Dear Friends--

The enclosed material is yours...free! Please read it and pass it on to others. The booklet, THE RIGHT TO SAY NO TO A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY, is a further contribution in our struggle as South Africans and North Americans against the growing danger of the apartheid war machine and its militarization of the African sub-continent.

The bulletin is to share with you our analysis of recent fast-moving events in Southern Africa. It contains information and a perspective we have not seen anywhere else as yet. Hopefully, we will not need another "Pentagon Papers" before people will believe that what is unfolding in Southern Africa is a scary repeat of events in Southeast Asia not even two decades ago. Muzorewa has become their Diem already. Even more disconcerting is how many people (who ought to know better) are saying that the U.S. will not intervene in Southern Africa in this post-Vietnam era.

Some white South African youth are now refusing to wage war on behalf of the apartheid system. They are resisting the draft or going AWOL from the military. Their numbers multiply as the war escalates. Because our work in support of this growing resistance is seen as a threat, South African government and military officials issue harsh warnings to soldiers and other youth about how dangerous it is to associate with us. Clearly our work is having the desired effect.

We are asking for your support in building this work; there are three things you could do for us:
1) Read the enclosed and share it with anyone who might be interested.
2) Help us distribute and sell the booklet as widely as possible.
3) Please help us with funds if you can. We are in very rough weather financially--every little bit counts!

In common struggle and with thanks,
the SAMRAF staff

PS Drop us a note and tell us what you think of our work.
P.W. Piet Wapen = Military State

P.W. Botha is known as Piet Wapen (pronounced Vapen, meaning weapon in English) because everything about him stands for militarism in defense of apartheid. It is clear that the white-minority South African state is involved in an all-out war to maintain its domination over the millions of people struggling for liberation in Southern Africa. Each day brings new evidence of the brutal crimes committed by Botha and those who collaborate with him as they battle for "survival," meaning the preservation of the white nation and white privilege.

Under the direction of Mr. Piet Wapen Botha, "elected" Prime Minister last September, the apartheid war machine has become an even more dangerous enemy in the African subcontinent. Botha, of course, served in the Vorster regime as the architect of South Africa's military build-up. It was Botha who led the 1975 invasion of Angola and who has plotted the South African drive toward self-sufficiency in arms production, meaning the development of "Armscor" into a massive military-industrial complex which needs heightened war to sustain its profits. Botha is also a member of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond and was a member during World War II of the Ossewabrandwag, the South African par-military organization that supported Hitler and Nazi terror.

Piet Wapen Botha is already a war criminal many times over. It was a little over one year ago that he ordered an airborne attack on the Namibian refugee transit camp at Kassinga, 175 miles into Angola. Eight French Mirage jets of the SA Air Force carried out a pre-run bombardment, destroying a clinic and other important buildings. Over 1,500 SA paratroopers and mercenaries were then dropped by C-130 Hercules troop carriers. They were authorized to use poisonous gas and massive fire power (free-fire zones). Thus, what Botha is responsible for is the massacre of over 700 Namibians, mostly women and children. Some women were raped and then shot dead; more than 1,500 refugees were wounded. And this is only one of many such raids.

Solomon Mahlangu hanged from a rope at Botha's gallows. The children who are dying now of malnutrition are deprived of food and medical care by Botha. Nuclear weapons and a nuclear power plant are being built by Botha with generous assistance from Western imperialism. Botha is responsible for deaths in detention, torture, and other crimes which together are as great as the crimes of the slave traders, the dictators, and the fascists of history.

Piet Wapen Botha is the proud boss of the South African military state and the apartheid war machine. (It must be remembered that he also
holds the positions in his own cabinet of Minister of Defense and Minister of National Security). After a power struggle, Botha has transferred most of the diabolical duties of BOSS to his military intelligence network. It is Botha and other military strategists who have devised the "Fortress Southern Africa" strategy, an even more militarized and threatening formulation of South Africa's entire strategy. On April 19th, Botha made his first major policy speech since becoming Prime Minister; in it he outlined this fortress strategy in the context of total war.

The following points provide a brief overview of the areas in which the fortress strategy is likely to take shape.

