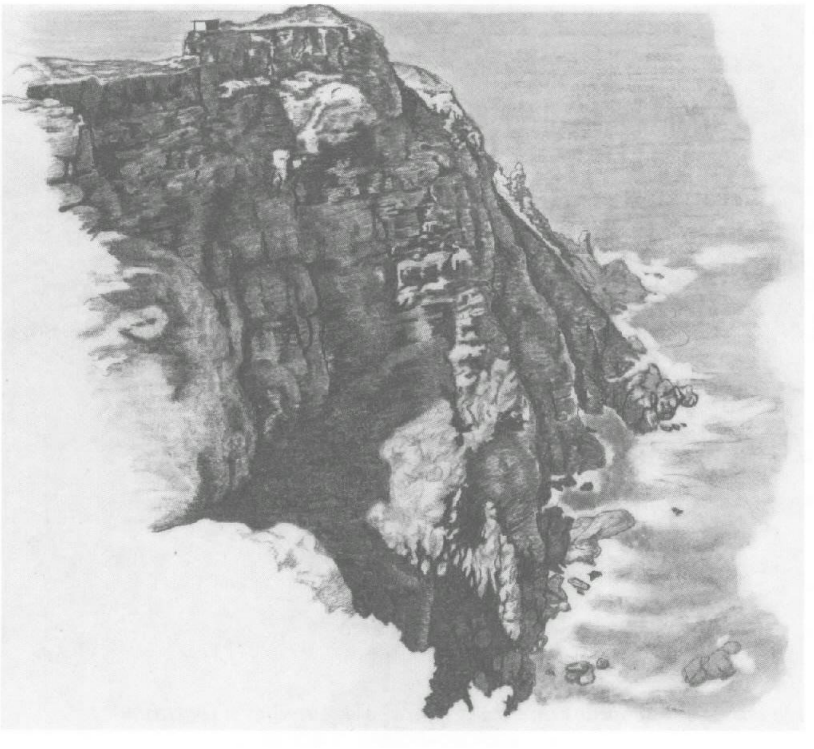
Chapter 5. National Security



Cape Point, outcroppings and coves typical of the southern coastline

SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL SECURITY ORIENTATION, policies, and institutions were changing rapidly in the 1990s. South Africa had settled its protracted conflict with Angola and had negotiated independence for Namibia (formerly South-West Africa) after waging a twenty-two-year war to retain control over that country. South Africa signed nonaggression pacts with neighboring states and began working toward peaceful and constructive regional ties, while its first democratic constitution was being negotiated and implemented at home. Domestic security concerns shifted from the uncompromising suppression of dissent and the denial of political rights for a majority of citizens, first, to accommodation and negotiation with former adversaries, and, finally, in 1994 to a multiracial Government of National Unity.

South Africa had been the dominant military and economic power on the subcontinent for more than a century. Its military forces were not only capable of prevailing in any conceivable conventional conflict but also the only regional force capable of sustained military operations and of projecting national power beyond international borders. South Africa's real vulnerability until the 1990s was internal. Its governing philosophy and domination by a racial minority could not withstand the internal dissent generated during more than forty years of apartheid (see Glossary).

By the late 1980s, it was evident to many political leaders and others in South Africa that their impressive security establishment was functioning primarily to defend a failing system of apartheid against enemies within South Africa and elsewhere. Whites, with their monopoly over the national electoral process, were becoming increasingly polarized over tactics for dealing with the growing threat of antiapartheid dissidents. This polarization became evident in September 1989, when the largely Afrikaner (see Glossary) National Party (NP) suffered its worst electoral setback since it came to power in 1948. In the 1989 elections, the NP retained its majority in the all-white chamber of Parliament but lost ground to both the right-wing Conservative Party (CP) and the liberal Democratic Party (DP).

Whites who favored a stronger defense of apartheid became even more anxious about their own future after President Fred-

erik W. (F.W.) de Klerk's historic February 2, 1990, speech announcing the legalization of black opposition groups and the release of political prisoners including African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson (Rolihlahla) Mandela, and calling for multiracial constitutional negotiations. To those who supported political reform, the speech heralded new hope for domestic peace and improved relations with neighboring states, but, at the same time, it signaled the intensification of power struggles and an increase in violence in South Africa.

These unprecedented conditions emerged just as South Africa's external security environment became more benign. President de Klerk began to reduce the size and the power of the military in relation to other branches of government; concurrently, military commanders and their former adversaries, black liberation fighters, began to plan for the amalgamation of their organizations into a unified military. As the political negotiations over a new constitution proceeded haltingly during the early 1990s, a surprising degree of consensus emerged among senior military officers on all sides of the political debate. Even before the elections in April 1994, national and homeland military officers and former commanders of anti-apartheid fighters began the military reorganization that they hoped would ensure the country's future peace.

Historical Background

Precolonial Warfare

Bantu-speaking populations began moving into southern Africa from the center of the continent around A.D. 500 (see Southern African Societies to ca. 1600, ch. 1). In the process, they encountered the generally peaceful San and Khoikhoi populations who had preceded them in southern Africa by at least several centuries. Warfare and the desire for better land had been among the causes for the gradual southern migration, and some of these early chiefdoms routinely seized cattle from their neighbors. But warfare was not central to their culture or traditions. Most of southern Africa was sparsely settled, so fights over land were relatively rare. Ambitious men sought to control people, more than land. For example, during the seventeenth-century expansion of the Nguni-speaking Xhosa chiefdoms along the southern African coast, many Khoikhoi were peacefully incorporated into Xhosa society, and at least one Khoikhoi elder became a Xhosa chief.

The cultural emphasis on the value of cattle, which was strong among Nguni-speaking societies, prompted increasingly frequent cattle raids by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In dry areas, such as the southern fringe of the Kalahari Desert, and in dry years, sporadic battles over land and water occurred. These clashes were generally limited in scope and were conducted under strict rules of engagement. Weapons were often spears (about two meters long) thrown at a distance, or knobkerries (wooden clubs) used in close combat. Bystanders sometimes cheered on the participants, and a battle often ended when one side admitted defeat but was not annihilated.

During the eighteenth century, Nguni-speaking Zulu warriors earned a reputation as the most fearsome fighters in the region. They sometimes defied tradition and fought in close combat with broken spears, or assegais; in this way, they inflicted unusually large numbers of casualties. The Zulu men's age-groups, close-knit fraternities organized primarily for social and religious purposes, provided armies when called on by their chiefs. By the late eighteenth century, these groups increasingly served as trained armed regiments to conduct raids and to fend off challenges from neighboring groups.

Under the leadership of Shaka Zulu (r. 1817–28), Zulu armies redefined military tradition, using new strategies, tactics, and formations. As Shaka's warriors became more skilled and ruthless, they overran their weaker neighbors and drew conquered clans into a confederacy under the Zulu monarchy. In the upheaval that followed, known as the *mfecane* (or crushing—see Glossary), thousands of Africans moved north and west, out of the expanding boundaries of the Zulu kingdom that was located in the area that would later become KwaZulu (see fig. 5).

Throughout the nineteenth century, European population growth and thirst for land added to the regional upheaval, in part because European immigrants sometimes forced African populations off land they had only recently settled and because Europeans sometimes used their superior weapons to annihilate or to subjugate indigenous populations. By the late nineteenth century, Zulu expansion had been halted. British forces eliminated the few remaining African leaders who defied them and finally subdued the Zulu army just before the outbreak of the most devastating in a series of Anglo-Boer (see Glossary) wars, the South African War of 1899–1902 (see Industrializa-

tion and Imperialism, 1870–1910, ch. 1). Military traditions and values continued to be central to the Zulu culture throughout the twentieth century and were reflected in Zulu political rhetoric of the 1990s.

Early Development of the South African Military

Ground Forces

The South African military evolved within the tradition of frontier warfare fought by popular militias and small commando forces, reinforced by the Afrikaners' historical distrust of large standing armies. Twentieth-century military developments were punctuated by mass mobilization for war and major crises. After the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, General Jan C. Smuts, the union's first minister of defense, placed a high priority on creating a unified military out of the separate armies of the union's four provinces. The Defence Act (No. 13) of 1912 established a Union Defence Force (UDF) that included a Permanent Force—or standing army—of career soldiers, an active Citizen Force of temporary conscripts and volunteers, and a Cadet organization. The 1912 law also obligated all white males between seventeen and sixty years of age to serve in the military, but the law was not strictly enforced as long as there were enough volunteers to fill the military ranks. In 1913 and 1914, the new 23,400-member Citizen Force was called on to suppress several industrial strikes on the Witwatersrand (literally, "Ridge of White Waters" in Afrikaans, commonly shortened to Rand—see Glossary).

