South Africa is waging war in Southern Africa.

It is a devastating war largely ignored by the American people whose attention to international conflicts is often limited to Central America and the Middle East. But this war is just as deadly.

Like in the Middle East and Central America:

- Thousands have been killed, even more have been wounded and maimed;
- Many of the victims are women and children, civilians and refugees fleeing the fighting;
- Schools, hospitals, railways and bridges have been sabotaged, and whole villages burned to the ground.

And like in the Middle East and Central America, the US is providing political, military and economic support for this aggression.

The South African government, an anti-democratic, oppressive power with a massive military capability, is causing this destruction in its war on the people of Southern Africa.

The basis for this war is apartheid, South Africa's racist system of oppression. Apartheid denies freedom to the Black majority of South Africa and Namibia, and its aggression is causing untold suffering to the people of neighboring states.

Apartheid's war must be stopped. The longer it continues, the greater the threat to world peace. Around the world, people are speaking out against this war. The American people, too, need to understand this conflict and help stop US support for apartheid and its cruel war.

A Publication of the Washington Office on Africa
South Africa’s Escalating War

A war is engulfing the Southern African region, causing massive death and destruction. The genesis of this conflict lies with the white minority regime of South Africa.

Why is South Africa waging this unprovoked war? There are two main reasons, both embedded in the reality of the Pretoria government and military, representing 4.5 million whites, trying to maintain oppressive control over South Africa’s 26 million Blacks. This brutal system, called apartheid, has allowed the white minority to obtain greater and greater wealth. The cost to the Black majority has been massive poverty, dislocation, repression and state-sponsored violence. Resistance has steadily increased as peaceful protests have been met with bullets and tanks.

Why is South Africa carrying on this conflict?

• To keep the war outside its own borders. Throughout the colonial era, the white minority government had neighboring white-ruled colonies which served as buffer zones. Now most of those countries have achieved majority rule. South Africa is attempting to limit their strength and their support for the growing South African and Namibian liberation movements who have taken up arms to win their freedom and overthrow the apartheid system. Through attacks and intimidation, Pretoria expects to bully its neighbors into submission and keep control over Namibia.

• To maintain its historical economic control over all of Southern Africa. The region’s colonial history created the neighboring states’ economic dependency on South Africa. Through no choice of their own, the Black-ruled states generate much of their revenue from South African road, rail and port traffic and remittances from workers who have gone to work in South Africa’s factories and mines. These newly independent countries were underdeveloped through centuries of colonial exploitation. South Africa wants to maintain its economic dominance over the region for the financial and political benefit of its white minority.

In essence, the conflict in Southern Africa is a war to maintain apartheid and South Africa’s regional dominance.

The war in Southern Africa is very one-sided. Pretoria’s immense military might overpowers its neighboring states. The South African government spends billions of dollars each year on its military, the fastest growing budget item. The combined military budgets of South Africa’s neighbors cannot even come close to this massive expenditure. In addition, since 1978, South Africa’s military has increasingly dominated its civilian government. Political and military decisions have been merged into one power center increasingly desperate to retain control and dependent on force to impose its will.

South Africa’s Victims

Virtually all of South Africa’s neighbors have suffered from the regime’s campaign of destruction and destabilization.

• Namibia continues to languish under South Africa’s illegal military occupation. South Africa originally invaded Namibia in 1915, wresting control from German colonial rule. The United Nations revoked South Africa’s League of Nations mandate in 1966. When South Africa refused to end its occupation and responded with violence to massive peaceful protests demanding independence, the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO), Namibia’s liberation movement, launched its armed struggle to fight for independence. The International Court of Justice declared South Africa’s rule over Namibia illegal in 1971. But South Africa continues to ignore the demands of the international community and the Namibian people to get out, choosing instead to exploit Namibia’s economy for its rich minerals and to keep the country as a buffer zone.

• Angola has been the victim of countless South African invasions and attacks since its independence in 1975 from Portuguese colonial rule. South Africa first invaded Angola in September 1975, in collusion with the US CIA. The new Angolan government sought Cuban military assistance and fought back the South African aggressors. South Africa’s continued attacks, invasions and occupations of Angolan territory—causing over $10 billion in damage—have forced Angola to keep those Cuban troops to help defend the country.

South Africa has also given financial and military support to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a guerrilla movement working to topple the Angolan government. UNITA has caused massive destruction in Angola, attacking towns and villages and sabotaging roads, bridges, factories and rail lines.