1 Military Occupation of Namibia

South Africa has broken off the negotiations on a United Nations-supervised independence plan for colonized Namibia. South Africa refused to negotiate the right of Namibians to return from forced exile and the release of political prisoners/POWs so that SWAPO could legitimately take its place in the election process and the political future of an independent Namibia. South Africa cannot concede this key issue because it knows SWAPO will organize the Namibian people into one nation opposed to neo-colonialism.

South Africa's military fortress demands an "internal" solution with a puppet regime that will rely for protection on the SA Defense Force, Secret Police, and white power organizations. Two of these organizations are presently active, a German-speaking Wit Weerstandsbevewing (White Resistance Movement) on the Nazi model and an Afrikaans-speaking Blankswa (White Wagon) on the Ku Klux Klan model.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), financed by the SA Information Dept. Secret Fund, has the leading position in the maneuvering for dominance in the internal solution assembly. The SA colonial administration is still in charge and has now declared 6 areas of the country, including Windhoek, to be "security districts." This is virtual martial law because the new decrees say that any person can be jailed and interrogated for up to 30 days without recourse to a lawyer.

South Africa blames the UN and "the West" (meaning the "Gang of 5" who went to Pretoria for negotiations last December—USA, Britain, France, W. Germany, & Canada) for the failure of the "South West Africa negotiations."

2 Muzorewa Invites SA Intervention

South Africa provided major military support to Rhodesian Security Forces during the sham elections which installed the Muzorewa puppet regime in the supposedly free Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. At least two SA Air Force Dakotas carried reporters and observers around on a carefully orchestrated tour to witness the supposedly fair elections.

South Africa immediately hailed the elections as completely free and fair. The SA government welcomed the victory of Muzorewa who in turn asked for economic and military assistance. Ian Smith thanked South Africa for its help during the elections and proclaimed the "Fortress Southern Africa" strategy to be "manna from heaven."

The Thatcher government has stated its intention to recognize the Muzorewa puppet show and remove sanctions. Lord Carrington, new foreign minister, is a member of the board of both Barclays Bank International and RTZ (Rio Tinto Zinc) Corp. which holds majority ownership in the Rossing uranium mine (world's largest
uranium mine) in Namibia and owns several chrome mines in Zimbabwe. In addition, he was president of the Iran Society from 1974 and is First Lord of the Admiralty, British Navy. The good Lord will thus be directly negotiating the future of his own wealth as well as of British imperialism. The US Congress likewise has moved to the right and is pushing Carter to lift sanctions.

So the struggle sharpens and intensifies between imperialism and the liberation forces. ZANU and ZAPU, composing the Patriotic Front, are continuing the armed struggle for the total transformation of economic, political, and social life in a free Zimbabwe.

### 3 Raids Are Terrorism

South Africa carried out massive raids into Angola and Zambia, while providing logistic support to Rhodesian raids on a larger, more brutal scale against Mozambique, Zambia, and Angola. Many of these raids have been bombings and helicopter-dropped troop attacks which are invasions of and atrocities against civilian populations. This is done because all black people are viewed as "Communist-sympathisers" or "potential terrorists".

Angola called a UN Security Council meeting to condemn South African attacks and claimed to have shot down six South African planes. According to the journal Flight International, "Angola claims that (SA) military activity between March 6 and March 15 in the southern part of the country can be summarised as follows: 26 reconnaissance sorties, 18 helicopter sorties, 44 bombing sorties, 13 areas bombed by a total of 152 tons of bombs. Twelve Angolans were killed and 13 wounded."

South Africa has raised the number of occupying troops in its "operational area" of northern Namibia from 50,000 to nearly 65,000. This huge occupying army, including sophisticated technological weapons and almost 2,000 mercenaries, is trying to annihilate SWAPO's mass base, the Namibian people, as well as its military rear base in Angola.