In September 1914, the union's troops supported Britain's declaration of war against Germany, despite strong objections from Afrikaner nationalists still resentful of Britain's treatment of them during the South African War. More than 146,000 whites, 83,000 Africans, and 2,500 people of mixed race ("coloureds") and Asians volunteered or were conscripted for service in World War I. At Britain's request, UDF forces commanded by General Louis Botha invaded the neighboring German colony of South-West Africa by land and sea, forcing German troops stationed there to surrender in July 1915. In 1920 South Africa received the League of Nations mandate to govern the former German colony and to prepare it for independence within a few years.

In East Africa, more than 20,000 South African troops fought under General Smuts's command when he directed the

British campaign against the Germans in 1915. South Africans also saw action with the Cape Corps in Palestine and with the First Brigade in Europe. By the end of World War I, 12,452 South Africans had died—more than 4,600 in the European theater alone.

Wartime casualties and postwar demobilization weakened the UDF. New legislation in 1922 reestablished conscription for white males over the age of twenty-one, for four years of military training and service. UDF troops assumed internal security tasks in South Africa and quelled numerous revolts against foreign domination in South-West Africa. South Africans suffered high casualties, especially in 1922, when an independent group of Khoikhoi—known as the Bondelswart-Herero for the black bands they wore into battle—led one of numerous revolts; in 1925, when a mixed-race population—the Basters—demanded cultural autonomy and political independence; and in 1932, when the Ovambo (Vambo) population along the border with Angola demanded an end to South African domination.

The UDF increased its active-duty forces to 56,000 by the late 1930s, and 100,000 men belonged to the National Riflemen's Reserve, which provided weapons training and practice. South Africa again joined the allies against Germany in World War II, despite growing protests by Afrikaners who objected to any alliance with Britain. South Africa, nonetheless, raised three divisions—334,000 volunteers, including some 211,000 whites, 77,000 blacks, and 46,000 coloureds and Asians. Nearly 9,000 South Africans were killed in action in campaigns in Ethiopia, North Africa, Italy, and Madagascar during World War II.

Wartime expansion was again followed by rapid demobilization after World War II. By then, a century of Anglo-Boer clashes followed by decades of growing British influence in South Africa had fueled Afrikaner resentment. Resurgent Afrikaner nationalism was an important factor in the growth of the NP as the 1948 elections approached. The system of apartheid was intended both to bolster Afrikaner pride and to compensate the Afrikaners for the suffering they had endured.

After the narrow election victory by the NP in 1948, the government began the steady Afrikanerization of the military; it expanded military service obligations and enforced conscription laws more strictly. Most UDF conscripts underwent three months of Citizen Force training in their first year of service, and an additional three weeks of training each year for four years after that. The Defence Act (No. 44) of 1957 renamed the

UDF the South African Defence Force (SADF) and established within it some quick-reaction units, or Commandos, to respond to localized threats. The SADF, numbering about 20,000 in 1958, would grow to almost 80,000 in the next two decades.

The 1960s ushered in a new era in military history. South Africa's growing international isolation and the intensified black resistance to apartheid prompted the government to increase military service obligations repeatedly and to extend periods of active duty. The Defence Act (No. 12) of 1961 authorized the minister of defense to deploy Citizen Force troops and Commandos for riot control, often to quell antiapartheid demonstrations. The Defence Act (No. 85) of 1967 also expanded military obligations, requiring white male citizens to perform national service, including an initial period of training, a period of active duty, and several years in reserve status, subject to immediate call-up.

As the military expanded during the 1970s, the SADF staff was organized into six divisions—to manage finance, intelligence, logistics, operations, personnel, and planning; and the South African Medical Service (SAMS) was made co-equal with the South African Army, the South African Navy, and the South African Air Force. Also during the 1970s, the SADF began accepting nonwhites and women into the military as career soldiers, not only as temporary volunteers or reservists, but it did not assign women to combat roles. By the end of the 1970s, the army had become the principal defender of the apartheid regime against the rising tide of African nationalism in South Africa and the region.

During the 1980s, the legal requirements for national service were to register for service at age sixteen and to report for duty when called up, which occurred at some time after a man's eighteenth birthday. National service obligations could be fulfilled by volunteering for active-duty military service for two years and by serving in the reserves, generally for ten or twelve years. Reservists generally underwent fifty days per year of active duty or training, after their initial period of service. The requirements for national service changed several times during the 1980s and the early 1990s in response to national security needs, and they were suspended in 1993.

Air and Naval Forces

The origin of the South African Air Force (SAAF) dates to the Defence Act (No. 13) of 1912, which established the South

Army troops on parade
Courtesy Embassy of South Africa, Washington

African Aviation Corps (SAAC) as part of the army's Citizen Force. The SAAC's first aircraft were deployed against German forces in South-West Africa in January 1915. Before that, a few SAAC pilots had volunteered for service in Britain, where they joined the Royal Flying Corps (RFC). South African pilots in the RFC saw action over France in late 1914 and in East Africa in 1915. By the end of World War I, nearly 3,000 South African pilots had served in RFC squadrons.

The SAAF became a separate branch of the armed services in 1920 and was soon put to the test in suppressing one of a series of miners' strikes in the Rand, near Johannesburg, as well as rebellions in South-West Africa. World War II saw the SAAF grow from a small force of ten officers, thirty-five officer cadets, 1,600 men of other ranks, and 100 aircraft in 1939 to a force of 31,204 servicemen, including nearly 1,000 pilots and at least 1,700 aircraft, in 1941. By 1945, the SAAF had more than 45,000 personnel in thirty-five operational squadrons. More than 10,000 women served in the Women's Auxiliary Air Force during the war.

The air force established a Joint Air Training Scheme (JATS) in 1940. The JATS brought British and other Allied air and ground crews to South Africa for training and achieved impressive training records. By 1945 thirty-eight JATS training pro-

grams had turned out more than 33,300 air crew and 7,800 pilots, including 12,200 SAAF personnel.

In addition to protecting Allied shipping along South Africa's coastlines, SAAF combat and support units served in West Africa, East Africa, North Africa, Madagascar, the Middle East, Italy, the Balkans, and elsewhere in the European and the Mediterranean theaters. In North Africa alone, the SAAF's eleven squadrons flew nearly 34,000 missions and destroyed 342 enemy aircraft between April 1941 and May 1943. The SAAF's 17,000-man contingent in the Italian campaign played the dominant role in Allied air operations there. In all of World War II, the SAAF flew more than 82,000 missions and lost at least 2,227 SAAF members.

The SAAF's contributions to Western causes also included missions during the Berlin airlift of the late 1940s; SAAF crews flew 1,240 missions carrying 4,133 tons of supplies to West Berlin in 1948 and 1949. During the Korean War (1950–53), the SAAF's Second Squadron (the Flying Cheetahs) flew more than 12,000 missions, establishing a strong record of success. During that time, the SAAF reportedly lost only thirty-four pilots and seventy-eight aircraft.

By the end of the 1950s, South Africa faced increasing international isolation and the eruptions of internal and regional conflicts, which it confronted largely without the assistance of allies. SAAF pilots acquired the ability to fly at least twenty-six types of aircraft on a wide range of missions. In the escalating conflict in South-West Africa, the SAAF carried out long-range casualty evacuations, visual and photo reconnaissance missions, close air support, and air strikes, most often flying helicopters or light attack aircraft. The SAAF also developed both impressive early-warning equipment and maneuvering tactics to outsmart superior technology. SAAF mechanics were skilled repairmen; some aging SAAF aircraft were used through the 1980s and were not retired until the Namibian (South-West African) conflict wound down at the end of the decade.

The South African Navy (SAN) traces its origins back more than a century to the UDF's seagoing vessels, and to a naval volunteer unit formed in Durban in 1885. The British Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve established a division in South Africa in 1912. The navy's modern antecedent was the Seaward Defence Force (SDF), established in 1940 with fifteen small ships and several shore bases. The SDF soon grew into a force of several escort groups and minesweeping flotillas, some of which served

French-manufactured Puma helicopter used by South African Air Force
Courtesy Embassy of South Africa, Washington

in the Mediterranean in World War II. Many SDF personnel saw active service in British Royal Navy vessels.

The SDF was renamed the South African Naval Force in 1947 and the South African Navy in 1951. Its main assignments were to guard naval installations and harbors at Richards Bay, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town. The navy's small, elite Marine Corps branch had major responsibilities in this area until it was disbanded in 1957. The Marine Corps was reestablished in 1979, with a force of about 900 marines, who trained at several installations in western Cape Province.

Naval acquisitions were seriously impaired by international embargoes of the late 1970s and 1980s. Navy personnel were reduced from almost 9,000 to half that number by 1990, and the navy bore the brunt of the military retrenchment, or downsizing, of the early 1990s. The SAN closed some facilities at Richards Bay, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Durban, and reduced armaments depots and stores at its base at Simonstown, south of Cape Town.

