" organisations with their origins in SWATF. They emphasise tribal identity and are vehemently anti-SWAPO and anti-communist.

  (From WIP No 29, Argus 25.12.85)

MISSION OF THE CHURCH FOR COMMUNITY
DEVELOPEMENT MCCD
NAMIBIA

"LET MY"
PEOPLE GO

#### LOSING HEARTS AND MINDS

The effort to "win hearts and minds" is not always consistent.

\* "If we saw a well-built kaffir we'd know he was a terr. If he had soft feet that would prove it beyond doubt, at least if we were out in the bush, because who else wears shoes? Sometimes you could also see marks on his shoulders or his waist from his webbing.

"We'd interrogate him, and if he was stubborn he could have trouble. Maybe we tie him to the front of the Buffel and do a little bundu-bashing. Feel it? Why should I feel it? I wasn't on the front of the Buffel.

"If he's still okay when we get tired of driving around maybe we give him a ratpack (a seven-day food supply, containing corned beef, chocolate bars, 'dog biscuits', etc) and tell him to shut up.

"Sometimes they shout and shout and complain and then we have no choice, we have to finish him off. Sometimes he's finished off before we stop driving. Then we just until him and farewell." - SADF soldier (Frontline August 1985)

"One soldier held my arms, one my legs, then a white soldier took a stick as thick as my leg and began beating me on my back. My daughters (who are at school) said they would not come home anymore out of fear, and so I decided to move to Nkurenkuru."

(RDM 6.8.83)

- "A woman told how during detention she was constantly beaten up and given electric shocks while chained, hand and foot, to a chair. During shock treatment she was gagged, a cloth soaked in salt water being placed across her open mouth and tied tightly at the back of her neck. The shock treatment caused haemorrhages and affected her kidneys. She had to be hospitalised and underwent an operation. After the operation she was put back into gaol. The gaol was an iron shack hot and dirty. The wound from the operation festered."

  (Report on Namibia, SACBC)
- "The curfew operations in the north, the undoubted intimidation, the destruction of property, the restriction of movement, the spread of distrust through informers, the divisions in family life, the cases of abduction, torture and beating, the total massive armed presence of the SADF cause the community to live in a state of perpetual fear and suspicion. The people fear the army and Koevoet far more than they fear SWAPO."

  (Anglican Bishops, Objector April 1984)
- Two former South African National Servicemen were sentenced to 22 years and 18 years respectively by the Windhoek Supreme Court for the murder of an Owambospeaking civilian, Mr Sebastiaan Lukas, in Northern South West Africa.

At about 8 p.m. on February 9 1985 they saw Mr Lukas (40) walking through a sorghum field and took him into custody because they thought his movements had been "suspect".

They ordered Mr Lukas to squat on his haunches, and they stepped about five to eight paces away, swung round and opened fire on him with their army issue R4 automatic rifles.

(Citizen 29.10.85)

A baby boy died after being struck with a stone thrown by a soldier who wanted to have sex with the child's mother, an inquest has heard.

(Namibian 25.10.85)

\* Two Koevoet members were found guilty of roasting a man alive during interrogation. They were each fined R 50. (Objector Vol 2 No 3)

# SOLDIERS AS POLICE



TWO DOGS AND FREEDOM, 1986

#### SOLDIERS AS POLICE

- 1913 Mine strike
- 1914 Railway strike
- 1921-2 Rand revolt
- 1949 Zulu riots in Natal
- 1961 Sharpeville and after
- 1976 Soweto uprising (unofficially)
- 1980 Municipal workers strike
- 1981 School boycotts
- 1984 Magopa removals

#### ARMY OCCUPATION 1984/1985

October 1984: Operation Palmiet: 7 000

troops and police sealed

off townships and

conducted house-to-house searches and arrests in Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong. SADF moved into Vaal Triangle

townships.