### 4 Spy Charges Against U.S.

South Africa has turned against CIA operations within its borders. The CIA previously relied on BOSS for intelligence reports on activities inside South Africa, but since the Angolan War the CIA has taken a more independent stance, probing South African nuclear and military capabilities. Botha recently went on nationwide television to make public charges of US spying and to signal a further break with the Carter administration. Specifically, Botha charged US agents with taking aerial photographs of sensitive areas and troop movements, gaining access to restricted areas under false pretenses, and questioning South African military officials on secret information.

These charges are undoubtedly true, but they were timed in such a way as to manufacture an incident, whipping up anti-American sentiment among white South Africans. This is being done for two reasons: first, to take the heat off of the South African government's "information scandal" and second, to state the position that the US is seen as a superpower which, along with the Soviet Union, is a danger to the sovereignty of the white nation. The US, it was claimed, has from 12 to 40 CIA agents in South Africa and must be bargained with as a potential enemy, rather than pursued as an ally and guardian. South Africa sees its bargaining chip as its mineral resources, which it knows the US economy would be hard-pressed to do without.
War and Press Censorship

The SA Defense Force has continued to suppress much information related to the war or to troop casualties. We have had reports from a South African soldier on active duty that combat in the border areas has escalated dramatically in recent months and that whole platoons are returning from the border "badly shot up." Yet, the Defense Force only reports casualties for its enemy.

The escalation of a war, however, is difficult to cover up for very long. For example, one South African newspaper recently reported that soldiers who were out of the army for as little as a month "are receiving a major shock—they are being told to report again for 3 months border duty." This drastic measure was taken because out of recent call-ups, so many have failed to show up that there weren't enough trained men to meet the increased need for infantrymen trained in counter-insurgency operations.

Botha has also recently introduced new laws to clamp down further on press coverage of the war. One proposal which is certain to pass will only permit reporting on the war by reporters who are officially designated as "military correspondents" by the SA Defense Force.

Ring of Steel

South Africa is moving to fortify its borders with a "ring of steel" presumably to try to halt the flow of refugees who must leave because of the state's terror and then must sneak back in to do political work. This and much more are contained in the 1979 White Paper on Defense just published in April.

The budget for defense has jumped to a whopping 2 billion rand ($2.3 billion). This sum is necessary if the war machine is to carry out the following plans: 1) South Africa is still secretly buying certain weapons through illegal international channels despite the arms embargo; 2) weapons systems produced in S. Africa are being pushed ahead—missiles, the 155 mm field artillery piece for long range use, helicopters, and the R-4 automatic rifle; 3) SA Defense Force now has the power to "commandeer" any premises or movable object which will be deemed leased or sold; 4) "fortified strong points" are going up all along the border manned by SA Police and equipped with a sophisticated communications network to all border area farms called Military Area Radio Network (MARNET); and 5) cash incentives are being offered to young whites to resettle on farms near the border that are now being depopulated by whites who are emigrating out of fear for their safety.

"... a strong and prepared Defense Force is more than ever necessary. Necessary, not only to the fatherland but to establish ourselves as guardians of peace and freedom in this sub-continent," says General Rogers, Chief of the SA Air Force. Vice-Admiral R.A. Edwards, Chief of Staff Personnel went on, "By act of Parliament, the SADF has been given the task of protecting South Africa and all its activities, including capitalism which has made South Africa the leader in Africa."

Operation De-Stabilization

South Africa and Rhodesia are actively supporting de-stabilization
efforts against the governments of Angola, Zambia, and Mozambique. South Africa allows UNITA to operate from bases in the northern Namibia operational area. South Africa gives arms and provides technical assistance to UNITA for its attacks on SWAPO guerrillas, Angolan troops, and strategic facilities in southern Angola. UNITA also operates in conjunction with SA Defense Force raids.

The Vice President of Muzorewa's UANC, Mr. James Chikerema, has declared that the Muzorewa regime would be willing to help organize a revolution in Zambia to remove Pres. Kaunda by force. Sources in South Africa report that Botha has voiced support for what is called "the anti-Kaunda Zambian liberation forces."

