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*Paper 1*

*FRONTLINE STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN  
REGIONAL RESPONSE TO  
SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED AGRESSION*

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FRONTLINE STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGIONAL  
RESPONSE TO SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED AGGRESSION-  
A STUDY IN WAR AND STRATEGY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

by

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WAR AS A CONTINUATION OF POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS

"War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes." (1)

This great classic statement sums up the historical and dialectical materialist conception of war and armed struggle held and developed by the great proletarian leaders and theoreticians of the world communist movement namely: Marx, Engels and Lenin.

This understanding of war as a phenomenon was also similarly understood by the early 19th Century German military scholar, Karl von Clausewitz who in his book, "On War", defined war as, "an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfill our will." Clausewitz further classified war as "belonging to the province of social life. It is a conflict of great interests which is settled by bloodshed, and only in that is it different from others." In addition, Clausewitz also viewed political aims as the end and war as the means and in stressing this dialectical link he wrote:

"War is nothing else than the continuation of state policy by different means." On this he elaborated thus: "War is not only a political act but a real political instrument, a continuation of political transactions, an accomplishment of these by different means. That which then remains peculiar to war, relates only to the peculiar nature of its means." (2)

This point is also succinctly made by the late Cde Mao Tse Tung (\*) of China in his thesis on "Protracted War" - a key element in the tactical thinking of the Chinese Communist Party revolutionaries before the victory of 1949. Mao stated in this thesis the classical Marxist-Leninist position on the relationship between war and politics as follows:

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(\*Mao Tse Tung was Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party until his death in 1976. He was an astute and great leader of the Chinese socialist revolution and of the Communist Party of China. However, in the 1960's and 70's he deviated from proletarian internationalism into Chinese social chauvinism. Maoist social chauvinism has damaged Chinese foreign policy and harmed the prestige of the Chinese Communist Party in the International Communist Movement.

"War is the continuation of politics. In this sense war is politics and war itself is political action; since ancient times there has never been a war that did not have a political character ..... But war has its own particular characteristics and in this sense it cannot be equated with politics in general. .... When politics develops to a certain stage beyond which it cannot proceed by the usual means, war breaks out to sweep the obstacles from the way. .... When the obstacle is removed and our political aim attained, the war will stop. But if the obstacle is not completely swept away, the war will have to continue till the aim is fully accomplished. .... It can therefore be said that politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed."

From the start therefore it should be made absolutely clear that the war situation or the situation of armed conflict which is now engulfing the whole of the Southern African region is not an accidental occurrence, or the result of the evil propensities of militarist sadists or adventurists within the region. Infact, the war in our region represents, in the final analysis, the final and highest form of the resolution of the conflict between the forces of colonialism and imperialism on the one hand, and the forces of the African national liberation movement and democratic struggle on the other hand. Therefore if we in Zimbabwe cherish our independence and to that extent if we desire the independence of the people of South Africa from the evil system of apartheid, we cannot as a nation avoid involvement in the war against apartheid in one way or another; neither can we even afford to take a position of so called 'splendid' neutrality in the general conflict that must follow from the efforts to destroy apartheid in South Africa. The facts that follow will, it is hoped, make this point even clearer.

#### The imperative of war and liberation in Southern Africa:

On 19th June, 1986, the Zimbabwe Herald reported the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Vernon Walters, as having warned against and scorned the idea of African States constituting a multi-lateral force to deal with the aggression of the apartheid regime. Walters, an accomplished imperialist counter-revolutionary in his own right, has been described thus: "Directly or indirectly, he has been involved in overthrowing more governments than any other official still serving in the U.S. government." This Walters, in the Herald report, is said to have reiterated the well-known U.S. philistine and hypocritical line - namely that the U.S. is "opposed to a violent solution in South Africa". This political and strategic line corresponds to the position of the imperialist military alliance - NATO which seeks to keep South Africa as a base and a bastion of imperialism in Africa. This line of propoganda is used to oppose the position of armed

insurrection and struggle adopted by the ANC and supported by the Communist Party of South Africa. The NATO line seeks to blind the national liberation movement and the oppressed people inside South Africa from the strategic necessity of armed struggle in their situation, thereby prolonging the life of apartheid and the suffering of the people in the interests of imperialism.

Vernon Walter's statement was directly aimed against the position taken by the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, during the Non-Aligned Summit in Harare in September 1986, where he supported the idea of an African defence force stationed in the Frontline States of Southern Africa, so as to create 'a sustainable rear base' for the liberation fighters inside South Africa. (See Sunday Mail 31/8/87). The position advocated by Cde Mugabe is a position which corresponds to the strategic requirements of the struggle against apartheid; namely, the need for armed struggle for a speedy end to the fascist apartheid regime. This position objectively recognises that the South African system of apartheid is based on the armed suppression and exploitation of the black people in South Africa and that as long as the apartheid regime remains armed and effective, there will be no end to oppression and exploitation inside South Africa. Further, it recognises that the liberation movement must dismantle apartheid through armed force, for there is no other way in which apartheid can be destroyed.

From a historical materialist and dialectical point of view, there are two kinds of wars, the just war and the unjust war. All wars for the oppression of people are unjust wars, and all wars for the people's social progress are just wars. This position arises from the thesis that war is inevitable in a world characterised by class societies and the existence of oppressor and oppressed nations and peoples. Marxist Leninists therefore oppose all unjust wars, not through pacifism (as is done by the petty-bourgeois liberals who oppose all wars without distinction) but through active support and participation in just wars. It is on this basis that communists and their allies support the revolutionary wars directed at imperialism and its allies, because without revolutionary wars it is impossible to achieve progressive social development in our class ridden society. Revolutionary war in our era overthrows the reactionary ruling classes and opens the road to freedom of the masses and their social and economic well being. Again, the benefits to historical progress of peoples as a result of revolutionary war and the seizure of peoples power by revolutionary armed forces in Marxist Leninist theory was summed by Mao Tse Tung as follows:

"Revolutionary war is an antitoxin, which not only eliminates the enemy's poison, but also purges us of our own filth. Every just revolutionary war is endowed with tremendous power, and can transform many things or can clear the way for transformation." (5)

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Thus the current revolutionary war against apartheid in Southern Africa imposes itself upon us a necessary task for purging our society of all the social filth bequeathed to this part of the world by imperialist reaction, in the form of racism, poverty, underdevelopment and the exploitation and human degradation that is common daily life in Southern Africa today. Thus, the war of liberation in Southern Africa today is a necessary historical imperative if the way for social progress is to be opened for the people of Southern Africa as a whole.