Rest of 1984: Other townships occupied:

Tembisa Katlehong Thokoza Vosloorus

1985: Towns and Townships occu-

Alexandra Zwide

Port Elizabeth Ui tenhage Tembisa New Brighton Kwa Zakhele Kwa Nobuhle

Langa (Uitenhage) Cape Peninsula Lingelihle (Cradock)

Soweto Johannesburg Tsakane Katlehong

Wattville (Benoni)

Athlone Durban

Zwelethemba (Worcester)

Vaal Triangle Duncan Village (East

London)

Kwa Thema (Springs)

In December 1985, SADF personnel were given further wide-ranging powers, allowing them to detain people, disperse crowds, and search and seize articles. The regulations apply to any part of the country where soldiers are "quelling unrest, suppressing terrorism or maintaining law and order".

(Business Day 23.12.85)



BUSINGSS DAY 31.12.85

## QUOTES - MILITARY IN THE TOWNSHIPS

- "A basic premise of democratic government is that as long as democracy is allowed to flourish, the police force is the only proper agency to maintain law and order. It is constitutionally designed for, and publicly recognised the proper agent for dealing with individual or collective law-breakers." (S Star 14.7.85)
- "The sweets and marshmallows of the police and army appear to create the illusion of friendship towards the oppressed. But at the same time, their vehicles of death are employed against the community."

(Star 24.9.85)

- "The SADF presence: On a normal day now in Galeshewe there would be a patrol of the township by SADF and SAP.
  - "In some school premises, the SADF are permanent. They would be looking after the buildings. There are also SADF who are guarding councillors by protecting their property; none of the councillors in this area have resigned.
  - "It must be noted that the army also arrest some people and then call the police to come and take over from them.
  - "The army do not actually use the rubber bullets. They do not actually do the shooting; they do not actually do the sjamboking; they back up in the confrontations."

(Weekly Mail 21.6.85)

"About 90 percent of the township dwellers in the Witwatersrand area want SADF troops removed from their areas." - Women for Peace Survey

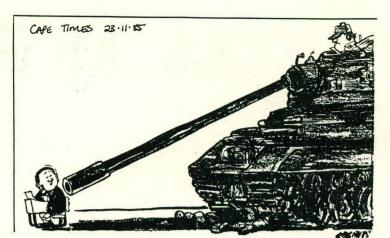
(Citizen 15.10.85



LANGA KWANOBUHLE **BIOPATONG** SEBOKENG **ALEXANDRA TEMBISA** ... and others

**END APARTHEID END THE CIVIL WAR END CONSCRIPTION** 

FETTER TERESCEPTE CC-CE



"Relax! I'm not refusing to write. I just can't make head or tail of this exam paper

#### SADF AND GOVERNMENT SPEAK

"Talk to the ordinary black man from Tembisa, New Brighton and Meadowlands and he will tell you he prefers the protection of the state of emergency to being subjected to anarchy.

"He asks with good cause who will protect him from hooliganism and intimidation if the security forces were to be withdrawn from black areas." - Defence Minister Magnus Malan

(Sowetan 6.9.85)

"But these people do not understand fully what we want to achieve in these townships.

"Surely they must realise that there is also another side to the coin.

"If one is prepared to look objectively at the situation in these areas one must see many, many people who simply ask for protection of their lives and their property.

"Must we turn a deaf ear to these people?" - Major-General J P B van Loggerenberg

(Citizen 21.9.85)

"We are sorry for the people killed in the townships by both troops and activists but if any of our members over-step their limits, we will act against them.

"Until such time that peace is restored, the troops will remain in the townships." - Deputy Defence Minister

(Star 4.11.85)



A Soweto youth being escorted by soldiers in Meadowlands yesterday. The dents in the soldiers' helmets were caused by stone-throwing youths. 4.9.85

# members of the combined SAP and SADF

The members of the combined SAP and SADF Security Forces want to thank the peoples of Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Boipatong for their co-operation and support in the actions to make the area safer for all to live in.

Although the peoples of these areas had some discomfort in the house to house searches and roadblocks, they accepted the steps as a neccessity from which they all would benefit.

We appreciate your dignity, kindness and support.

Our heartfelt thanks. You earned the respect of all our members.