Rise of the Security Establishment

Senior government officials became convinced in the 1970s that their country faced a serious threat of insurgency orches-

trated by communist world powers and carried out by their surrogates in southern Africa. To emphasize the comprehensive nature of this threat, they referred to it as a "Total Onslaught," and to counter it, they developed a "Total Strategy," which called for mobilizing military, political, educational, economic, and psychological resources. The SADF emerged as the key participant in the Total Strategy, as the centerpiece of an elaborate national security apparatus encompassing the defense establishment, the paramilitary South African Police (SAP), numerous intelligence agencies, defense-oriented parastatal and private organizations, and—by the late 1970s—a growing number of government agencies with security concerns. The SADF's expanded role increased its influence in policy decision making and in resource allocation. By the end of the 1970s, the military was at the center of the country's domestic and foreign policy, implementing its Total Strategy to outmaneuver external and internal enemies of the state.

National Security Management System

Security concerns were foremost in the policies of P. W. Botha, who became prime minister in 1978, following twelve years as minister of defense. Botha and the new minister of defense, General Magnus Malan, overhauled, consolidated, and streamlined much of the government, subordinating its other functions to their security concerns. To manage this cumbersome bureaucratic arrangement, Botha, Malan, and a few key advisers created the National Security Management System (NSMS) and consolidated the preeminence of the Directorate of Military Intelligence within the government's information-gathering community.

The NSMS subsumed and co-opted existing structures, both public and private, in a comprehensive security apparatus. Some critics of government viewed the NSMS as a shadow or parallel government, or even a covert infrastructure for de facto military rule. Its mission was based upon a classical counterinsurgency strategy—to identify and to neutralize antigovernment activists and to strengthen public support ("Winning the hearts and minds"—WHAM) for security-related activities.

At the apex of the NSMS was the State Security Council (SSC). The SSC had been established in 1972 as one of twenty cabinet committees with advisory responsibilities to the executive branch of government. In 1979 it became the most important and most powerful of the four remaining cabinet

committees. Botha chaired the enlarged SSC, which also included the minister of defense, the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of justice, and the minister of law and order; the chief of the SADF; the chiefs of the military and the intelligence services; the commissioner of police; the chief of the security police; and other senior government officials by invitation.

The SSC functioned as a national command center, evaluating current intelligence, formulating policy, and directing a nationwide organizational network dedicated to implementing the Total Strategy. The scope of its responsibilities, size, organizational complexity, and budget far exceeded that of any other cabinet committee, past or present. The SSC was supported by a Work Committee and by the State Security Secretariat staff. The Work Committee met weekly to review and to coordinate the activities of more than a dozen interdepartmental committees and to refine issues to be put before the entire council. The secretariat staff of about ninety consisted primarily of military and intelligence personnel.

Internally, the SSC was organized into four branches. These had responsibility for security strategy—developing strategic options and monitoring overall government policy; for national intelligence—reviewing, evaluating, and interpreting information produced by other agencies; for strategic communication—considering problems associated with the government's psychological and public-relations campaigns; and for administration.

Below this national command center was a hierarchy of Joint Management Centers (JMCs), generally corresponding to SADF area commands. Twelve JMCs were operating in 1986; these were later reduced to nine to coincide with the government's newly designated economic development areas. Headquartered in major cities, the JMCs were chaired by military or police brigadiers (between colonel and major general), each directing fifty to fifty-five officials and security officers. JMC officials also directed the activities of sub-JMCs, or subcenters composed of officials from city government, police, and military in the area. At the bottom of the security apparatus pyramid were approximately 448 minicenters, directed by municipal officials, postmasters, fire chiefs, local defense officials, and other community leaders. JMC authorities at each level were assisted by three advisory committees specializing in

communications; in intelligence; and in constitutional, economic, and social affairs.

In the mid-1980s, the government established the Military Area Radio Network (MARNET), a twenty-four-hour very-high-frequency system designed to link farmers in rural locations with police and military forces in the area. The radio network was intended to help protect civilians in emergencies, such as an armed uprising or terrorist attack, especially in the far northern Transvaal. Other civilian defense measures included weapons training, fire-fighting, and first-aid classes provided by the military.

As internal dissent escalated in the mid-1980s, the government again raised minimum national service requirements, and new legislation extended military service obligations to foreign residents of South Africa. By 1989 the SADF had grown to an estimated 103,000 active-duty and 455,000 reserve-duty troops. Growing civilian opposition, in the meantime, prompted an activist End Conscription Campaign to urge civilians to resist military service. The number of men who avoided conscription each year rose steadily, and the government debated instituting a system of conscientious objection (and alternative service) to allow a small number of conscripts to avoid military service legally, based on their religious beliefs. But by the time such a system became law in 1992, several thousand men each year had refused to be conscripted for military service, and a small number were prosecuted and were jailed or fined for this offense.

Regional tensions began to ease in the late 1980s. The government was reevaluating its commitment to apartheid, and expectations of political change were becoming evident in South Africa and throughout the region. Moreover, as the fighting in Angola began to subside, South African troops withdrew from Namibia, and the government began to seek contacts among former opponents to negotiate a way out of the political and economic impasse created by apartheid. National Service obligations were scaled back; for example, in 1991 the initial mandatory period of military service was reduced to one year.

Specialized Forces

The SADF increasingly assumed internal security functions during the 1970s and 1980s and was deployed to urban areas of South Africa, often referred to as the second front, to combat

sabotage. In these nontraditional military functions, senior officers relied on specialized military and paramilitary units, some with unpublicized areas of responsibility.

The Special Forces were assigned sensitive missions and operations inside and outside South Africa, which were often closed to public scrutiny. The Special Forces consisted of five or six reconnaissance (recce) regiments during most of the apartheid era. Other specialized units were sometimes involved in clandestine operations, but were not technically included among the Special Forces. The reconnaissance regiments' commanders had the authority to initiate operations subject only to the approval of the military chief of staff for operations. The commanding general of all Special Forces reported directly to the SADF chief.

The oldest of the Special Forces, the First Reconnaissance Regiment, known as "One Recce," was formed in 1972 and was headquartered in Durban. It was responsible for the initial training of all Special Forces members from the mid-1970s on. The other reconnaissance units were formed in the late 1970s or early 1980s.

The Second Reconnaissance Regiment was headquartered in Pretoria and was deployed largely in that area. Little public information exists about the Third Reconnaissance Regiment, which reportedly was disbanded during the 1980s. The Fourth Reconnaissance Regiment, based at Langebaan, near Saldanha Bay, specialized in seaborne operations and saw extensive service in Angola during the early and mid-1980s.

The Fifth Reconnaissance Regiment, based at Phalaborwa, in the northeast, operated primarily in Mozambique in support of the Mozambican National Resistance (Resistencia Nactional Moçambicana—MNR or Renamo), but saw additional action in South Africa and Angola. The Sixth Reconnaissance Regiment also saw action in Mozambique. Members of the reconnaissance regiments were recruited in Zimbabwe (until 1980, Rhodesia), Angola, and Mozambique, and among South Africans who opposed the antiapartheid struggle or the ANC, in particular, for a variety of political and personal reasons.

Several other specialized military units provided clandestine and open support for the government and its apartheid policies. For example, the South-West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF), the Forty-Fourth Parachute Brigade, the Thirty-Second Battalion, and the Koevoet ("crowbar," in Afrikaans) counterinsurgency force had specific responsibilities for preserving

the status quo or for defending the government. Some of these units—which often included members of all races but were usually commanded by whites—earned reputations for particular brutality in carrying out their missions.

Before Namibian independence in 1990, whites in that disputed territory had the same compulsory military service as in South Africa, and they sometimes served in SADF units in Namibia. In August 1980, the SADF established SWATF to counter the growing South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) insurgency, which had been fighting for independence since the 1960s. SWATF included some SADF units and local recruits; its commander, an SADF general, was both South-West Africa secretary of defense and general officer commanding South African army forces in the territory.

By 1987 SWATF was a 22,000-member militia, with a reaction force element and an area force. The reaction force had a motorized brigade composed of three infantry battalions and an armored car regiment, and a standing force of six light infantry battalions with supporting units recruited and trained for service in specific regions, or among specific ethnic groups. The area force comprised twenty-six multiracial counterinsurgency forces. Additional specialized units of SWATF included engineers, signals personnel, mounted troops, a parachute battalion, and a commando squadron. Several other multiracial units performed territory-wide functions in South-West Africa.

The Forty-Fourth Parachute Brigade, headquartered at Murray Hill near Pretoria, was the SADF's best-qualified rapid deployment force. The First Paratroop Battalion, its only standing battalion, was based at Tempe, outside Bloemfontein. These forces were used extensively in South-West Africa and in Angola during the late 1970s, and after 1980 were joined by paratroopers from the former Rhodesian army.