The South African press has given much coverage to the activities of the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRM), a group distributing pamphlets calling on Mozambicans to overthrow Frelimo. The pamphlets have said that the MRM is planning further attacks which would disrupt the country and have called on people to sabotage vital installations, such as the oil storage depots. The pamphlets denied the MRM had anything to do with the Rhodesian or South African governments, but it's clear that that is exactly where their support is coming from—along with Portuguese reactionaries; hence the denial.

Botha recently gave a heated warning to neighboring African states, saying they would "pay dearly if they accept arms from foreign powers to make their countries a springboard for terrorists."

Constant Repression, Total War

Following the massive upsurge of black opposition in 1976-77, South Africa, while embarking on a strategy of selective incorporation of some blacks into the apartheid system, invoked numerous security laws to buttress its battle for survival. Using the Terrorism Act, Sabotage Act, Internal Security Act, Explosives Act, the Criminal Procedure Act, Unlawful Organizations Act, and other repressive laws, South Africa has mounted more than 100 political trials involving no fewer than 600 activists.

The major trials have been the Pretoria ANC 12 case (sentences in it ranged from 7 to 18 years for 6 of the accused), the continuing Bethal PAC 18 trial which has been held entirely in camera (closed to the public), and the recently concluded trial of the Soweto 11 who were sentenced to jail terms of 2 to 4 years with suspended sentences for 7 of the accused.

Hundreds of people, ranging in age from 14 to 67 years old, have been detained without trial since the Soweto rebellion. Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, replying to criticism, said that it was the responsibility of any government to maintain the security of the state by means of administrative actions against persons, organizations, and publications and that actions such as detention were necessary to maintain South Africa as a stable country, safe for investment!

During detentions it has become customary for police interrogators to use methods such as electric shock torture, death threats, and assault in order to force detainees to make self-incriminating statements. In the Soweto 11 case, one of the accused disclosed that one form of torture was a threat by a police interrogator to drive a nail through his penis.

No less than 200 persons have been silenced by banning orders. In the face of all this harassment, terror, and denial of human rights, black opposition has continued to grow, with actions against the state assuming heightened levels of daring.
9 Prisoners of War

The South African military state executed ANC guerrilla fighter Solomon Mahlangu by hanging on April 6th, after refusing to recognize him as a prisoner of war. Mahlangu was a 22-year-old former high school student from Mamelodi township, outside Pretoria. During 1976, he witnessed at first hand the gunning down of school children for demonstrating against unequal, dehumanizing education. He was one of literally thousands of black youth who left the country and took up military training.

Mahlangu became a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, guerrilla army of the ANC, and returned to South Africa as a trained soldier. He clearly had the right to be treated as a prisoner of war; South Africa constantly claims to face a total war and is obviously engaged in a war against black people.

The 47 SWAPO leaders who were recently arrested by the SA colonial police in Namibia should likewise be recognized as POWs and treated according to the rules for prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention. Among several South African POWs, one held by SWAPO is 24-year-old Johan van der Mescht, who has publicly stated that he is being treated well as a war captive.

Mahlangu’s mother, on her last visit to Solomon, found him calm. He told her: "My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruit of freedom. Tell the people that I love them and that they must continue the struggle."

IN CONCLUSION

The desperate preparations of the South African military state for total war, including the use of nuclear warfare, have chilling implications for the black masses of South Africa, for the liberation movements of Southern Africa, and for the future of progressive black governments in the entire region.

In opposition to the apartheid war machine is the resolve of liberation forces to engage in armed actions inside South Africa itself, which along with the growing militancy of black workers and students, are dramatic statements of the determination to build protracted peoples war until the whole machinery of the brutal apartheid system is destroyed.

The South African struggle is totally linked with the struggles of the Namibian and Zimbabwean peoples for national liberation. Socialist construction is painstakingly being carried forward in Angola and Mozambique, representing the truth of the slogan, A Luta Continua.

Piet Wapen, apartheid, and the white South African fortress can only surrender or eventually be buried. The youth, the workers, and the liberation organizations of South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe have seen the might of US aggression brought down in Indochina, the fall of Portuguese colonialism close to home, and the crumbling of the murderous regimes of both the Shah and Amin. These examples of heroic struggle against imperialism can only be carried on by the united efforts of the peoples of Southern Africa.

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