\_\_\_\_

# PAMPHLET DISTRIBUTED BY SECURITY FORCES

# STATE OF EMERGENCY THE STORY THE HEADLINES TELL

- "Army storms Soweto pupils"
  (City Press 18.8.85)
- \* "Soldiers chase pupils across veld" (Star 21.8.85)
- \* "Police, Army raid homes on ER" (Sowetan 23.8.85)
- "Four soldiers accused of beating man to death"

  (Star 24.8.85)
  - "Students arrested as SADF besieges school" (City Press 25.8.85)
- \* "Benoni youth dies and his family says the 'SADF beat him'"

  (Sowetan 28.8.85)
  - "Helicopter aids SADF in township"
    (Star 11.9.85)
  - "Police, SADF act to stamp out Cape violence" (Citizen 4.10.85)
- "Soweto (church) services disrupted by SADF" (Star 10.10.85)
- \* "Man 'beaten with soldiers' helmets' dies"
  (Cape Times 10.12.85)
- \* "SADF demolishes shacks" (Cape Times 12.10.85)
- "Two soldiers convicted of stealing in township" (Star 16.10.85)
- \* "Newsmen claim they were held by army after 'nightcap'" (Citizen 30.10.85)
- \* "Children into reeds as they fled soldiers" (Sowetan 18.10.85)
- \* "Troops, armoured vehicles now a part of township life..."

  (Star 21.11.85)
- \* "Soldiers ruined toddler's party claim"

(Sowetan 26.11.85)

- \* "SADF move angers rent defaulters" (Star 5.12.85)
- \* "I saw man being beaten to death by soldiers claim" (Star 10.12.85)
- \* "Sales go up as SADF shields Black shoppers" (Citizen 17.12.85)
- \* "SADF help mass arrest of youths in pre-dawn raid"

(Business Day 14.2.86)

When the State of Emergency ended in March 1986, the troops remained in the townships.

## CASE HISTORY -LUCKY SIBEKO

Lucky Sibeko was six years old. He was drowned at about 3.30 p.m. on Wednesday October 15 1985. Eye witnesses said Lucky was playing with other children near the swamp when soldiers travelling in three Casspirs stopped nearby.

Three armed soldiers jumped from one of the vehicles and chased the group of children who ran into the reeds of the swamp, said the eye-witnesses.

The three soldiers, said the eyewitnesses, gave up the chase when the screaming children ran deeper into the reeds of the swamp.

"I tried to save Lucky when I saw him drown, but I released my grip when I almost followed," said Sibusiso Dlamini, also 6. He said he and the other children screamed for help when they saw Lucky "sink and vanish".

"The soldiers are the cause of my son's death", said Mr Koos Sibeko, who added, "I accuse them and this is what I told the police at Moroka Police Station".

(Sowetan 18.10.85)



#### CONSCRIPTION AND TOWNSHIP DUTY

"There are no moral grounds on which a national serviceman can refuse to do service in a black township." -Minister of Defence Magnus Malan

"Any reasonable person must immediately doubt the bona fides of a group of radicals such as the ECC." -Minister of Defence Magnus Malan (Star 2.9.85)

"Action, especially for the young serviceman, is often a thrill, an ego trip. There is a sense of power in beating up someone. Even if you're the most put-upon, dumb son-of-a-bitch, you are still better than a kaffir and can beat him up to prove it.

"My own guilt at my inaction in the face of this brutality, as well as the sheer physical impact of it, created an enormous tension and conflict of behaviour. My response was enough to get me label-led a 'kaffir-lover' and a 'communist'. The experience undid much of the nine months of training." -NSM on his experiences in townships (Sunday Tribune 8.9.85)

In June 1985, Citizen Force call-ups were extended from 30 day camps to 60 day camps to cope with the unrest situation.

(Argus 25.6.85)

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) said in August 1985, that the number of NSMs refusing to do military duty in the townships was increasing. (Sunday Tribune 18.8.85)

Rifleman Alan Dodson (25) was fined R 600 for refusing to go on a vehicle patrol in the townships while on a one-month army camp. He refused to go because of his political beliefs. At the court martial, the presiding officer said:

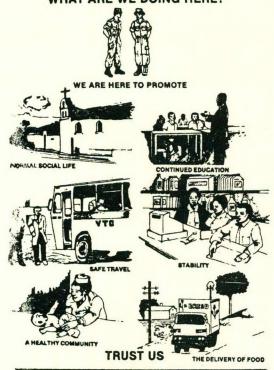
"You are a law graduate and a soldier and the fact that the legislature provides for two years' imprisonment should give you an indication of the seriousness with which this offence is viewed.