Thus in defining the conflict in Southern Africa today, we have to see the situation as a final confrontation. This has to be fought out to the finish between the forces of progress, represented by the national liberation movement in South Africa in the form of the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the PAC and other anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa with the allied Frontline States of Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana on the one hand representing the just forces, and on the other hand, representing the unjust forces, the Malan-Botha apartheid regime in South Africa and its imperialist allies, led by the United States of America and the right wing Thatcher regime of Britain.

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ORGANIC UNITY BETWEEN APARTHEID MILITARISATION AND GENERAL IMPERIALIST MILITARISATION

Imperialist militarisation evident in Southern Africa , Central America . Asia and other parts of the world aggressively pursues the objectives of:

- a. the defense and consolidation of monopoly capitalism in the face of a deepening world wide social and economic capitalist crisis.
- b. the reaping of astronomical profits for local and foreign monopolies involved in arms production and marketing.
- c. the destruction of material developments arising out of the collective social efforts of working people , particularly in those countries whose development is based on the redistribution of national wealth to the majority.
- d. the suppression of progressive social organisation , the fostering of backward and false ideologies of chauvinism , tribalism and racism and the inculcation of a feeling of hopelessness amongst the working and other oppressed peoples in the face of imperialist aggression and its state terrorism.

In the specific circumstances of the Southern African region , the earliest forms of unorganised and spontaneous protest against colonial and capitalist domination and material poverty were met by police and penal coercion. The apartheid regime in particular attempted to forge close alliances with Western military powers in order to commit them to its defence. This coincided with the imperialist attack in the 1950's on European socialist transformation in order to protect and promote the expansion of monopoly capitalism. The so-called 'Soviet threat' became the rationale for the build up of imperialist military forces and the world wide suppression of progressive political and economic changes. The South African state sent military support to these activities - the Berlin airlift , the military force in Korea, the proposed British Middle East Defence Organisation (MEDO) and other initiatives. Correspondingly , the South African State proposed in 1951 a southern extension of NATO , the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO) , to include the regime and other colonial powers resisting national liberation. Although SATO was never formally agreed to , bilateral alliances between the apartheid state and imperialist countries were forged. In 1955 , the Simonstown naval base became the agreed focus for joint forces to defend Southern Africa against 'external aggression'. Arms transfers were engineered through South Africa's role in defence alliances, such as MEDO. South Africa and the apartheid state was established by imperialism as the regional custodian of imperialist interests , against an 'external threat ' which was in fact the threat of national democratic forces.

Recognising the fruitlessness of only non-violent struggle in the 1960's ,the national liberation movements intensified internal and external wing organisation .The ANC formed its military wing , Umkhonthe we Sizwe. The rise in state brutality , expressed in massacres such as Sharpville , produced a backlash from international fora , and particularly in the newly independent African countries .The UN Security Council (non mandatory) Arms Embargo of 1963 was a product of this reaction.

The UN embargo did not however suppress the sale of military equipment to the regime. South African control of strategic commodities such as gold , diamonds , and military resources such as vanadium , uranium and platinum necessary for the expanding military industry in the West provided a basis for increased arms trade . British, West German , French and US arms , ammunition and military equipment were sold directly or via an intermediary. In addition , the USA gave material and technical support for South Africa to develop a nuclear capacity, training South African scientists and sending US technicians to assist in building nuclear installations.

The regime itself pursued a strong programme of building a local military capacity , propogandised as a response to external threats within the region. African states were urged to form an 'Anti -communist bloc' . South African military involvement expanded in the region ,including military support for the Tshombe regime in Congo in 1964, the establishment of a joint military command with the Portuguese inside Angola , and the involvement of South African troops in Mozambique. This regional involvement extended the boundaries of conflict as far away from the South African national borders as possible .This is now a traditional military tactic of the apartheid regime .

The development of a local capacity for the manufacture of arms was strongly pursued by the regime in the 1960's , with the support of the advanced capitalist world. The US, UK, France , Italy and Israel were major suppliers of technologies and key components for the production of military hardware , linking the South African military industry to that of the advanced capitalist world. By 1968 , the Munitions Board of South Africa was transformed into ARMSCOR , a state military production corporation , involving also private multinational capital , and distributing contracts to over 1200 private industry contractors . Over 400 private companies are sustained by ARMSCOR contracts , and the recessionary economic conditions means that companies vie for a share of the weapons market. The development of ARMSCOR provided the material conditions for the expansion of arms production and the marketting of arms world-wide in the interests of US and Western European global strategy .Today ARMSCOR claims to be the 10th largest producer of arms in the world , exporting US\$36 million of arms in 1981-85. Under the

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slogan "Born of necessity. Tested under fire ", ARMSCOR products are sold to countries such as Taiwan, Chile, Paraguay and Argentina. Together with Israel , South Africa forms a triangle of linked military industrial expansion with the US at the apex. (5)

The assistance of the advanced capitalist countries in developing a military industry in South Africa also followed the changing demands of imperialism in respect of military policy. This was expressed in the Nixon doctrine of the 1970's ; As the national democratic and socialist struggle escalated in many areas of the capitalist world direct involvement of imperialist troops could not be maintained. This was , therefore , stepped down in favour of arming local forces prepared to defend monopoly capitalist interests. This arming of imperialism's fifth column , fondly referred to in the US as 'regional gendarmes' , meant that US arms sales doubled in 1971-73 , and redoubled in the following two years.

The interdependence of South African and advanced capitalist interests is evidenced in the extent of military support provided by the US and Western Europe . Some companies , such as Plessey (UK) provided not only equipment but also trained SADF personnel. This support extended to nuclear weapon development. The US provided enriched uranium (enough by 1979 to make 10 Hiroshima bombs) ; West Germany , France and the US assisted in the building of the Koeberg nuclear reactors (producing enough plutonium to make 40-50 Nagasaki size bombs per year) and provided scientific and technological support for the building of 2 research reactors and a uranium enrichment plant. The explosion of a nuclear bomb , detected by a Vega satellite in the vicinity of South Africa in September 1979 was identified by a number of sources to be a neutron bomb. While US officials publicly denied a nuclear explosion (attributing it to meteorites simultaneously affecting more than one recording satellite in different parts of the world), the CIA indicated in its report the probability of a neutron bomb explosion , arising from a joint South African-Israeli operation. Three nuclear missile sites are reported to be located at Walvis Bay, Vortrekkehoogte and St Lucia , aimed at cities in West, Central and East Africa (6) . The transfer of military technology to South Africa by imperialist powers has its clear motive; as US President Reagan expressed in a 1981 press release,