• Mozambique has also suffered from South Africa’s war by proxy, as well as numerous military invasions. Mozambique has yet to have a year of peace since it won its independence.
from Portuguese colonial rule in 1975. The new government's support for the Zimbabwe liberation movements struggling for majority rule in then white-ruled Rhodesia provoked savage attacks by the Rhodesian military forces. Mozambique also had to care for thousands of Zimbabwean refugees forced to flee their homeland.

In addition, the Rhodesian regime created a guerrilla movement—the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR)—to destabilize Mozambique via sabotage and mutilations. When white-ruled Rhodesia became independent Zimbabwe in 1980, South Africa took control of MNR and escalated the sabotage campaign. Its activities have exacerbated the food shortage caused by the worst drought in the nation's history. The South African military has also made several attacks on Mozambique.

- **Zimbabwe** has been another victim of South Africa's destabilization campaign. Achieving majority rule in 1980 after a prolonged guerrilla struggle, Zimbabwe faced the difficult task of economic reconstruction and social reconciliation after the war. This task has been made harder by South Africa's training and funding of guerrillas attempting to topple the new government. Pretoria now finances two radio stations based in South Africa which beam anti-government broadcasts into Zimbabwe.

- **Botswana, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland**—economically very dependent on South Africa, have also suffered from Pretoria's destabilization. Botswana and Zambia have been attacked by South Africa, and during the war in Zimbabwe, by white Rhodesia. Lesotho and Swaziland have been invaded and victimized by South African-supported sabotage.

### The People Fight Back

In an attempt to break Pretoria's economic stranglehold over the region, the majority-ruled states banded together in 1979 to form the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC). SADCC attempts through greater cooperation to help the Black-ruled states develop their economies independently of South Africa. This push for self-reliant economic development has provoked South Africa to escalate its military attacks on these states. Despite the damage from these attacks, the SADCC countries have begun to make significant progress and have completed many projects improving transportation and port networks.

The people of South Africa are also fighting back. Blacks and whites opposed to apartheid have organized and are struggling (continued on page 6)

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### What You Can Do

- **Support comprehensive, enforceable United Nations sanctions against South Africa.** Sanctions would remove US economic support for apartheid. Urge US support for concrete UN Security Council measures against South Africa as long as it continues its war of destabilization, refuses to withdraw from Namibia, and maintains apartheid. Write to the President and your Senators and Representatives to demand such sanctions.

- **Urge divestment** of public funds, pension funds, and university portfolios from US corporations and banks that invest in South Africa, supporting the apartheid system and freeing up monies for apartheid's war. Many universities, cities, states, and religious groups have divested, others are now considering divestment. Contact the Washington Office on Africa for more information.

- **Press for increased US economic aid to Southern Africa.** Urge your Congressteamember to support aid to SADCC, and UN programs which assist the victims of apartheid.

- **Give material support to refugees of apartheid's war.** Over 60,000 Namibians are in Angola and Zambia; over 27,000 South Africans have also become refugees. Supplies donated through the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, SWAPO, and ANC are desperately needed. Contact the American Friends Service Committee (1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102) for more information.

- **Support South African military resisters.** A growing number of young South Africans have been forced to leave South Africa because they oppose apartheid's war. Some have come to the US needing legal and other help. Contact the South African Military Refugee Aid Fund (SAMRAF, 29 Seventh Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217) for more information.

- **Inform yourself and others by sponsoring educational events** in your community about South African aggression and US involvement. Many people in the US are unaware of events in Southern Africa; others have been influenced by South African propaganda. See the Resources listed on page 6, and contact the Washington Office on Africa for more information.
US Complicity in the War

Without the assistance received from the West, and particularly from the United States, South Africa's war in Southern Africa would be impossible.

Through successive administrations, US support for South Africa has been based on the perceived need to contain Soviet influence in the region, maintain sources of strategic minerals, protect extensive US corporate investment and retain access to the Cape sea route through which flows a large part of the West's oil. US government policy has opposed genuine, fundamental change towards majority rule, and has sought the South African government as an ally.

US assistance to the white minority regime takes many forms—military, political, diplomatic, and economic.

Military Assistance

Despite an international, mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, the US still provides important military support to Pretoria. The military and intelligence agencies of both countries consult each other regularly, and sometimes carry out joint operations. In addition, the US government knowingly allows American mercenaries to fight with the South African military.

The US government has also allowed US companies to export military equipment and technology to South Africa. The Reagan Administration has greatly escalated this practice. From 1981 to 1983, the administration allowed the export of more than $28.3 million in military technology to South Africa. Similar exports over the prior 30 years had totaled only $18.6 million. These exports consist mainly of components and the building blocks of South Africa's modern weaponry.