"You are aware of the situation with which citizens of South Africa are faced. You are aware that we are fighting for our survival, of the threats of disinvestment and that we are fighting to uphold our traditions and to maintain a lawful society." (Star 14.8.85)

WEEKLY MAIL 9.8.85.

Sebokeng - Soweto Kwanobuhle - Tembisa **Duduza** · New Brighton Galeshewe - Bhongolethu - Joza KwaThema · Guguletu · Langa... ROOPS OUT NOW

#### WHAT ARE WE DOING HERE?



PAMPHLET

# Feeling sorry for conscripts

With the call-up date for the January intake of National Servicemen upon us, I would like to express my sympathy with all those conscripts who have no other choice but to report today (January

The Government has abandoned all pretence that the "Defence Force" is a tool for defending the country against external threats and is now using young, inexperienced conscripts to repress the protests of their fellow citizens.

These troops, with no specialised skills in crowd control or police duties, are sent into black townships armed with lethal weapons and what amounts to a licence to kill, protected by an indemnity under the state of emergency.

How can any young conscript with even the rudiments of a conscience not feel anguish at being forced to participate in such actions?

But what are the options: to be forced to leave the country, never o return; or to be jailed for up to six years for failing to report for

Only a few, narrowly defined religious groups are allowed to perform some kind of non-violent alternative service.

But what of all the normal, peaceful young people who want to make a positive contribution to the country, who want to help their fellow citizens, not repress them?

To all those who must bend under the weight of the State's authority and report for duty, my sympathy. And to those who say 'no", a salute.

Craighall

STAR 14.1.86

# THE POLICE AS PART OF THE MILITARY MACHINE

QUOTES - RETIRING SADE CHIEF GENERAL CONSTAND VILJOEN AT A POLICE PARADE

"Solidarity between the forces in uniform is born of circumstances where the SADF and the police stand shoulder to shoulder against the evil forces of our country."

(Star 26.9.85)

"It is also for the security forces to create confidence among the public that we have the will to protect them and do not get tired of doing so...and to ensure that we win the hearts and minds of the people and show them we are better than the enemy."

(Citizen 26.9.85)

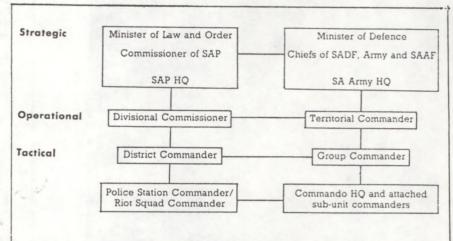


Table — Levels of Police-Military Liaison



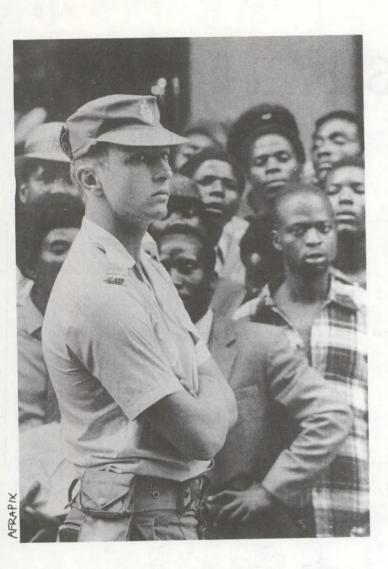
## CIVIL WAR

- THE TOLL OF **APARTHEID IN 1985** Estimated number of deaths due to political and racial unrest in South Africa Nonwhites killed by police in township violence Nonwhites killed by 238 nonwhites Police (mostly black) 24 killed by blacks 15 Whites killed by blacks Blacks killed by white civilians Other deaths believed 129 related to ongoing strife
- Civil war has been defined, broadly, as the conflict between two sides within the same country, each calling the other "the enemy".
- \* "Kill A Cop For Jesus" Cape Peninsula graffiti.
- \* Black policemen are at the top of the list of "collaborators" in the eyes of angry and militant young blacks in the townships.
- \* Blacks now account for almost half the authorised establishment of the police force. Between September 1984 and December 1985, 27 black policemen were killed in unrest situations. The homes of 550 black policemen were destroyed, many by petrol bomb or hand grenade attacks.
- \* During 1985, at least 442 people died as a result of police action.