"arms transfers can...increase our own armed force effectiveness by improving the ability of the United States , in concert with its friends and allies , to project power." (7)

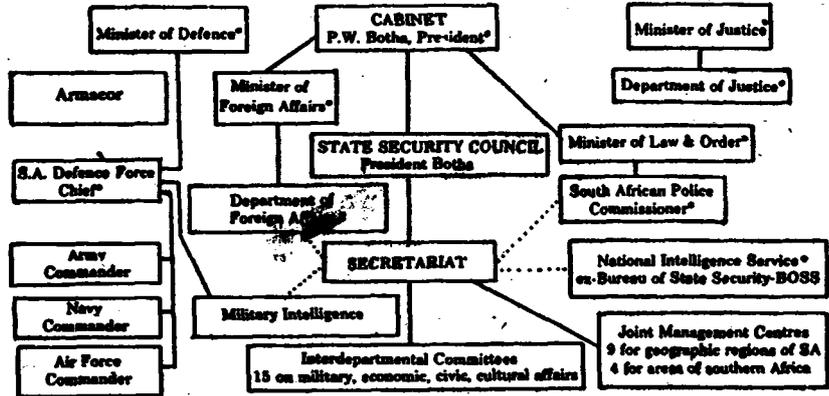
In the 1970's , the economic threat to imperialism in Southern Africa arising from national liberation struggles was identified as a threat to its strategic supply of raw materials , of cheap labour , to the expansion of markets and the repayments of debts. To deal with this 'instability' , minimum social reforms required to produce stability were linked with military safeguarding of imperialist interests. To rationalise the apparent contradiction between 'social justice' and armed repression , the threat was strongly identified and propogandised as being external , and the military force developed and deployed as deterrence or defence. Hence the Carter administration's apparent emphasis on human rights-This was turned not on South African brutality , but on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in order to identify these countries as the 'external threat'. In South Africa, where minimal social reforms were resisted into the 1980's , militarisation was the primary strategy linked with raising regional economic dependency . Taking the example from US policy , defence against 'outside threats' became the legitimising factor for blatant military aggression in the region. This was expressed by Admiral Bierman , Commandant General of the SADF in 1972, as follows:

"In the final analysis, it is a prerequisite for the successful defence of the Southern Hemisphere that the deterrent strategy based on nuclear terror and the fear of escalation should also be applicable in the region." (18)

Hence as countries in the region have attained national independence , and as internal conflict escalated to involve increasing strata within South African society , the militarist response to the crisis of the regime has sharpened. The South African Defence White Paper of 1977 develops and upholds the 'Total Strategy' , ie; a South African total war in the military, economic , political and psychological fronts. P.W. Botha's election in 1978 signalled a reorganisation of apartheid power structures. Military force and control , rather than being one aspect amongst several , is now at the center of the strategy to preserve apartheid . Inside South Africa , the military has penetrated into all aspects of civil existence . The sharp increase in military expenditure to more than 20% of the national budget indicates the enlarged militarisation of civil life. (8) The State Security Council was given the expanded function in the 1979 Defence White paper of conducting the national strategic planning process. It brings the military into all important planning and policy processes , as shown in Diagram 1 below.

DIAGRAM ONE; THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE SECURITY STRUCTURE

**South Africa's Security Establishment**  
**The National Security Management System**



\*members of the State Security Council, a statutory body which also includes the senior cabinet minister

Source: (9)

Any area of civilian conflict has become an 'operational area'. Military and industrial interests are brought together in the Key Points legislation which identifies industries as security areas, and requires management to make provisions for security; the National Supplies Procurement Act gives the Minister of Defence the power to demand commodities for security from any supplier or industry. Total war implies the creation of a war psychosis. Propoganda projects war as a glorified defence of human values; white children are taught military skills in school. The State of Emergency attempts to remove all the vicious and brutal forms of the war from local and foreign media, while transforming any form of democratic action into an act of military aggression.

In the region military aggression and economic dependency is used to undermine anti-imperialist developments and support for national liberation movements. The attack on the popular MPLA government in Angola in 1975, destroyed any image of South Africa as a peaceful and non intervening neighbour. The presence of Cuban troops, brought in to defend against South African aggression, became the vindication for the militarisation of Namibia, the establishment of more than 50 military bases, the placing of 80% of the population under de facto martial law, the intimidation, rape, assault and murder of the Koevoet brigade and acts of overt aggression in Angola. (10) These and other acts of aggression in the region are detailed later. While making hysterical 'anti-communist' cries, the South African regime directs its aggression against the armed wing of the liberation movements, against the South Africans themselves, and against the peaceful coexistence of its neighbours.

This militarisation was coupled with attempts to include economically weak or more reactionary governments into a regional economic dependency - the Constellation of Southern African States. The victory of ZANU(PF) in the 1980 elections in Zimbabwe, and the strong support for SADC in the frontline states signalled the death of CONSAS, and meant that economic domination had to be procured through military tactics of destabilisation and security accords. These activities are also detailed in later pages. The destruction of economic and social infrastructures creates a dependency exercised in the interests of imperialist expansion. Not surprisingly therefore regional aggression is practiced with the active support and collaboration of imperialist countries. The May 1981 CIA directive 'The Draft Plan of Operations in Africa and the Near East' calls for such subversive activities and specifies collaboration with the South African Government. (11) Regional destabilisation provides the grounds for USAID and IMF to

"open up the maximum opportunity for domestic private initiative and enterprise and to ensure that foreign private investment particularly from the US is welcome and well treated."

(F.Coffin ,USAID ,(11) )

The signing of security accords are identified as means of undermining military struggle for national liberation. Chester Crocker, interviewed on the subject of the Nkomati Accord stated that "the illusion that the armed struggle will solve the South African question has been dealt a body blow". (Guardian, 20.7.84) This undermining of military struggle is critical to the regime as it charts its own survival through military aggression. For imperialist interests, the suppression of the military struggle is seen to protect the possibility of a compromise and a socio-political transformation preserving monopoly capitalism.

Thus the 'Total Strategy' of the military regime in South Africa has at this stage a unity of purpose with imperialism, in its attacks on anti imperialist developments within the region, and its protection of monopoly capitalism. Imperialist interests may diverge as the political and economic goals are completely subordinated to the military onslaught and the defence of the white regime. Heightened conflict would undermine reformist influences attempting to salvage capitalist relations, and be increasingly difficult to justify to populations under liberal bourgeois systems. South African militarisation depends on the heightening of conflict between the socialist and capitalist countries at a time when peaceful coexistence and disarmament is actively being pursued by international progressive forces. These potential conflicts between imperialist and South African strategy in the region will be dealt with in a later part of the paper.