The Thirty-Second Battalion, a black multinational light infantry force, was formed in 1976 from remnants of Angolan rebel units that had been defeated in that country's civil war. It was primarily involved in anti-SWAPO operations in Namibia. The Thirty-Second Battalion worked closely with several reconnaissance units of the SADF. In April 1989, it moved to Pomfret, in the northern Cape Province, from which it was deployed to quell violence in black townships in several urban areas.

During the 1980s, the 3,000-strong Koevoet counterinsurgency force, composed mostly of Ovambo fighters commanded

by white SADF officers, conducted anti-SWAPO operations in Namibia and earned a reputation for ruthlessness and brutality. Koevoet was largely disbanded after the territory achieved independence in 1990, and some of its members were transferred to the Namibian police force. Former Koevoet members are widely despised by citizens and, in particular, by former SWAPO members who have also joined the country's new police force.

Several other specialized military units were not part of the Special Forces, but their particular missions were defined in part by legally established racial boundaries. The South African Cape Corps (SACC), for example, traced its origins to a small force of coloured soldiers who had fought together during World War II. In 1965 Cape Corps personnel were permanently assigned to the navy, and later some were transferred to air force maintenance units. An Indian Corps was set up in 1974 to train Asian volunteers, primarily for the navy. During the 1980s, these volunteers were trained at the Indian Training Centre at Durban for service in the navy or the Marine Corps.

Until the early 1990s, the military's Catering Corps was responsible for enforcing aspects of apartheid related to food and dining. As a general rule, caterers in any of the military services could serve food only to members of their own racial group. They prepared different rations for soldiers of different racial identities and for those whose religions enforced food prohibitions. The caterers also served special rations to the crews of maritime aircraft, ships, and submarines, and to prisoners of war.

The State President's Guard, established as an elite, specially trained unit in May 1967, was disbanded in October 1990. It performed both protective and ceremonial functions. As a home guard, it protected and staffed the president's homes in Cape Town, Pretoria, Durban, and Bloemfontein while the president was in residence. It also served as a ceremonial honor guard at important events such as presidential inaugurations and funerals, state visits, and VIP visits. Over the course of its twenty-three-year history, it was successively attached to the Army Gymnasium in Pretoria, the South African Medical Service Training Centre at Heidelberg (southeast of Johannesburg), the Fourth Provost Company in Wonderboom (northeast of Bloemfontein), the Second Signal Regiment in Pretoria, and the South African Army College (near Pretoria). During the 1980s, a few presidential guard units were deployed

to border areas for ten to twelve months, in part because their superior training enabled them to serve longer than the normal three-month rotation to those regions.

Homeland Militaries

Each of the four nominally independent homelands (see Glossary)—Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, and Venda—maintained small defense forces that were effectively under SADF control, despite each government's claim to national sovereignty. (No country except South Africa recognized these homelands as independent countries.) The homelands were dissolved when the April 1994 elections took place, and their military forces were integrated into the new national military establishment in 1995 and 1996.

Bophuthatswana, with a population of 2.4 million, was declared "independent" in 1977. The homeland consisted of several scattered enclaves near the border with Botswana. Bophuthatswana's military, the 3,100-member Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF), was organized into six military regions. Its ground forces included two infantry battalions, possessing two armored personnel carriers. The BDF air wing of 150 personnel possessed three combat aircraft and two armed helicopters.

The BDF was deployed several times in the late 1980s and early 1990s to quell popular demonstrations by residents of what had been South African territory bordering the homeland, when their residential areas were incorporated into Bophuthatswana for administrative purposes. South African security forces intervened to suppress these demonstrations and at least one coup attempt against the unpopular regime of President Lucas Mangope, who had been appointed by Pretoria.

Mangope was removed from office in April 1994, after BDF troops had killed at least forty people and had injured 150 more who were insisting on the right to vote in South Africa's upcoming elections, a demand that Mangope refused. Members of South African right-wing white extremist organizations arrived to support Mangope and clashed with some members of the BDF who had sided with the civilian demonstrators. The clash led to the highly publicized executions of two whites by the homeland military. The unrest ended when SADF troops arrived and placed Bophuthatswana under the control of

South Africa's interim executive authority until the elections took place.

Ciskei and Transkei were largely Xhosa-speaking homelands in the southern coastal region that became the Eastern Cape province in 1994. Ciskei, with a population of only 1 million, became "independent" in 1981. The Ciskei Defence Force (CDF), consisting of about 1,000 troops, was organized into two infantry battalions, possessing one armored personnel carrier, and an air wing company with five light aircraft and four helicopters.

Ciskei's president in the early 1980s, Lennox Sebe, established an elaborate security apparatus to protect his government, but members of his family and his army, nonetheless, tried on several occasions to overthrow him. Sebe was ousted in a military coup in March 1990 and was replaced by a military council led by Brigadier Joshua Gqozo. Tensions rose as the new Ciskei government debated the reincorporation of the homeland into South Africa, and the Gqozo government was ousted in early 1994, only weeks before the historic South African national elections and the dissolution of the homelands.

Transkei, the second Xhosa-speaking homeland, was declared "independent" in 1976. It had a population of about 4.4 million. The Transkei Defence Force (TDF) numbered about 2,000, including one infantry battalion and an air wing with two light transports and two helicopters. The Transkei government of the 1980s had a strained relationship with South Africa, largely because of the existence of armed strongholds of the ANC and other antiapartheid organizations in the homeland (which included within its territory the birthplace of ANC leader Nelson Mandela).

In 1987 Major General Bantu Holomisa—a staunch ANC activist—led a bloodless coup against the Transkei government; he then suspended the civilian constitution and refused South Africa's repeated demands for a return to civilian rule, insisting that a civilian government would be a puppet controlled by Pretoria. When the homeland was dissolved in 1994, Holomisa was named deputy minister of housing in President Mandela's cabinet.

Venda, a tiny homeland in the northern Transvaal, had a population of about 665,000 and was declared "independent" in 1979. Venda's 900-member military force consisted of two infantry battalions with one armored personnel carrier, one engineering unit, and an air wing with three helicopters. These

forces and their equipment were incorporated into the national military in 1995.

Women in the Military

South African women have a long history of service in the military. Women served in auxiliary roles in the SADF in World War I and World War II, and were assigned to active, non-combat duties after 1970. The army established a volunteer nursing service in 1914 and sent 328 nurses to serve with South African troops in Europe and East Africa in World War I. The Women's Auxiliary Army Service began accepting women recruits in 1916. Officials estimated that women volunteers relieved 12,000 men for combat in World War I by assuming clerical and other duties. During World War II, South Africa had five service organizations for women—the South African Military Nursing Service, and women's auxiliaries attached to the army, the navy, the air force, and the military police.

In 1970 the SADF began to accept women volunteers into the Permanent Force, and to assign them to duties that would release men for combat and operational duties. One year later, the South African Army Women's College initiated women's military training programs for jobs in military finance, personnel, intelligence, and medical units. No women were trained for combat. Women were not assigned to duties that presented a high risk of capture by foreign enemies.

During the late 1970s and 1980s, women were active in civil defense organizations and were being trained as part of the country's general mobilization against possible terrorist attacks. In 1989, for example, the Johannesburg Civil Defence Program provided training for 800 civil defense volunteers, about one-half of whom were women. These classes included such subjects as weapons training for self-defense, antiriot procedures, traffic and crowd control, first aid, and fire-fighting. An unreported number of women also received instruction in counterinsurgency techniques and commando operations. Women also served in military elements of liberation militias in the 1970s and the 1980s, and women were accepted into the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, also known as Umkhonto—MK), throughout the antiapartheid struggle.

In 1995 women of all races were being incorporated into the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), and a woman officer, Brigadier Jackie Sedibe, was appointed to oversee the

implementation of new SANDF policies concerning the treatment of women. Women had been promoted as high as warrant officers and brigadiers in the Permanent Force by the early 1990s, but only ten women were SADF colonels in 1994. In 1996 Brigadier Sedibe became the first woman in the military to be promoted to the rank of major general. Widespread cultural attitudes in the 1990s still oppose the idea of women in combat, but officials are debating ways to assign women an equitable share of the leadership positions in the military.

Global and Regional Issues

Since the arrival of seafaring European powers in the fifteenth century, South Africa has never been isolated in a strategic sense. The Cape of Good Hope initially served as a reprovisioning depot for Portuguese, English, and Dutch traders on their way to and from the Orient (see Southern African Societies to ca. 1600, ch. 1). After the mid-seventeenth century, southern Africa attracted Dutch and French Huguenot traders and settlers, whose troops engaged in a series of wars with indigenous Africans. In the late eighteenth century, the region was caught up in the Napoleonic wars and passed to British imperial control. An influx of Indian laborers and traders in the nineteenth century added an Asian dimension to South Africa's increasingly complex multicultural society. During the twentieth century, South Africa fought on the side of the victorious allies in the two world wars and in the Korean War; after that, it was caught up in the global strategic contest between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Despite the strong international presence over several centuries, South Africa's strategic position has been peripheral rather than central. World powers have sought access to, or control of, its remote subcontinental location and its mineral resources as a means of furthering their own global or imperial designs. Their arrivals and departures in southern Africa paralleled their countries' rise and fall in the international political and economic hierarchy.