"It was frequently asserted in the affadavits that the police appeared to believe they were at war and behaved like an occupying army." - S A Catholic Bishops' Conference report Police Conduct During Township Protest

"Ask any black person who has had experience of police activities in the townships and he will tell you it seems as though the police have declared war on the blacks of South Africa." - PFP MP Peter Soal

(Figures from <u>Star</u> 28.12.85; <u>Time</u> 13.1.86)



#### A CHILD'S VIEW

TWO months after the state of emergency was declared an unidentified Transvaal schoolgirl gave some insight into township life in a letter written the *Star* newspaper in Johannesburg:

"In our location, many families are complaining about the state of emergency," she wrote.

"Pupils are forced to go to school, and when they are in their classes the po lice come in without getting permission from the principals and the children run away. Many women have complained about being raped by police. Labourers are sjambokked when they come home from work.

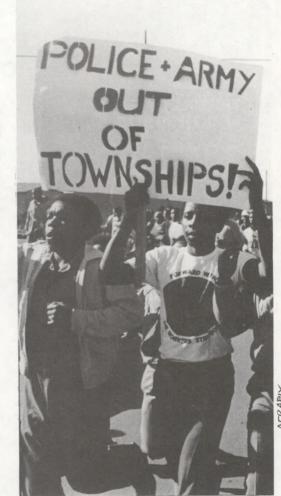
"The police don't want to see people roaming streets at certain hours If they find a poor woman selling vegetables to earn her living they sjambok her and throw her vegetables away.

When this state of emergency was introduced, it was to stop people burning one another, but now it is ruining our lives," wrote the schoolgirl.

# SAP - MILITARY ACTIVITIES

- \* Counter-Insurgency role in Namibia and South Africa. The Minister of Law and Order has admitted to 900 to 1 000 police involved in counter-insurgency operations at any one time. Koevoet (see Factsheet A8) is the largest police counter-insurgency unit.
- \* Riot Squads are now part of all SAP divisions. During uprisings, these squads, which are on permanent standby, are brought in to support the local units. They are used as strike and boycott breakers, roadblockers and as shock troops for security branch raids.
- \* The Special Task Force is a "fast-striking urban police anti-terrorism squad," modelled on similar task forces in Israel and West Germany. It has a strength of about 200.
- \* Reaction Units are smaller (12 to 18 men) task forces, used to contain situations until the Special Task Force arrives.
- \* Special Guard Unit is an elite unit to guard VIPS with a strength of about 1 000 and plans to increase this to 10 000 within five years. This unit would eventually be responsible for the security of all government buildings. Already four battalions of about 750-800 men have graduated as Black Municipal Law Enforcement Officers whose job it is to protect the lives of community councillors, municipal installations and Government property, all the infrastructure of black communities.

  (From: Hansard 10.2.84; RDM 2.12.75; Cape Times 28.1.80; Star 7.9.84; Citizen 1.2.86)



1986

# CIVIL DEFENCE

# COMMANDO UNITS AND CIVIL DEFENCE ORGANISATIONS

- \* Commando units are primarily (although not exclusively) active in the rural areas.
- \* Civil Defence organisations operate within urban areas.

#### COMMANDOS

In 1982 provision was made for people who had done their national service to be put on the controlled reserve after five years and then be liable for allocation to their local commandos. Men who have had no training at all are allocated into the national reserve. Both reserves can be called upon to do commando duties in certain "primary areas", which correspond roughly with the country's border areas. These include the whole of northern Natal and a number of northern and western Transvaal areas. In December 1984 it was announced that the Transvaal border strip would be extended from 10km to 50km in width and that over R 30 million would be spent to improve infrastructure and halt depopulation in the areas.

(Race Relations Survey 1984)

#### CIVIL DEFENCE ORGANISATIONS

The main function of these organisations is to be prepared to take responsibility for the maintenance of essential services within each community in times of natural and military emergency. They can also be used to release employees in the essential services for military duty. Industries, commercial enterprises and educational institutions have been encouraged to establish their own internal civil defence organisations. In some areas volunteers have undergone courses including drill, musketry, fieldcraft, crowd control, roadblock routines, anti-riot procedures and lectures on internal security.