THE WAR DOCTRINE OF APARTHEID.

As outlined above, South Africa has in the last fifteen years built a physical and technological war machine of immense proportion including a nuclear capability. The apartheid government itself has become highly militarised and the South African Defence Force (SADF) currently dictates the pace and system of political thinking and action in South Africa. A paper and research essay by the South African Institute of International Affairs (12) has the following to say about this phenomenon of the apartheid state in its present form:

"The SADF is no longer simply an instrument for policy implementation. It is an active participant in policy making. Not merely in military matters, but in wider security issues both domestic and external and even in matters concerning the homelands and economic and foreign policy, those associated with a military perspective have gained the ascendancy." (13)

This dynamic in the development of the apartheid state is to be explained by the fact that the leaders of the apartheid system have over the years seen how the national liberation forces of Africa have freed one country after another successively from colonialism and racism. The most telling blow to them and their future was the sudden collapse of Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique and Angola in 1974 that was to be followed immediately by the intensification of armed struggle and subsequent victory for the liberation fighters in Zimbabwe in 1979 -80. The realisation that the apartheid system is not only doomed to the inevitable death blows of national liberation but also next in line to fall victim to the forces of national liberation has turned the apartheid rulers into dangerous political schizophrenics - ie into a bunch of frightened wild beasts suffering under a psychological trauma of a siege mentality. Hence their perception of the historical curtain being drawn on their last acts as a condemned cast of historical actors is one which they imagine themselves as under a "total onslaught" from "communist forces" directed from Moscow. The Frontline States (FLS) are then perceived as the proxy hands of Moscow who pose an immediate threat to the existence of the apartheid regime and system in South Africa. In order to save itself therefore the regime thinks that it can protect itself from the hostile forces poised against it only through its capacity to demonstrate its military might by terrorising the FLS and by its possession of the means of final terror namely: the nuclear bomb. An apartheid military General is reported to have clearly stated: "You have to be aggressive as this demonstrates your determination." (14)

The immediate threat to the regime and its state is therefore seen by it as primarily a military one. The critical thing is that this challenge is seen as based beyond South Africa's borders inside the FLS. Accordingly therefore South Africa's response is considered to be best anchored upon an aggressive and offensively

orientated strategy. The result has been the construction of a military machine that is completely geared to the suppression and domination of the FLS of the region. In an article which was one of a series published in the Sunday Mail of Zimbabwe on 21st April, 1985, Major Evans, a lecturer in War Studies at the University of Zimbabwe graphically compared the strategic balance between the forces of the Frontline States and those of South Africa as follows:

Total Population: FLS - 55.5 million  
S.A. - 26.8 million

Combined Armed Forces: FLS - 152,100 troops  
S.A. - 404,500 troops on full mobilisation

Combined Army Strength : FLS - 143,000 regulars  
S.A. - 197,400 regulars, conscripts and reservists.

Combined Armoured Forces: FLS - 1,161 main battle tanks, light tanks and armoured cars.  
SADF - 2880 main battle tanks, mechanised infantry, combat vehicles and armoured cars.

Combined Field Artillery: FLS - 1312 self propelled and towed field guns  
SADF - 1230 self-propelled and towed field guns ( excluding on both sides rocket launchers, missiles and mortars).

Combined Air Strength: FLS - 212 combat jets  
SADF - 313 combat jets

Combined Para-military Forces: FLS - 592,860 police and militia  
SADF - 145,000 police and police reservists.

The individual manpower strength of the FLS forces are broken down as follows:

Zimbabwe	- 41,300
Tanzania	- 40,350
Angola	- 37,500
Mozaambique	- 15,650
Zambia	- 14,300
Botswana	- 3,000

Thus it is clear that in terms of military hardware and troop strength, the South African military forces are far superior to those of the FLS even when the FLS forces are combined

numerically and quantitatively. To this imbalance Major Evans adds the FLS weakness in combat capability and experience. He further adds that to date and in the near future the FLS are incapable of meaningful and sustainable joint or combined defence and offensive operations against the Apartheid army and state. He therefore concludes that:

"In any conventional military confrontation with South Africa, the FLS are simply no match for the highly integrated and standardised SADF." (15)

It is this assessment which gives the South African comfort and a sense of security against what they consider to be hostile forces. It is this assessment of the military balance which to them justifies their militarist build-up and their aggressiveness and sense of invulnerability to the possibility of counter offensive or retaliation by the FLS. Western military analysts also take some comfort in this game of quantity and numbers. Bernhard Weimer, in a paper prepared in September, 1985, entitled: "The Frontline States of Southern Africa and their military and security co-operation: problems of regionalising national defence policies." (16) agrees with the position adopted by Major Evans that the Frontline States are strategically weaker to the racist armed forces, so that any war with South Africa will inevitably end in their defeat and dislocation.

In this respect the South African racists' military doctrine corresponds identically with military thinking in NATO, in its worship of the deterrence doctrine in strategic thinking to the exclusion or subordination of all other factors. The British Military Affairs magazine, "War Today" sums current United States military strategy as follows:

"The most basic characteristic of American military strategy is that it declares itself to be exclusively defensive. It is based on the nation's nuclear force and its capacity for technological innovation. In the last analysis, the United States is committed to protect its territories and to counteract what it sees as Soviet expansionism anywhere in the world. According to the North Atlantic Treaty, it is founded on the safeguarding of the values that constitute the heritage of our civilisation." (17)

The magazine adds a further dimension to the concept of American military strategy :

"If it is a fact that America is determined to preserve its interests throughout the world, then it will intervene in every part of the globe where Soviet expansionism threatens to deprive it of any of its interests or risks disturbing the political or military balance." (17)

It is therefore not far off the mark to conclude that the Apartheid state's belief in the doctrine of the power of the sword or "Swaardmag" in its relationship with the FLS of the region is very much derived from the militarist school of the United States and its western allies in the NATO military bloc. The genesis and practice of this shared military doctrine has already been traced in an earlier part of this paper. It is the same strategy that is actively pursued by the Zionist state of Israel in its defence of its colonialist occupation of Palestine.