After World War II, international interest in South Africa centered on its mineral wealth and its location along southern trade routes and lines of communication between the Eastern and the Western hemispheres. South Africa's potential international importance was nonetheless limited because domestic conditions, specifically its apartheid policies, made it the object of international scorn. Its diplomatic isolation was com-

pounded by international embargoes and by a wide range of Western economic sanctions during the 1980s. Paradoxically, this nation with a long history of trade, with a strategic location, with overwhelming military and economic power in the region, with strong cultural roots on three continents, and with hard-earned international stature, became a pariah. Then as East-West and United States-Soviet tensions eased, southern African regional conflicts ended and domestic political reforms reduced Pretoria's isolation. In the early 1990s, South Africans negotiated a peaceful end to apartheid and began to build new ties to the region and to the rest of the international community.

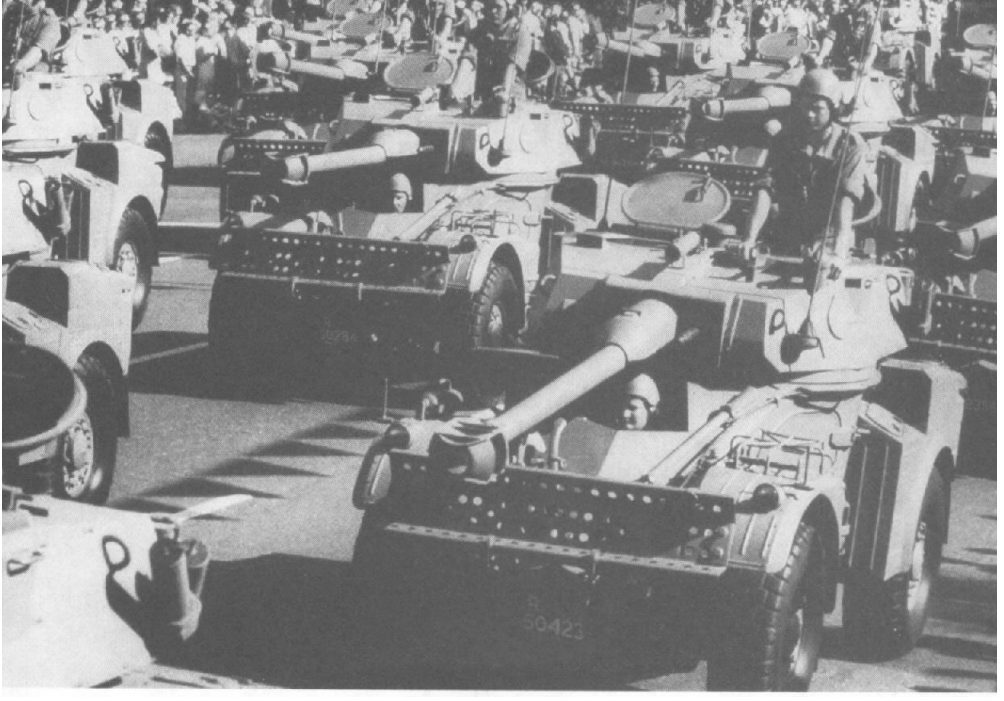
Arms Trade and the Defense Industry

Growth of the Defense Industry

South Africa's domestic arms industry originated in 1940 with the appointment of an Advisory Committee on Defence Force Requirements to study and to assess the country's military-industrial potential. Relying on its recommendations, the government, with British assistance, established six factories to produce or to assemble ammunition, bombs, howitzers, mortars, armored vehicles, and electronic equipment. A number of private companies also produced weapons during World War II. Most weapons factories were dismantled in the late 1940s.

Seeking long-term military research and development capabilities, the government in 1945 established the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) to study the country's overall industrial potential. The Board of Defence Resources, established in 1949, and the Munitions Production Office, established in 1951, oversaw policy planning concerning armaments. In 1953 the first rifle factory was established, and the Lyttleton Engineering Works, formerly the Defence Ordnance Workshop, collected technical data and information on manufacturing methods. In 1954 the government established the National Institute for Defence Research (NIDR) to assess and to improve the fledgling defense industry.

In 1960 the increasingly security-conscious National Party (NP) government stepped up programs to improve the arsenal of the armed forces. Pretoria raised arms production levels, sought new foreign sources of weapons, and began to acquire new defense technology systems. These efforts intensified after the 1963 United Nations (UN) Security Council resolution



South African-built armored vehicles
Courtesy Embassy of South Africa, Washington

restricting the sale of arms, ammunition, or military vehicles to South Africa. The Armaments Act (No. 87) of 1964 established an Armaments Production Board to manage the Lyttleton Engineering Works and a state-owned ammunition plant. The board assumed responsibility for coordinating arms purchases among government, military, and private agencies.

The Armaments Development and Production Act (No. 57) of 1968 established a special production unit, the Armaments Development and Production Corporation (Armscor), to consolidate and to manage public and private arms manufacturing. Through Armscor's efforts, South Africa soon achieved self-sufficiency in the production of small arms, military vehicles, optical devices, and ammunition. During the mid-1970s, Armscor reorganized as the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (still Armscor), expanded existing arms industries, and assumed control over most research and development done by NIDR. Before the voluntary UN arms embargo was declared mandatory in 1977, South Africa received military technology through licensing agreements, primarily with West Germany, Italy, Israel, France, Belgium, and Canada. Licensing and coproduction agreements in the 1970s and 1980s made it difficult to distinguish between fully indigenous military manufac-

tures and those that relied on foreign manufacturing capabilities.

During the 1980s, Armscor was a central feature of South Africa's military-industrial complex, a state corporation that depended on private industry for specific processes and components. Armscor's financial autonomy was evident in its access to the capital market for loans, but at the same time, many of its functions were closely tied to the government. Armscor executives reported directly to the minister of defense. Armscor's ten-member corporate board had overlapping membership with the ministry's Defence Planning Committee and included leading businessmen, financiers, and scientists, as well as the government's director general of finance and the chief of the SADF. In addition, Armscor was represented on the government's high-level military planning and policy bodies.

Armscor's marketing and sales department, Nimrod, undertook an aggressive arms export promotion campaign in the 1980s. It participated in international arms exhibitions, in Greece in 1982, in Chile each year from 1984 through the end of the decade, and in Turkey in 1989 (displaying its G–5 howitzer and Rooikat armored vehicle). Armscor also displayed its manufactures at numerous demonstrations and trade fairs in South Africa. Despite the UN ban on arms sales to Pretoria and a 1984 UN ban on the purchase of arms from South Africa, Armscor's business flourished. The corporation did not disclose export figures or customers during the 1980s, but the United States government estimated South Africa's arms sales at US$273 million (in constant 1989 dollars) over the five-year period from 1984 to 1988. The best year was 1985, when it earned roughly US$102 million.

Armscor did experience the effect of the cutback in weapons sales in the late 1980s. Its work force had increased from 10,000 to 33,000 between 1974 and 1984, but had declined to about 20,000 by 1989. At that time, Armscor purchased most of its manufacturing components from twelve subsidiary companies and an estimated 3,000 private contractors and subcontractors, representing a total work force of more than 80,000 employees. The government began to privatize parts of the arms industry in the early 1990s. Under a major restructuring that began in April 1992, a segment of Armscor and several of its manufacturing subsidiaries were reorganized as an independent weapons manufacturing company, Denel. Denel and several other manufacturers produced equipment on contract with Armscor,

which retained overall responsibility for military acquisitions. Armscor also acted as the agent of the state, regulating military imports and exports, issuing marketing certificates, and ensuring adherence to international agreements.

Defying International Embargoes

Despite the numerous international embargoes against arms trade with South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s, it nonetheless developed the most advanced military-industrial base on the continent. In the late 1970s, it ranked behind Brazil and Israel, among developing-country arms suppliers. The reasons for this apparent irony are evident in South Africa's defense production infrastructure, which had developed even before the first UN embargo in 1963; in the incremental, haphazard, and inconsistent ways in which the arms embargoes were imposed and enforced; in the deliberate refusal by several countries to comply with the embargoes; in Pretoria's use of clever and covert circumvention techniques; and in its ability to develop and to exploit advanced commercial and "dual-use" technologies for military applications. By the late 1960s, South Africa had acquired at least 127 foreign production licenses for arms, ammunition, and military vehicles. South Africa had purchased fighter aircraft, tanks, naval vessels, naval armaments, and maritime patrol aircraft, primarily from Britain. After that, military equipment was carefully maintained, upgraded, and often reverse-engineered or copied, after the embargo made it difficult to obtain replacements or replacement parts.