## QUOTES -

DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE, MR ADRIAAN VLOK

"Besides the chaos and panic that can be sown through insurgency, the techniques that are usually used are a threat to every civilian resident."

"The success of counterinsurgency will depend on the ability to counter the effects of bomb blasts in public complexes and buildings, plane hijackings, landmine explosions and the destruction of communication and transport networks.

"We will simply have to make provision for the monster of terrorism in our planning and our life-styles."

(Citizen 28.8.85)

Civil defence and the warning to prepare for the "terrorist onslaught" are calls to defend the "traditional" values and structures of white South Africa.

## JUST ONE COMMANDO

The Pongola Commando is based in the town of Pongola near the border between the eastern Transvaal and Natal. Black game rangers of the Natal Parks Board fall under this commando. They are given about two months' training. This includes drill, weapon handling and ambushing. The rangers are used to patrol the area. They are in radio contact with white game wardens who, in turn, are in touch with the Defence Force.

"The game rangers of the Natal Parks Board are not only excellent protectors of nature, but are also well-trained to deal with terrorists..."

(Paratus January 1986)

#### MESSINA

During late 1985 ANC activity along the Limpopo near Messina increased, with a number of landmine blasts in which seven people were killed and a number were injured. Most of Most of the dead and injured were white.

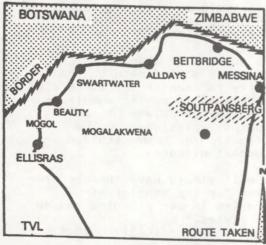
"We are here to stay and will not let terrorists chase us from our land." - local farmer

"Just like the men, the women are involved with the local Commando where we receive training so that we can stand by the men-folk in any situation and can - if the situation demands do the protecting ourselves." - farmer's wife

"For the sake of the children we try to go as normally as possible with our daily affairs. Nevertheless, they are fully informed about what is going on and, thanks to an intensive Civil Defence programme at school, prepared for every eventuality." - farmer's wife

(Paratus January 1986)

#### THE NEW FRONTIER



BUSINESS DAY 10.1.86

# "EVERY PATRIOT A COMBATANT. EVERY COMBATANT A PATRIOT"

"Every patriot a combatant, every combatant a patriot" is the ANC slogan for 1986. For the white South African farmers along the Limpopo River and in other border areas, the message is not very different. Said one:

"I believe each farmer should be responsible for the safety of his own farm, with the general security left in the hands of the defence force."

(Sunday Times 22.12.85)

Some of the measures planned for these border areas are:

- Security fences, alarm systems, floodlights and window protection for homes on the isolated farms.
- Increased efforts to step up occupancy of farms in the area where, at present, some 50% are not occupied.
- The supply of army rifles to some farmers' wives. Most male farmers, as members of the local commando, already have such weapons.
- Extension of security fences.

Said ANC leader Oliver Tambo:

"The use of landmines in the white farming areas does not constitute a change in policy ... these areas on the borders of our country have long been proclaimed and treated by the Pretoria regime as military zones."

(Business Day 16.1.85)

#### MARNET

MARNET is an emergency radio network for civilians and military commandos in remote or dangerous areas. It has be set up across most of South Africa and Namibia by the SADF.

Staffed by members of the SADF or police, the infrastructure for the alarm and communications system now covers 75% of the country.

It can be used to alert the nearest military base for help in the event of attacks or other emergencies in remote areas.

MARNET is designed as an extension to the civil defence networks which have been established in built-up areas.

Examples of situations for which MARNET was designed are "terrorist" areas, major accidents and bush fires.

The system allows for a distress call to be sent to the nearest military base by pressing a button on the radio console, or connecting buttons placed throughout the

According to the manufacturers (who developed the system under contract to Armscor), MARNET has a three-fold purpose:

- facilitating the command and control of commandos; providing an intelligence-gathering service; and use as a civilian emergency system in case of terrorist attack or any crisis at rural homesteads.

(Star 13.8.85)





The border east of Beit Bridge is protected by an electrified fence.