The result is that the Apartheid regime has constructed a very elaborate practice of counter-revolutionary warfare against the FLS with the following aims:

- smashing the political stability of the Frontline states
- destroying the development potential and cohesion of SADC
- economic destabilisation of the FLS
- offensive counter-revolutionary warfare using either SADF blitzkrieg raids on FLS or the supply and support of counter-revolutionary bandits within the FLS

On this strategy and on the above tactics the racist regime rests its survival plan and develops its military doctrine of state terrorism within the region of Southern Africa.

SCALE, FORM AND MEANS OF SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION IN THE REGION

Democratic government, attained through national independence in the frontline states removed the crude elements of colonial domination and provided a base for the development of national resources towards the broader goals of social wellbeing. Schools and health services were provided to previously deprived sections of the population, living environments began to be improved, and to a greater or lesser extent, the control over production was shifted towards broader, national ownership. The beneficial effects of such changes is exemplified in Zimbabwe, where the Infant Mortality Rate fell from an estimated 120-200/1000 in 1979 to less than 80/1000 by 1985, and where Grade one enrollment increased by 117% between 1979 and 1983.(1) These progressive changes were regarded as an enormous threat by the South African regime. They exemplified the forms of human development possible once racial domination was removed and showed the feasibility, and indeed necessity of democratic government in Africa. They directly threatened the domination by South Africa over the economies of the colonies. Thus the struggle against the brutality of the apartheid regime has spilled into Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and other states, with acts of violence committed against innocent victims.

To document the extent and nature of all the acts of aggression would provide ample evidence of the militarism of the South African government and the South African Defence Force (SADF). In this document, however, only the major acts of aggression and destabilisation will be outlined.

Destabilisation is being carried out using three major tactics:- disinformation through propaganda, undermining of economic activities and military sabotage of economic and military targets. From as early as 1975, up to 4000 South African troops with armoured cars and spotter planes were deployed to support the Rhodesian regime, and to assist in Angola and Mozambique in Portuguese suppression of popular struggles. In Angola, the SADF have engaged in direct and indirect war with the Angolan government since its inauguration. Direct attacks have been mounted inside Angola on military and economic installations, refugee camps for Namibian civilians and social facilities such as hospitals. Indirect attacks have used the proxy forces of UNITA and the earlier FNLA, a small group of Angolans dissenting from MPLA government, but supported with huge amounts of money and military equipment. Since 1975, when the President of the USA approved US\$25 million in covert aid support for anti-MPLA forces channelled through the CIA, the CIA have been involved with South Africa in the military destabilisation of Angola. US government transfer of 12 M-113 tracked amphibious vehicles, 60 trucks, 20 trailers, 5000 M16 rifles, 40 000 other rifles with millions of rounds of ammunition, rockets, mortars and strategic and tactical radio networks have assisted the South African army invasions of north and south Angola. SA troops manned FNLA artillery in N. Angola, such as the attack led by SADF Brigadier Ben de Wet Rood in 1975.(2) US planes met SA flights in Zaire to ferry weapons into Angola. In July 1979 the Angolan government presented to the United Nations a detailed account of the acts of aggression from 3/1976 - 6/1979 (UN Document

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S/13473) This lists 193 armed mine laying operations, 21 border provocations, 7 bombing raids and one large scale ground and air force operation. On May 4th 1979, the SADF attacked Kassinga, a camp occupied by Namibian refugees. Paralyzing gases and mortars killed 1380 people and wounded 1800, including many women and children. Since 1981 attacks on Angola have mounted. In August 1981 Operation Protea mounted by the SADF involved 11000 men, 6 Centurion tanks, 70 AML-90 armoured cars, 200 armoured personnel carriers, artillery including surface to surface missiles and about 90 planes and helicopters. The invasion resulted in the occupation for more than 3 years of 50 000 sq km of Cunene province, facilitating infiltration of UNITA forces. (9) Attacks on Angola have damaged bridges, roads and other economic infrastructures, including the Petrangol state oil refinery. In June 1986, a South African attack on Namibe, an Angolan port, destroyed two fuel tanks, damaged another, sunk one ship and damaged 2 others. A further SADF bombing raid 4 months later left 50 dead and others injured. (10) In order to protect her sovereignty, Angola is forced to spend 50% of the national budget on defence, further reducing her capacity to repair damaged infrastructures or develop the economy. The attempt by South Africa to paint Angola as a 'communist threat' in the region has had the serious consequence of the USA supporting the invasions of Angola as 'defensive', even before the Angolans were forced to appeal to friendly nations for support and before the arrival of the Cuban troops. The legitimising of the naked aggression against Angola by political figures such as Chester Crocker provides a leeway for the escalation of warfare in the region, and in the assessment of one author, makes Angola the most likely target for use of nuclear weapons without rebuttal by Western states. (11)

However, the fallacy of the 'communist threat' and the real intention of regional destabilisation is evidenced by the fact that military aggression has been directed against ALL the frontline states, irrespective of economic policy. Mozambique has been the target of numerous direct attacks, and others through the proxy forces of the MNR. In January 1981, SADF troops drove 50 miles into Mozambique into the Maputo suburb of Matola, with 12 deaths and 3 abductions. (12) In 1981, 1982 and again in 1983, SADF commandoes blew up the oil depot at Beira, disrupting fuel inputs primarily destined for Zimbabwe. In 1983, an attack on Maputo left 5 dead. The MNR, originally established by the Rhodesians inside Rhodesia moved base in 1980 to Zoabostad in the Transvaal, and received military training and support from the SADF. The MNR attacks on powerlines, villages, government posts and road and rail lines have crippled the Mozambican economy, leaving harvests untransported in warehouses, minerals stockpiled and regions bare of commodities. The South African government's disregard for treaties is evidenced by the fact that even after the non aggression pact of Nkomati, South Africa continued to construct MNR bases in the country, to fly air supply missions and to train MNR instructors. In the attack on Casa Banana, the MNR base in Sofala, a two to three year supply of weapons were found, including 500 rifles, machine guns and heavy artillery. The most recent visitor in August 1985 had been Louis Nel, Deputy Foreign Minister in the SA government. (13) A South African team was sent to Zambesia to train 100 MNR instructors and 200-

recruits, while camps at Phalaborwa and Louis Trichardt took recruits for training. Airspace was violated to resupply bandits with equipment. (1) MNR attacks on industrial installations, electrical stations and local hospitals in Nampula (2), and the infiltration of bandits from Malawi into Zambesia and Tete have undermined the economic and social development of those areas immeasurably. The death of the President of Mozambique, Cde Samora Machel is yet another casualty of the apartheid aggression.