During the 1970s, South Africa expanded and refined its ability to acquire foreign assistance for domestic military production. Its broad-based industrial growth enabled it to shift imports from finished products to technology and components that could be incorporated into locally designed or copied military systems. Through this maneuver, multinational firms and banks became major sources of technology and capital for South Africa's defense industry, even during the embargo era. Dual-use equipment and technology—such as electronics, computers, communications, machine tools, and industrial equipment—and manufacturing techniques were not subject to embargo and were easy to exploit for military applications. South African engineers also were able to modify, to redesign, to retrofit, and to upgrade a wide range of weapons using foreign technology and systems.

South Africa also invested in strategic foreign industries; recruited foreign technicians to design, to develop, and to manufacture weapons; rented and leased technical services, including computers; and resorted to cover companies, deceptive practices, third-country shipments, and outright smuggling and piracy to meet its defense needs. By the 1980s, the defense industry, as extensive as it was, was nonetheless incapable of designing and producing some advanced military systems, such as high-performance combat aircraft, tanks, and aerospace electronics.

Even as Pretoria's diplomatic isolation increased in the 1980s, as many as fifty countries—including several in Africa—purchased Armscor's relatively simple, dependable, battle-tested arms for their own defense needs. The Johannesburg *Weekly Mail*, citing government documents, disclosed arms shipments in the mid-1980s to Iraq, Gabon, Malawi, Chile, France, Belgium, and Spain. Morocco and Zaire obtained Ratel armored vehicles from Pretoria, and South Africa's mobile razor-wire barrier, used for area protection and crowd control, was exported to at least fifteen countries, including several in Africa, and to United States forces in West Germany.

Reports of the Iran-Iraq conflict of the 1980s and of the Persian Gulf War of early 1991 highlighted Pretoria's previous sales to several countries in the Middle East. Armscor had sold G–5 towed howitzers to both Iran and Iraq, and G–6 self-propelled howitzers to the United Arab Emirates. South Africa also provided vaccines to Israel, for that country's use as a precaution against the possible Iraqi use of biological weapons. Numerous other reports of South African arms sales to the Middle East, to Peru, to several leaders of breakaway Yugoslav republics, and to other countries indicated the international awareness of the strength of South Africa's arms industry. The London-based humanitarian organization, Oxfam, criticized South Africa in 1992 for having sold automatic rifles, machine guns, grenade launchers, and ammunition to war-torn Rwanda. Military sales to Rwanda continued in the mid-1990s, even after that country's genocidal outbreak of violence in 1994.

The new Government of National Unity in 1994 faced the dilemma of whether to dismantle the defense industry many of its leaders had reviled for two decades or to preserve a lucrative export industry that still employed tens of thousands of South Africans. After some debate, President Mandela and Minister of Defence Joe Modise decided to maintain a high level of

defense manufacturing and to increase military exports in the late 1990s. The industry, they argued, would benefit civil society in areas such as mass transportation, medical care, mobile services, information management, and other areas of infrastructure development. Increasing defense exports, they maintained, would bolster foreign currency reserves and would help reduce unemployment. Moreover, they pledged that military exports to other countries would require cabinet approval and verification by Armscor; and, they promised, arms would not be sold to countries that threatened war with their neighbors.

Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Weapons

The international fear of nuclear proliferation made South Africa the focus of intense concern during the 1980s. Although Pretoria initially would not confirm it was developing, or possessed, nuclear weapons, it had large natural deposits of uranium, as well as uranium enrichment facilities and the necessary technological infrastructure. In addition, until the late 1980s South Africa had the deeply entrenched fear of its adversaries and the insecurity about its borders that were important incentives in other nations' nuclear programs. After 1981 South Africa was able to produce annually about fifty kilograms of highly enriched uranium, enough to make two or three twenty-kiloton nuclear bombs each year. With the cooperation of Israel—another technologically advanced, militarily powerful, nuclear-capable nation surrounded by hostile neighbors—South Africa developed at least six nuclear warheads, which it later acknowledged, along with a variety of missiles and other conventional weapons.

In 1987 President Botha announced that South Africa was considering signing the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and would begin discussions with other countries toward that end. In September 1990, Pretoria agreed to sign the NPT, but only "in the context of an equal commitment by other states in the Southern African region." After intensive diplomatic efforts, especially by the United States and the Soviet Union, Tanzania and Zambia agreed to sign the treaty. South Africa signed the NPT in July 1991, and an International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards agreement in September of that year. In addition, the government banned any further development, manufacture, marketing, import, or export of nuclear weapons or explosives, as required by the NPT. The IAEA declared it had completed its inspection in late

1994 and that South Africa's nuclear weapons facilities had been dismantled.

South Africa's nuclear parastatal, the Atomic Energy Corporation (AEC), which changed its emphasis from nuclear deterrents to industrial and economic needs, assists in the marketing of more than 150 products and services in the mid-1990s. These products have applications in mining and aerospace development, food production, transportation, and environmental preservation. Some examples are air filters for motor vehicles, a measuring device for minerals industry flotation processes, radio-isotopes for medical and industrial use, and a biogas unit to recover methane from refuse for use as vehicle fuel. These sales generated more than US$28 million between March 1993 and March 1994, according to official reports.

Although these developments represented a dramatic breakthrough in the international campaign to curb the spread of nuclear weapons, and a marked change in South Africa's own position, they did not permanently foreclose Pretoria's nuclear options. Pretoria could withdraw from its treaty obligations—NPT signatories may do so on ninety days' notice simply by citing "supreme interests." Moreover, South Africa could resume the production of weapons-grade uranium, although this product would be under IAEA safeguards and could not be used for nuclear explosives as long as South Africa chose to abide by the NPT.

South Africa's Council for Nuclear Safety, a statutory body set up to safeguard citizens and property against nuclear hazards, announced on September 27, 1994, an agreement between South Africa and the United States to exchange information about nuclear safety. This agreement, the first of its kind for South Africa—the twenty-ninth for the United States—enables signatory governments to remain abreast of the latest research information in the field of nuclear safety.

South Africa developed the ability to produce and to deploy chemical and biological weapons during the mid-1980s, although Pretoria then acknowledged only that it was developing defensive countermeasures against such weapons. Military officials then believed that chemical or biological weapons were being used by Angolan government forces in that country's festering civil war. In 1993, after South Africa's involvement in that war had ended, President de Klerk ordered the destruction of any remaining chemical and biological substances. His government also joined more than forty other Afri-

can nations in signing the international Convention on Chemical Weapons. In October 1994, South Africa hosted the first conference in Africa on the implementation of the Convention on Chemical Weapons.

Regional Issues

South Africa was increasingly isolated, diplomatically and politically, after the early 1960s. Its system of apartheid, constructed to exclude blacks and to subordinate their concerns to white interests, made it a pariah on the continent. It was the only African country to be excluded from the Organization of African Unity (OAU); it became the target of a campaign intended to punish, to isolate, and to overthrow the government in Pretoria. A few OAU members tried unsuccessfully to mobilize a pan-African military force, which, they had hoped, would oust the NP government and would install the ANC in power in South Africa.

The climate of regional hostility intensified against a changing background of African politics in the 1960s and 1970s. Several dozen former European colonies and protectorates became independent African countries. After 1972 South African police units tried to bolster the illegal Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith against Zimbabwean national liberation armies, but by 1980 the new nation of Zimbabwe had achieved a new government with international legitimacy. Pretoria also assisted the Portuguese in their unsuccessful struggles against liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique; these two countries won independence from Portugal in 1975. In South-West Africa, the only other white-minority stronghold in the region, the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) continued its independence struggle, which had begun in 1966.

By the early 1980s, Pretoria's former regional "buffer zone" against an enemy onslaught had become a hostile region of "front-line states" opposing Pretoria. South Africa's neighbors welcomed its dissidents, giving them political sanctuary and asylum, organizational headquarters, and military training facilities. South Africa found itself the lone white-ruled state in an unstable region. Civil wars in Angola and Mozambique, exacerbated by large-scale foreign intervention, drew Pretoria into protracted regional conflicts. It confronted an influx of Soviet, Warsaw Pact, and Cuban armed forces and weaponry into the region, and saw mounting dissent within its own borders.

Despite the regional animosities, no African army posed a serious or immediate challenge to South Africa's military might during this time, and its domestic enemies were not well enough organized or equipped to confront the power of the state. But the government in Pretoria often failed to distinguish between external and internal enemies. It saw itself as besieged, caught in a pernicious cycle of low-intensity, unconventional warfare from within and without—a Total Onslaught against which only a Total Strategy could ensure survival. This strategy required military and economic self-sufficiency; small, mobile, offensive-oriented armed forces; air superiority and at least a modest naval capability, backed by a large reserve force; a military doctrine of deterrence, including the use of preemptive and retaliatory force, as well as large-scale interventions in neighboring states; and an extensive intelligence and security network, both inside and outside South Africa.