Reagan's violations of the arms embargo do not stop there. His administration has also allowed the export of 2,500 electric shock batons—police equipment that can be used to "control" crowds. "Non-military" exports not under arms control have also been approved for the South African military and police. These have included over $500 million in sales of aircraft and related equipment, and millions more for trucks and computers.

If that were not enough, the US has also given South Africa the technology and equipment to produce its own nuclear weapons. Over the years, the US has provided Pretoria a nuclear reactor, highly enriched uranium, high technology equipment and nuclear training. Many people suspect that South Africa has already tested its own nuclear bomb.

Political and Diplomatic Support

Over the years, the US has also given South Africa varying degrees of political support. South Africa has always wanted to be accepted in the Western alliance but has faced an increasingly outraged international community which views the apartheid state as a moral pariah. The Reagan Administration has sought to change South Africa's pariah status and has explicitly opposed implementing meaningful sanctions. President Reagan has even called South Africa a "friend" and an "ally."

The Reagan Administration, by giving South Africa assistance and refusing sanctions, has created an environment for Pretoria to increase repression against domestic opponents of apartheid, escalate its attacks against neighboring states, and refuse Namibia its political independence. Indeed, the Reagan Administration has insisted on an agreement for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for Namibian independence, thereby delaying a settlement. By infusing the Southern African conflict with Cold War priorities, the US has strengthened Pretoria's position.

Economic Support

Direct US corporate investment in 1983 amounted to $2.6 billion. Outstanding loans from US commercial banks rose to

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$3.6 billion. Trade figures rose after the Reagan Administration created a special trade promotion office in Johannesburg.

Corporations which invest in South Africa provide key support to the apartheid regime. US firms control 70 percent of the South African computer market, provide 45 percent of South Africa's oil and account for over 33 percent of its automotive industry. Without computers, oil and transport, South Africa's military could not continue to invade other countries or illegally occupy Namibia. In addition, South African law requires US companies to turn over their plant facilities to the military in case of a "national emergency."

US banks which loan money to the South African government provide important financial support to the regime's war machine. US banks helped bail out apartheid after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 and the Soweto Uprising in 1976, when Pretoria's international standing was extremely low and it faced serious balance of payments difficulties.

The banks lend in tandem with the International Monetary Fund, which has also granted extensive loans to South Africa. In November 1982, the Reagan Administration supported a $1.1 billion IMF loan to the South African government—almost exactly equal to South Africa's 1982 increase in military expenditures. Without this financial assistance, South Africa could not maintain apartheid and pursue its wars of aggression.

Is There a Soviet Threat?

The South African regime justifies its aggression and belligerence—with Reagan Administration support—by arguing that it has to protect itself against the "communist onslaught." Is this threat real?

The Namibian and South African liberation movements (continued on page 6)
April 1980. SA troops cross into Zambia to mine roads, attack villages and burn crops.

June 7, 1980. SA invades Angola in its largest military operation since World War II.

August 1980. SA forces damage Angolan oil installations in port of Lobito.

December 1980. MNR launches attack in Manica, Mozambique.


January 30, 1981. SA commandos bomb 3 houses in Maputo, Mozambique, killing 12 ANC members.

January to April, 1981. SA attacks push up to 120 miles into Angola.

April 1981. SA recalls 80 railway trucks and locomotives needed to transport Zimbabwe's maize harvest.

July 31, 1981. ANC representative in Zimbabwe, Joe Nzingo Gqabi, is shot and killed in Harare.


October 1981. Zambian president Kaunda announces 500-600 dissidents are being trained in SA to destabilize his government.

November 1981. SA launches "Operation Daisy," pushing more than 150 miles into Angola.


November 14, 1981. MNR blows up navigational buoys in port of Beira. Mozambique blames SA.

December 2, 1981. Angola says SA set fire to its only oil refinery near Luanda. Severe petroleum shortages follow.

March 13, 1982. SA troops attack what they claim is SWAPO supply base near Cambeno, Angola, killing about 200.

April 13, 1982. Botswana President Masi re claims SA is turning Botswana into "another Lebanon."

June 4, 1982. ANC deputy representative in Swaziland, Petrus Nyaose, and his wife killed by a car bomb.

July 1982. One third of Zimbabwe's air force planes destroyed in bombing attack.

July to September 1982. SA invades Angola, pushing 120 miles into Angolan territory.

September 1982. MNR guerrillas ambush passenger train in Mozambique, killing 14 and wounding 50.

August 15, 1982. SA launches one of its largest assaults on Angola, pushing 175 miles over the Namibian border.