In Zimbabwe, the Minister for Home Affairs in May 1981 pointed out that 5000 Zimbabweans were receiving military training in Phalaborwa in the Northern Transvaal. (2) Bandits leaving Zimbabwe in 1983, were informed by a South African agent in Botswana that they would be trained and provided with weapons, and in August of that year, 18 SADF soldiers were deployed to establish bases in Zimbabwe and to engage in sabotage. In 1981, two South African spies in the Zimbabwean Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) provided information necessary for the assassination of Joe Gqabi, the ANC representative in Harare. This was followed by a series of sabotage attempts: In August 1981 massive explosions at NKomo Barracks destroyed \$36 million worth of armaments, caused by deliberate enemy action against Zimbabwe, linked to SA agents. In December 1981 a bomb exploded in the ZANU(PF) headquarters in Manica Road, Harare, in an attempt to assassinate the ruling party's central committee. Explosive devices were planted in 30 armoured cars, tanks etc in the army headquarters, although they did not ignite due to the fuel saturating the fuses. In July 1982, 6 tourists were abducted and murdered by dissidents and a week later a quarter of Zimbabwe's air force planes were sabotaged on the ground at Thornhill base near Gweru, virtually wiping out Zimbabwe's strike and jet interception capabilities. In August 1982 the ZNA ambushed a group of South African soldiers in Zimbabwe. (3) Between 1982 and 1986 acts of banditry in Matabeleland numbered 7313 in the police dossier, with acts such as the cutting off of ears and noses, raping, murder, burning of genitals, hangings and destruction of schools and clinics. Media instruments such as Radio Truth in Zimbabwe and Vox Libre in Mozambique, both broadcasting from SA are the means by which these attacks are accompanied by propaganda disinformation, with the intention of creating dissent and confusion. The price to Zimbabwe of defensive military activities is difficult to estimate; by 1985 a supplementary vote of Z\$20 million was approved for activities in Mozambique alone, with a further \$16 million requested by the army by the end of the year. (4)

Attacks have also been mounted against Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland; a number of raids into Maseru, Lesotho, in 1982 resulted in 42 deaths, and the formation of the SA sponsored Lesotho Liberation Army has resulted in attacks on villages in the country. (5) In Botswana, border incidents and exchanges of fire began in 1981 (6), while in 1985 a raid on Gaborone by the SADF resulted in 12 deaths, including women and children. In Swaziland after 1984 the so called 'hot pursuit' raids carried out by the SADF have threatened and intimidated villagers and SA refugees have been abducted. (7) 1986 saw the escalation of military activity against these frontline states: - The embargo of goods leading to the coup against Chief Jonathan of Lesotho, given his increasingly vocal

stand against apartheid, the May 1986 raids and bombings in Lusaka, Gaborone and Harare, the June 1986 attack on Gaborone, killing 15, the assassination of ANC sympathetic Ministers Makhele and Sixishe in Lesotho in November 1986, the bomb attack in Zambia in December on railway offices, a state milling plant and an electricity station - these all point to the intent of South Africa to undermine regional security in response to its own internal dilemma. The training of dissident forces by South Africa means that it can extend its activities through such proxy arms as the MNR, UNITA, Zimbabwean dissidents, the Lesotho Liberation Army and the Mushala gang in Zambia. These proxies are however weak in relation to national forces, and would not survive without South African military support.

Direct economic sabotage and the effects of military attack have also resulted in billions of dollars of losses. In Angola, the damage caused by the raids from 1972-1980 was estimated to amount to \$230mn, with destruction of roads, bridges, villages, schools, hospitals, and the disruption of food supplies and development programmes. (18, 2) The costs of material damages due to South African attacks were estimated in January 1987 to be \$12 billion. (24) In Mozambique direct losses from military attacks and resulting losses in production from 1978-1983 were estimated to be US\$5 554 million. Production disruption reduced the 1984-85 budget by 20%, with 46% of this income being required for defence expenditure. (25) The destruction of farms, the halving of the livestock herd, the attack on the industries, transport routes, social services, transport of seed and fertiliser, distribution of tractor parts and trucking services has severely undermined food production in the country. Coupled with drought, this has produced a situation of famine in many parts of the country. The AGRICOM transport fleet, used to transport agricultural produce, has been almost totally destroyed in Zambesia, Tete and Niassa provinces of the country. 199 railway workers have been killed and 667 wounded trying to keep the rail-lines open and trains moving. (26) Sugar and tea factories and sawmills have been attacked, and the last train to carry coal from Moatize to Beira ran in 1982, stopping the production and the use of coal. (27) These statistics do not portray adequately the systematic destruction of the Mozambican infrastructure by South Africans and their proxies, and the demoralisation intended by South Africa to counteract the strong spirit of construction and development which has existed in the Mozambican population since the time of their independence.

In Zimbabwe, transport routes have been systematically sabotaged. From 1982 Botswana routes from Zimbabwe have been disrupted with small arms, rockets etc. The MNR have attacked the Chicualacuala route to Maputo closing it completely from 1984. While the Beira rail line has been persistently bombed. This has left only the SA route open. The 1981 attack on transport routes and withholding of rail transport cost Zimbabwe export earnings of Z\$7 million per week. (9) The oil pipeline to Beira has been continuously under attack from 1981 to 1985, until ZNA protection was intensified, so that fuel shortages were used to increase dependence on SA imports. Hence destabilisation has cost millions in excess import and export tariffs, lost orders,

property destroyed, discouraged investment and tourism. In addition, the Southern part of Zimbabwe has experienced the destruction of schools, clinics and other services in a deliberate attempt by bandits to frustrate development efforts.

The first comprehensive estimates of the costs to SADC of the SA aggression prepared for the 1985 OAU summit cover the period 1980-1984 and total over US\$10 billion. This exceeds total foreign grant and loan aid to the region, 40% of exports and 10% GNP of all SADC countries. By 1985 losses were running to \$4 billion per year or \$70 per capita. (9) These losses have occurred at a time when terms of trade have declined for the products of the frontline states, and when debt service ratios have risen to up to 30% of exports. (28) Table One below summarises the major economic costs of South African Aggression to the frontline states, a financial toll which undermines the social wellbeing of the people in the region.

TABLE ONE : COSTS OF DESTABILISATION:

Cause	cost in US\$
Direct war damage	1 610 000 000
extra defence expenditure	3 310 000 000
higher transport/energy costs	970 000 000
smuggling and looting	190 000 000
refugees	660 000 000
lost exports & tourism	250 000 000
boycotts & embargoes	260 000 000
loss of existing production	800 000 000
lost economic growth	4 000 000 000
trading arrangements	340 000 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12 940 000 000</b>

Source (9).