# PART B:

# THE MILITARISATION OF A SOCIETY

#### FACTSHEETS:

EDUCATION B 1:

"HEARTS AND MINDS" B 2:

SOCIETY-AT-WAR B 3:

THE ECONOMY B 4:

THE DAMAGED B 5:

B 6:

WOMEN THE CHURCHES B 7:

B 8: RESISTANCE TO CONSCRIPTION
B 9: CULTURE IN A VIOLENT SOCIETY

# EDUCATION

#### QUOTE - National Education Union of South Africa Newsletter

"'Militarisation' is a broad catchphrase used to refer to many aspects of South African society. In regard to education, it refers to the increasing influence of the SADF over the racially divided educational system in this country: the extended cadet and Youth Preparedness (Y.P.) programmes in white schools, and the uniformed teacher and 'youth camps' in black schools.

"With the authoritarian hierarchical structure of most white schools, the increasing militarisation serves to ensure the acceptance by pupils of the intensifying war and the SADF's role in it. This attitude is revealed in the army vs terrorist themes of many essays received by teachers."

(Quoted in The Right to Learn
by Pam Christie, 1985)

## CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION (CNE)

Official Definition of "National"

National Education in schools shall have a broad national character which shall be imprinted (a) through the conscious expansion of every pupil's knowledge of the fatherland, embracing language and cultural heritage, history and traditions, national symbols, the diversity of the population, social and economic conditions, geographical diversity and national achievements; and (b) by developing this knowledge in each pupil into understanding and appreciation by presenting it in a meaningful way where appropriate, in the teaching of the two official languages, and further through the participation of pupils in national festivals, and their regular honouring of the national symbols, so as to (i) inculcate a spirit of patriotism, founded on loyalty and responsibility towards the fatherland, its soil and its natural resources; (ii) enable every pupil to gain a balanced perspective; and (iii) achieve a sense of unity and a spirit of co-operation.

## THE YOUTH PREPAREDNESS (Y.P.) PROGRAMME

Youth Preparedness is a compulsory subject in white schools. Introducing the Programme to teachers in 1972, the Transvaal Director of Education said:

"Today there are such calculated forms of treason that it is often difficult to identify it. But there is something going on in the world today which I would like to identify and to give a name, and that is the treason against youth of some intellectuals, writers, thinkers and philosophers...

"...We have to be physically and mentally fit and on the alert to weather the storm...

"You have already seen the sirens which are to sound the warning when the bombs start falling...

"If we fail we can say goodbye to Western civilization as we see it today, and to all the values that have been characteristic of our civilization through the ages."

Some of the compulsory components of YP are:

Emergency planning Fire fighting Drilling and marching
Drilling, shooting and orchestra
Shooting and self-defence Vocational guidance Moral preparedness

Moral preparedness includes the following:

- Citizenship, which deals with the "official emblems of the RSA", "our national holidays", "the strategic position of South Africa to the rest of the world", "the Bantu", etc.
- Human relationships.
- Things worthwhile in life work, human virtues, authority and liberty, etc.

(From TED Manual 1972)

(The section on YP was taken from The Right to Learn by Pam Christie, 1985)



#### VELD SCHOOLS

In the Transvaal, veld schools have been run, as an extension of the Youth Preparedness Programme, since 1976. The veld schools are held for Standard 5 pupils and Standard 8 pupils and they are compulsory.

The aims of a veld school are:

- To lead the pupil on the road to maturity and adulthood. N.B. The aim of this course is not simply to impart knowledge but to reinforce the norms, values and morals (customs) of our society.
- To encourage the pupil to be a better South African.
- To encourage pupils to become better Christians.
- To provide an adventure.
- To show that a threat to South Africa's existence and stability does exist, and what we can do about it.
- To provide pupils with an opportunity to get to know and appreciate nature.
- To prepare our young for emergencies which may take place.
- 8 . To assess leadership qualities.
- To impart knowledge." (Taken from The Right to Learn by Pam Christle, 1985)

# We must learn about communist onslaught

I WAS dismayed to read the article "Politics in the veld upsets teachers" (The Sunday Star, August 4).

I attended the same veld school and couldn't believe that people would allow things to be

people would allow things to be put out of perspective in such a destructive way.