South Africa's four-pronged strategy of alliance, accommodation, deterrence through defense, and counterthreat has been outlined by David Albright, a specialist in international security affairs. Pretoria's de facto alliances with Angola and Mozambique ended with their independence in 1975, and its informal cooperation pact with Southern Rhodesia (later, Rhodesia) ended soon after that. Then, lacking the option of forging open security alliances with neighboring states, Pretoria still tried to lessen regional tensions through nonaggression pacts, such as its agreements with Swaziland in 1982 and with Mozambique and Angola in 1984. It sought accommodation with regional states that were small, weak, or geographically remote, such as Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Madagascar, and—to a lesser degree—Zambia.

Two elements of South Africa's regional strategy, deterrence and counterthreat, which were increasingly important after the regional "buffer zone" had been eliminated, were only possible because South Africa had engaged in a massive security buildup over two decades. Beginning in the 1960s, Pretoria had extended military obligations for white males, had enlarged its permanent and reserve military forces, had increased its defense spending, had invested heavily in military industrialization, and had expanded and diversified its military arsenals.

Pretoria's most aggressive and open intervention in a neighboring state, in Angola in the mid-1970s, was believed to be necessary to avoid a communist onslaught in South-West Africa

and, eventually, perhaps in South Africa. South African officials also estimated that competing Angolan nationalist armies would continue their power struggle after Portugal granted Angola independence in November 1975. Therefore, as Portuguese forces withdrew from the region, SADF troops intervened directly and continued to be engaged there until a United States-brokered peace accord was signed in December 1988 (see Relations with African States, ch. 4). During this time, Pretoria launched periodic cross-border military operations in Angola against the Soviet- and Cuban-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—MPLA) regime in Luanda. In addition, it launched frequent air and ground attacks on operational centers and training camps of liberation movements that supported the MPLA, including the ANC and SWAPO.

To counter the ANC threat, South Africa abducted and assassinated ANC exiles in neighboring states, in some instances. It also launched attacks into Mozambique in 1980, 1981, 1983, and 1987; into Lesotho in 1982 and 1985; into Botswana in 1985, 1986, and 1988; into Zambia in 1986 and 1987; and into Zimbabwe in 1982 and 1986. On one day, May 19, 1986, South African forces attacked alleged ANC bases in Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe—all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations—souring relations with Commonwealth leaders who had tried to block international sanctions efforts against Pretoria.

Lesotho became the target of numerous South African counterinsurgency operations. Completely surrounded by South Africa, Lesotho was a natural haven for antiapartheid militants. South Africa applied economic and military pressure to quell criticism of Pretoria by Lesotho's prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan. A series of armed raids against alleged ANC strongholds around Maseru in the early 1980s prompted Chief Jonathan to declare a virtual state of war with South Africa in 1983. Finally, in January 1986, Pretoria provided covert support for a military coup that ousted Chief Jonathan and installed a military government led by Major General Justin Lekhanya; then, Lekhanya's government was pressured to prevent any ANC activity within its territory.

South Africa also furnished covert aid to opposition parties and to rebel organizations as part of an effort to destabilize hostile neighboring governments. For example, it supplied extensive aid to the Angolan rebel movement, the National

Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola—UNITA). South Africa also supplied military assistance in the form of sanctuary, supplies, logistical support, training, and arms to the Mozambican National Resistance (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana—MNR or Renamo) during the early 1980s. Assistance to both UNITA and Renamo declined in the late 1980s (see Relations with African States, ch. 4).

Also during the 1980s, South Africa enforced border controls against illegal refugees and guerrilla infiltration by installing electrified fences, especially along its northeastern border. In 1985, for example, it installed 2,800-volt fences along portions of its borders with Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Lesotho, and with the homelands of Bophuthatswana, Transkei, and Venda. During 1988, the first year of available records, at least seventy people were electrocuted on these fences.

Regional tensions began to ease by the end of the 1980s, and in southern Africa, as elsewhere on the globe, the year 1989 marked a turning point in political and security relationships. The agreement signed in December 1988 linked Namibia's independence from South Africa with the cessation of foreign military involvement in Angola, and set in motion a series of other changes that contributed to dramatically improved prospects for peace. The Soviet Union slowed, and eventually halted, arms shipments to Angolan and Mozambican forces and played an active role in seeking political settlements to those conflicts. South Africa recognized the reduced regional threat by cautiously beginning domestic political reforms, by reducing the military's domestic security role, by drawing down military personnel, and by reducing military spending in areas related to external operations.

Namibia held national elections in 1989 and achieved formal independence in March 1990; Pretoria's former nemesis, SWAPO, won control over the new government in Windhoek. SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma took a conciliatory line toward Pretoria, however, and both countries recognized Namibia's continued economic dependence on South Africa. In March 1991, South African and Namibian officials began negotiations aimed at transferring to Windhoek control over Namibia's only deep-water port, Walvis Bay, as well as the Penguin Islands. South Africa's last military battalion was removed from Walvis Bay later that year, and that enclave and the islands formally became part of Namibia on March 1, 1994.

A number of events in the early 1990s helped to solidify South Africa's view of its future leadership role in southern Africa. During a serious drought and famine that swept most of the region, South Africa was credited with saving thousands of lives by shipping domestic and imported corn to neighboring states and by providing other forms of drought assistance. The government also eased border restrictions, in part to facilitate the use of South Africa's developed transportation infrastructure by neighboring countries.

The rest of Africa began to open up formerly covert trade relations with South Africa and to welcome it into diplomatic circles. President de Klerk paid his first visit to Nigeria in April 1992, and his warm welcome by President Ibrahim Babangida sent a strong signal of acceptance to other African leaders. Within weeks, Zambia, Kenya, and Lesotho began preparations for establishing formal diplomatic relations.

While ties with the rest of Africa were being strengthened, South Africa's relationship with Angola continued to be uncertain. Hopes for peace in Angola rose and fell; the signing of the Bicesse Accord in May 1991 paved the way for national elections in September 1992. After a brief lull, the country returned to civil war. In 1994 the MPLA government employed military trainers from South Africa—former SADF fighters, including some who had fought against the MPLA during the 1980s—to help it recapture UNITA-held towns. Another peace agreement, signed in Zambia in late 1994, gave some hope of a UN-monitored peace and of elections in 1995 or 1996. As of mid-1996, however, rebel troops were still being disarmed, and a date for Angolan elections had not been set.

The 1980s power struggle in Lesotho had never really ended; when violence flared in 1994, Pretoria's response provided an indication of the regional role that the new Government of National Unity envisioned for itself for the next few years. The Lesotho military had forced the country's reigning monarch, King Moshoeshoe II, into exile in 1990, and in 1993 Lesotho had held its first nationwide elections in twenty-seven years. The former monarch was allowed to return, but the new prime minister, Ntsu Mokhehle, had allowed his own strained relationship with the army to deteriorate to the point that South African troops were posted to guard the border between the two countries in 1993 and in 1994. In 1994 South African officials helped to mediate a compromise between Lesotho's government and military, but President Mandela encouraged

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe to take a leading role in regional peacemaking, while South Africa worked to reorganize and train its new National Defence Force.

Constitutional and Legal Framework

South Africa's 1984 constitution, the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act (No. 110) of 1983, which remained in effect through 1993, affirmed the provisions of the Defence Act (No. 44) of 1957 establishing the missions of the armed forces. These missions were, and continue to be, to defend the country; to fulfill South Africa's international treaty obligations; to prevent terrorism and domestic disorder; to protect life, health, and property; and to help maintain essential services. The president had the power to declare war, martial law, and states of emergency, and to establish peace. The minister of defence, under the overall direction of the president and with the consent of the State Security Council (SSC), bore responsibility for formulating and for executing defense policy. During the late 1980s, the military was frequently assigned domestic duties as part of the constitutional requirement to help the police and local authorities to maintain essential services and domestic order in times of emergency.

The 1994 interim constitution, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (No. 200) of 1993, reiterates the provisions of the 1957 Defence Act that make the president commander in chief of the armed forces. The constitution reserves specific powers related to national security for the president, who may, with parliamentary approval, declare a "state of national defence." This is, in effect, a state of national emergency, but the framers of the constitution emphasize their reluctance to undertake any offensive military action against neighboring states. The constitution also authorizes the president to establish a national defense force to fulfill the responsibilities formerly assigned to the SADF. It empowers the president to employ the military in accordance with constitutional principles to defend the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the republic; to fulfill South Africa's international obligations; to preserve life, health, and property; to provide or to maintain essential services; to uphold law and order in cooperation with the police; and to support the general social and economic improvement of the population.