August 17, 1982. Prominent ANC member Ruth First is killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo, Mozambique.

August 18, 1982. SA makes incursion into Zimbabwe. Three white SA soldiers killed.

October 1982. MNR blows up Zimbabwe-bound train, cuts Beira water supply, destroys pumping station on Mozambique-Zimbabwe fuel pipeline and kidnaps 7 Portuguese nationals.

November 10, 1982. Angolan president Dos Santos releases official estimate of $10 billion in damages caused by SA attacks since Angolan independence in 1975.


December 9, 1982. Over 100 heavily armed SA troops raid Maseru, Lesotho, killing 42.


May 23, 1983. SA attacks Matola, Mozambique.

July 17, 1983. SA begins 2 week slowdown of Lesotho border traffic. Maseru runs out of fresh food.

August 18, 1983. Angola evacuates Cambeno village 180 miles north of Namibian border, after five-hour SA napalm and phosphorous raid.

October 8, 1983. Two captured Zimbabwean rebels admit they were trained in SA to topple Zimbabwe government.

October 17, 1983. SA commandos bomb ANC offices in Maputo, Mozambique.

November 14, 1983. LLA gunfire attack Lesotho bomb disposal experts who are defusing landmines near the border.


December 30, 1983. SA bombs SWAPO headquarters near town of Lubango, over 200 miles from Angola-Namibia border.


February 9, 1984. MNR attacks a train 55 miles north of Maputo, Mozambique, killing 6 and injuring 11.


Acknowledgement: American Committee on Africa for research assistance.
South Africa's Escalating War, from page 3

for a country that is free, democratic and just. They carry on that struggle through their liberation movements—the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)—and through trade unions, churches and civic organizations.

The struggle has been a difficult one. For decades, peaceful ANC and PAC demonstrations were met by the government's brutal violence. Liberation leaders were arrested, tortured and killed, and both the ANC and PAC were banned in 1961. Because peaceful means were closed off by the regime, the liberation movements took up arms to win their freedom. They could no longer ask people to risk their lives in protest without defending themselves.

Independent Black trade unions were virtually illegal until recently, but the labor movement grew nonetheless. Labor leaders are still harassed, detained and sometimes killed, and strikes and boycotts are often broken up by force.

The church has also been one of the greatest sources of resistance against apartheid. The South African Council of Churches (SACC), led by Bishop Desmond Tutu, has been in the forefront of the opposition movement. Both Tutu and the SACC have faced increasing government harassment and repression.

South Africa's white minority has created an escalating cycle of violence which will not end unless its source—the apartheid system itself—is destroyed. The people of Southern Africa will eventually win their struggle, but in the meantime South Africa's war will continue at tremendous cost to the lives of millions of Blacks in the region.

US Complicity in the War, continued from 4

do receive assistance from the Soviet Union—not as puppets, but as independent movements who seek supplies from wherever they can be obtained. The liberation movements also receive assistance from Sweden and other countries. In the past, some have also requested US aid, hoping for American support of their struggle for freedom—only to be turned down.

It is also true that there are Cuban troops in Angola helping defend that country from South Africa's aggression. Neither the Cubans nor any of the armies of the majority-ruled states, however, have ever invaded South Africa or Namibia. South Africa has always been the aggressor.

When the US government emphasizes the spectre of a “Soviet onslaught,” it implies that apartheid—and the massive brutalities, human rights violations and daily degradation it creates—is necessary to defend the West. The Pretoria regime sees itself as the last bastion of the civilized world in Africa and manipulates Western anti-communist sentiments to win continued Western support.

The South African government uses fear of a communist “onslaught” to refuse to come to terms with its 84 percent Black majority which demands freedom and self-determination. A US government which wants to side with justice, democracy and human rights needs to side with those fighting against oppression, not with the oppressors. If the US continues to back injustice and minority rule it will only serve to build animosities with the people of Africa.

Resources

Apartheid's War Against Angola by Marga Holness, 1983. UN Centre Against Apartheid, United Nations, New York, NY 10017. 24 pages. 60¢.


Southern Africa Under Attack by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1983. CIIR, 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF, United Kingdom. 21 pages, 45¢.


Audiovisual Materials


None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe, 1984. Africa News, P.O. Box 3851, Durham, NC 27702. 50 minute slide-tape, $50 rental.

Zimbabwe, 1983. Media Relations Department, Maryknoll, NY 10545. 28 minute film, $25 rental.

Additional copies of this leaflet are available for: 20¢ each for 1-10; 18¢ each for 11-50; 15¢ each for over 50 copies (add 35% postage).

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