Military destabilisation has often been targetted at social facilities such as clinics and schools, both in an attempt to undermine the social wellbeing of the people, and to undermine the presence of the government in these areas. Hence, by April 1985 in Mozambique, 1863 schools had been closed, and 313766 pupils and 4992 teachers displaced. In 1985, bandit activity was responsible for the destruction of 900 stores, and the closure of many others. The strong adult literacy drive in Mozambique has been undermined by military attack, so that only 27% coverage has been possible. (45) Health posts, health centers and rural hospitals have been destroyed on a large scale: 102

in 1982, 110 in 1985. Since 1981, a total of 718 health posts and centers have been destroyed, leaving 2 million people deprived of health care. (29) Between a quarter and a half of all Mozambicans are estimated to be displaced from their homes as a result of destabilisation. (9) In September 1986, 430 000 Mozambicans were estimated to be suffering from starvation in Niassa province alone, and 3,9 million people were identified to be at risk of hunger in the country due to disruption of the harvest. (30) By 1987, 100 000 Mozambicans were estimated to have lost their lives as a result of destabilisation, out of a population of 12 million. (31) Victims of MNR attacks include the brutal deaths, such as the 44 peasants hacked to death in Intumbane in October 1986, (32) and the murder of the ambulance driver and patients in the attack on a hospital ambulance in Masingo in December of that year.

In Angola, interruption of schooling, unemployment caused by destruction of economic targets, destruction of social services, and other material damage has resulted in a huge burden of death and disability. Between 1975 and 1983, tens of thousands of Angolans were killed, and thousands rendered homeless. In 1987 President dos Santos of Angola reported that South African attacks had resulted in 50 000 disabled victims, and 60 000 displaced (32), while Operation Protea referred to earlier added 80 000 refugees in 3 weeks. (16) By 1985, 10 000 people were estimated to have been mutilated by war (25). The effect on children was indicated by a Zimbabwean delegate to the UN reporting in February 1987 that between 1980 and 1986, deaths of children under five years due to South African attacks had amounted

to 140 000 ,or one in every 4 minutes. (23) The raids on Angolans have left a climate of insecurity and fear in areas under attack , with people suffering the psychological trauma of maiming , being orphaned and of the relentless bombing of the (7). Seventy percent of Angolans now lack access to health services , largely as a result of military destruction of facilities . (24) The redirection of scarce national resources in Angola , as in most frontline states , towards security and towards the importation of food and other commodities destroyed by the South Africans has directed the productive resources away from the much needed development , undermining the economy and the quality of life even further (9).

In other frontline states destruction of the social wellbeing of the population has also occurred. In Zimbabwe , in 1985 and 1986 alone , 70 civilians were abducted ,272 killed and 178 women raped , while in 1985 , 269 children were abducted from schools in the south of the country. (34)

The destruction of clinics has meant that people have to walk 50km in some cases for medical attention , increasing both the frequency and fatal consequences of diseases such as malaria , diarrhoeal disease , measles and other communicable diseases. People are made to be afraid of using services which do exist , because gathering at services produces a risk of attack , while medical staff travelling to outreach points are also at risk. The growth of the refugee population, as shown in Table Two below , has implied large numbers of poverty stricken and debilitated people arriving in areas already strained for resources , and also encouraged the spread of communicable diseases such as malaria and cholera across national boundaries. These all undermine the attempts of the frontline states to control the spread of communicable diseases , and to improve the health status of their populations.

TABLE TWO: THE REFUGEE POPULATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA  
(UNHCR 1986) (35)

HOST COUNTRY	NUMBER OF REFUGEES
Zimbabwe	62 800
Botswana	5 500
Zambia	103 000
Angola	91 500
Lesotho	11 500
Swaziland	10 700
Mozambique	700
Tanzania	212 900
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>499 200</b>

22.

The SADC report to the OAU in 1985 assessed a loss of 250 000 lives as a result of SA aggression, including famine caused by economic and military disruption. The size of the refugee population needs to be further qualified by the estimated 5 million people displaced from their homes in Angola and Mozambique alone, with more from the other areas of destabilisation in the region. (2)

THE DEFENCE AND PRACTICE OF THE FRONTLINE STATES IN THE FACE OF SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION.

The FLS have no desire or capability to invade South Africa as a means of ending apartheid. At the same time the FLS are individually and collectively committed to the liberation of South Africa from the iniquitous system of apartheid. In that respect they have committed themselves to giving all possible support to the South African liberation movement. It is this commitment to the liberation forces that has earned them the hatred and military wrath of the apartheid regime. But how have the FLS defended themselves so far from South Africa's aggression?

The first option that has been taken by the FLS is individual self defence. Each FLS has in the past 10 years built up its defence forces considerably. The individual capacity of each FLS to defend itself should not be underrated as is done in the writings of western military analysts. This means that the South African apartheid state will today and in the future attack a Frontline State at great cost to itself, as demonstrated by the huge losses which are being suffered by the SADF in Angola. For instance Bernhard Weimer (quoted above) noted that in Operation Askari, in 1983, the SADF suffered surprising losses at the hands of Angolan forces. At the battle of Cuvelai and Cahama, the South Africans lost four Mirage jet fighters and one Impala jet together with losses in both men and materiel. This demonstrates that it is possible for a frontline state to defend itself using its own forces, at least to the extent that the bully-boy forces of South Africa will be deterred by the sheer cost of their aggressive operations.

The other means which the Frontline States have used with considerable success is the diplomatic isolation of South Africa. The formation of SADC and the allowing of western investment in the Frontline States has generated internal contradictions within the western countries, weakening their resolve to defend the system of apartheid in the manner and through the means desired by South Africa. Western Europeans currently argue with the USA to change its hardline tactics of defending apartheid under any circumstances. Western military analysts have also come to the conclusion that imperialist interests are likely to be jeopardised by a blind commitment to an apartheid regime that is obviously surviving on borrowed historical time. Thus Weimer had this appeal to make to the USA:

"Despite the supreme importance of the Cuban factor, Europe should encourage the USA to continue the search for constructive relations with all Frontline States including Angola. The time has come for the USA to transcend its phobias, myths and paranoia about Soviets and Cubans in Angola." (36)

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Another western military analyst also gives the same advice to NATO strategists writing in a paper for the British Institute of Strategic Studies in 1983 as follows:

"In short, the West stands to gain by taking advantage of the Frontline leaders' clear interest in enlisting Western participation in their joint efforts to find workable solutions to the region's problems. No convincing case can be made for ignoring the opportunities this offers to promote long term western interests." (37)

This opportunist position being adopted and advocated by western strategic thinkers is testimony to the success of the Frontline States in turning the liberation struggle against apartheid into a struggle for all humanity, irrespective of the ideological commitment of a government or a people. Within the region itself the diplomatic unity of the FLS has to some extent neutralised the imperialist puppet regimes in the region namely and particularly the states of Zaire and Malawi.