As for the "military and po-lice officers" who gave us lec-tures: yes, we were lectured to by a police officer on urban terrorism and were shown terrorist weapons.

A military officer lectured us on the communists' total psychological onslaught on the RSA. Is it not important that we have knowledge of this?

As for the woman of 45 "who was made to do all the physical tasks" — I myself am over 40 and took part in all the physical activities out of my own free will, and enjoyed every moment of it.

Nobody was forced to do any of these tasks.

One evening an "adventure course" was on the programme, and the headmaster and lecturers decided to cancel this because they thought that conditions may have been too muddy.

Most of us were disappointed and several of the women (over 40) asked if we could do the course voluntarily.

Only after the course was in-spected and found to be quite dry was it agreed that we could do it.

As for the woman who said that she only entered the Youth Preparedness Course "because she was afraid of losing her job" — there are several other courses to be chosen from.

On the last day, every stu-dent was given a form to eval-uate the week's activities. We remained anonymous in this task, so everybody could have been honest without the fear of being discriminated against. This is my third course

through the College of Education for Further Training and I have always found the lecturers very professional and help-

Mrs A Kleynbans Mondeor STAR 25.8.85

## YOUTH CAMPS FOR BLACK CHILDREN

Militarised holiday "adventure" camps are run for coloured and Indian children. Participants are encouraged to develop "leadership, patriotism and military discipline". Now camps are also being run for African children, with the involvement of Administration Boards and local community councils. The East Rand Administration Board runs one such youth camp at Zandspruit. Zandspruit has its origins, indirectly, in the 1976 uprising.

"The main objects of the Zandspruit Youth Scheme are to prove to the attending juveniles that they are indeed capable of acquiring technical skills which are within their reach and which are in such demand on the East Rand as an industrial area, and further to persuade them to change their way of life from an idle and unemployed situation to that of responsible and happy citizens."

Among the activities offered to those who attend the Zandspruit Youth Camp are:

- Civil Defence Practice
- Local Government: Functions of Community Councils
- Traditional Customs, Practices and Cultural Values and Respect
- Flag ceremonies

Among leadership qualities cited in the Zandspruit prospectus are

- Employment
- Appreciation

Duty Service

Thankfulness

Endurance

Unity

Respect

"The Zandspruit camping facilities are not limited to unemployed juveniles, but are also extended to school going groups, prefects and other youth leaders, and even to adult groups attending specific courses.

"In conclusion, a lesson learned at the fountain of Oriental Wisdom:

To survive for a season, plant rice;
To survive for a decade, grow trees;
To survive for a century, cultivate the youth!"

(Quotes and information taken from the Zandspruit Youth Camp Prospectus)

#### OOS-RANDSE ADMINISTRASIERAAD EAST RAND ADMINISTRATION BOARD

KANTOOR VAN DIE HOOFDIREKTEUR CHIEF DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT

attended the Youth Leadership Programme held at the Zandspruit Youth Camp during the period:

and that he attended the following introductory activities marked

- First Aid.
  Road Safety.
  Civil Defence Practice.
  Local Government Functions of Community Councils.
  Personal Health and Hygiene.
  Table manners and Equette.
  Leadership Qualities.
  Reture Conservation, Environmental Education and Ecology.
  Cross Country Running.
  Leisure Time Activities.

- Cross Country Running.
  Leisure Time Activities.
  Indoor Games.
  Identification of Indigenous Trees, Birds and Wild Life.
  Physical Training.
  Soccer Rules and Sports Administration.
  Room Inspection, Cleanliness and Tidiness.
  Traditional Customs, Practices and Cultural Values and
  Flag Ceremonies.
  Camp Rules and General Discipline.
  Bible Studies and Prayers.
  Educational Flun Shows.
  Handling of Farm Animals.
  General Farm Work.
  Detailed and practical introduction to:
  Workshop Safety.
  Welding.
  Motor Mechanics.
  - Welding.
    Motor Mechanics.
    Pamel Beating and Spray Painting. Plumbing. Brick Making and Brick Laying. king: Personal Budgeting.

ave no hesitation in recommending the candidate e available, and where a career can be followed

PROJECT MANAGER

**Collection Number: AG1977** 

#### **END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)**

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