The third option by the FLS in their defence has been bilateral defence arrangements to deal with the bandit forces being backed by South Africa. For instance the Zimbabwe Herald reported on the 6th April 1987 that a joint military offensive by Mozambican, Zimbabwean and Tanzanian forces wiped out more than 2,200 terrorist bandits of the MNR in four central provinces of Mozambique. To this report can be added the many reports of recent military successes against the MNR bandits in Mozambique. One such appeared in the Zimbabwe Sunday Mail of 15th February, 1987, reporting that combined Mozambican and Zimbabwean defence forces had recaptured five Mozambican towns from the MNR in Zambezia province. In this victory, a top ranked bandit leader was captured and another killed. Other reports in the recent past (see Herald reports of 13th and 11th April, 1987) also indicate that Zimbabwean and Tanzanian support to the Mozambicans against the South African sponsored bandit gangs in that country has raised Mozambican morale so that daily victories are being scored against the MNR. Towns and areas of Mozambique previously lost to the MNR are being taken back into Frelimo control. This kind of co-operation and Frontline strategy is paying good dividends to the FLS. It is defeating the South African use of proxy forces in destabilising the FLS.

The security co-operation amongst the FLS has not and is not restricted to Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania only. In fact since 1982 the FLS has built up a system of security co-operation between and amongst themselves for the exchange and sharing of defence information and security planning against the aggressive plans of the apartheid regime. FLS collective co-operation has taken the following forms:

1) bilateral and multilateral conferences of the heads of states and defence ministers on security issues.

2) an interministerial commission of defence and security ministers that meets regularly to plan the defence strategy for the Frontline states.

Through the above strategies the Frontline states have defeated one of the most important strategic plans of the apartheid regime which has sought to make the FLS seek their security on the principle that that security should and can only be guaranteed by a political accommodation with the racist regime. In this manner and with this victory the FLS have gained something which the apartheid regime does not have - namely historical time. Time from this point onwards favours the liberation movement inside South Africa and works against the apartheid regime.

What then lies at the heart of the strategic thinking of the FLS? First it is the knowledge that the liberation of South Africa will be carried out by the South African people themselves, supported by the internationalist solidarity of all progressive forces, including those inside the imperialist countries. The belief in the people's capacity to liberate themselves inside South Africa translates itself into the strategy and tactic of concentrating on their own national and regional defence instead of building an aggressive national force for action against South Africa. South Africa therefore by attacking the FLS merely adds to its military and political problems by extending its operational boundaries and increasing its international isolation. The defeat of its proxy forces - the MNR, UNITA and other apartheid sponsored bandit forces - underlines the haplessness and hopelessness of the apartheid militarist dinosaur.

PROSPECTS IN STRATEGIES FOR VICTORY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

One of the memorable and original statements by Mao Tse Tung goes as follows:

"All reactionaries are paper tigers . In appearance , the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long term point of view , it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." (38)

Marx and Engels outlined very well in their writings that in the final analysis it is the masses of the people who make history. It is on this understanding that Marxist-Leninist strategists operate from the premise that in the final analysis , in war it is not arms , but the people that are decisive. Arms are important and may be decisive in battle but it is the quality of the man using the arms that finally determines where victory between two forces will fall. It is this understanding of warfare and the historical evidence of its validity which makes Marxist-Leninists put so much faith in the concept of people's war.

A people armed with average means of warfare can defeat better equipped armies if the people are properly politically mobilised. The second world war which saw the defeat of Hitlerite fascism demonstrates this fundamental truth in warfare. Hitler was defeated especially at the hands of the Soviet Red Army not by reason of the inferiority of his arms but despite the superiority of his armament. The social and political consciousness of the individual Soviet soldier was highly superior to that of the average fascist soldier. Fascist soldiers were dehumanised and brutalised by the inhumanity of their cause. The moment that they lost their moral ascendancy is the moment that they lost the war. This is why Marx and Engels believed that a war is and can be lost even before the the first shots are fired.

Specifically the SADF will lose the war in Southern Africa because apartheid is now morally abhorrent to all mankind. On this basis the FLS will continue to win diplomatic victories . On that basis the liberation struggle inside South Africa will continue to mobilise internationalist support , including armed assistance. The vast majority of the people inside South Africa are opposed to the SADF and all that it represents . Without the people's support the South African Army is doomed to ultimate defeat.

It must further be realised that the strength of the FLS lies in the vast expanses of unpopulated and under-developed land. Any invasion and occupation of a FLS by the SADF will turn out to be a military nightmare for the apartheid regime.

Such militarist action will not destroy arms factories or cripple a modern economy as would happen if a western country was occupied. The majority people of the FLS can, as in Uganda, survive reasonably well on the basis of a natural economy. That survival is good enough to enable the people to wage a people's guerilla war against the SADF. The defeat of the Americans in Vietnam was sufficient proof that technological superiority is no guarantee of victory. That lesson should never be lost to military strategists and to strategists in Southern Africa. For the SADF to have any chance of successfully occupying a FLS it must attack all the munitions factories in the socialist countries which are in the final analysis the supply bases of people's wars the world over including the liberation movement in Southern Africa. Of course, we all know that there is no such possibility. The apartheid regime therefore has no means of crippling the fighting spirit and the rear base of the Frontline States. As long as the FLS avoid the temptation of being lured to fight on the conventional terms that South Africa has planned for, they are bound to ride and break the siege of the apartheid state. The combined diplomatic, economic and security activities of the FLS, outlined earlier, will support the national liberation movement inside South Africa as it siezes the initiative and through peoples' insurrection and armed conflict finally destroys the monstrous apartheid state.

Examining the future of the current struggle and military confrontation in Southern Africa one has no doubt that victory is certain to lie with the oppressed people of South Africa. The only pre-condition for this inevitable but not automatic victory is the militant organisation of the people for a protracted people's war on apartheid inside South Africa.

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