The interim constitution states that the new military organization, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF),

will include former members of the SADF, the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and the militias of the former homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei. Former members of other militias, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party's Self-Protection Units, were admitted to the SANDF after the 1994 constitution was implemented.

In May 1996, the National Assembly and the Senate, in joint session as the Constitutional Assembly, completed a draft of the final constitution, to be implemented by the end of the formal political transition. Like the interim document that preceded it, the 1996 draft constitution calls for civilian control over the military. The draft makes no mention of the State Security Council or similar overarching security apparatus reminiscent of the 1980s. It reaffirms the missions of the armed forces as outlined in the Defence Act of 1957 and the role of the president to serve as commander in chief of the SANDF. As of mid-1996, the draft was being reviewed by the Constitutional Court, and after some revisions, was expected to be implemented in phases, beginning in 1997.

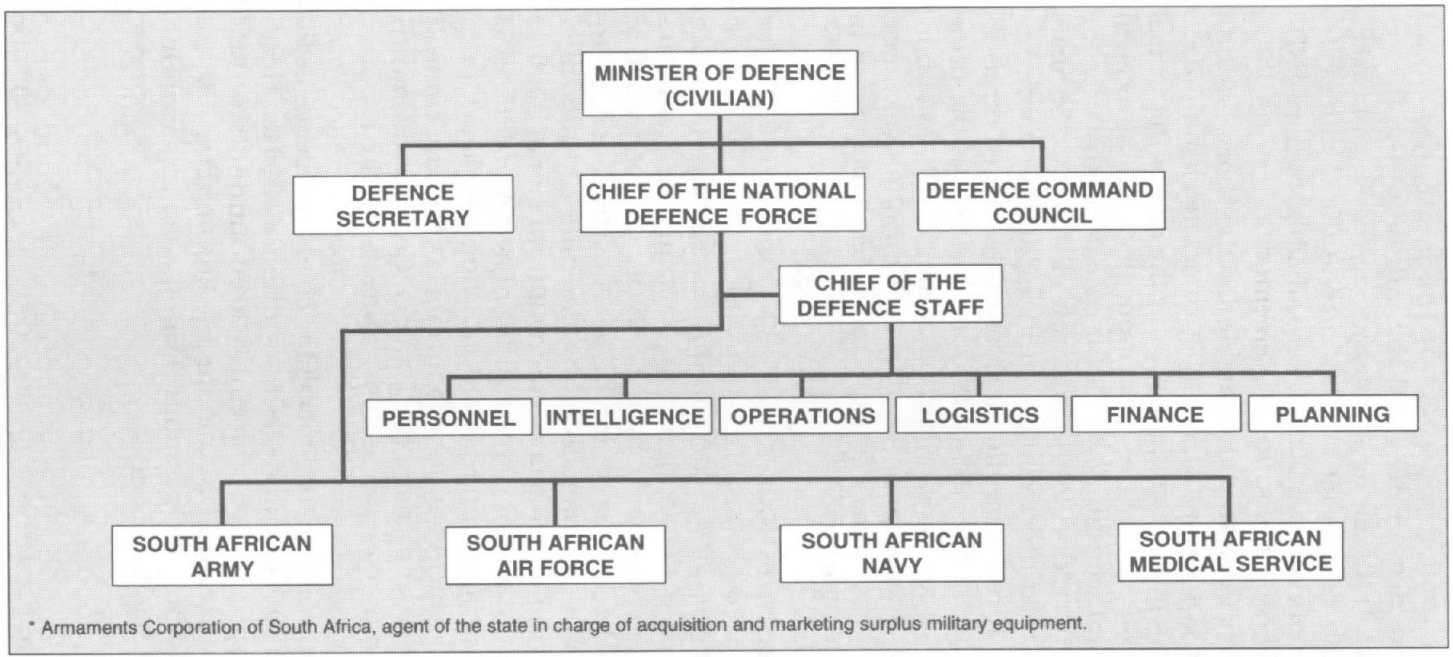
Military Organization

Four armed services—the South African Army, the South African Air Force, the South African Navy, and the South African Medical Service—make up the SANDF, also referred to as the National Defence Force. SANDF headquarters are in Pretoria. The SANDF is commanded by the chief of the armed forces, who is appointed by the president from one of the four branches of the military (see fig. 20). The SANDF chief is accountable to the minister of defence, who is a civilian.

The SANDF chief consults with members of several councils and committees and chairs the Defence Command Council (DCC), which oversees the defense budget. On the DCC are the four service chiefs, the chief of the National Defence Force staff, the military inspector general, the chiefs of defence headquarters staff divisions, and other key defense officials. Headquarters responsibilities are allocated among six staff divisions—the Finance Division, the Intelligence Division, the Logistics Division, the Operations Division, the Personnel Division, and the Planning Division.

Army

The army in the 1990s continues to rely on a small Perma-



Source: Based on updated information from Robert Hall and Ian Kemp, eds., *Whither South Africa's Warriors?*, Jane's Intelligence Review, Special Report No. 3, London, 1994, 12.

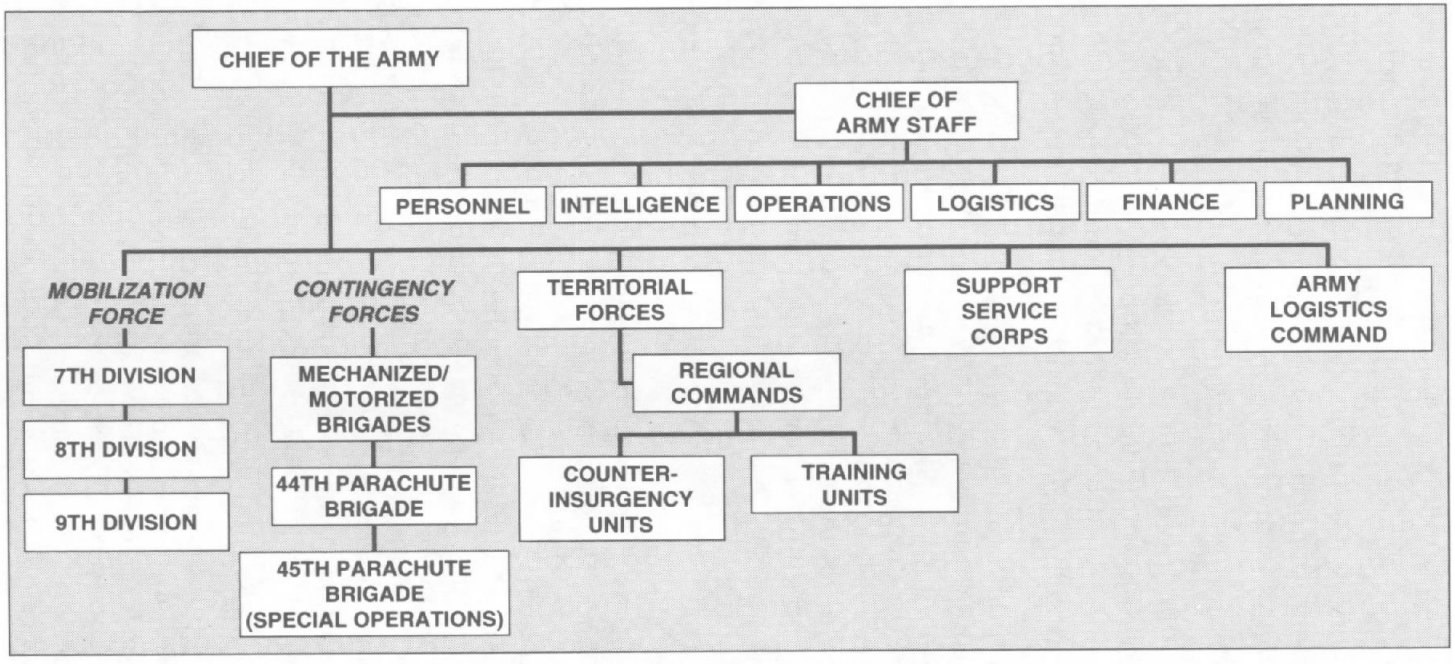
Figure 20. Command Structure of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), 1996

nent Force of professional soldiers and a large Citizen Force. The Citizen Force consists of volunteers serving an initial period of training and active duty, followed by several years of reserve status. Reservists rotate into active duty when called upon. Volunteers can apply to transfer from the Citizen Force to the Permanent Force if they wish to become professional, career soldiers.

The sweeping changes of the mid-1990s allowed varying assessments of the strength of the army. The government's *South Africa Yearbook, 1995* indicated that roughly 95,000 active-duty members of the SADF and of the former homeland militaries, as well as about 27,000 former liberation fighters, made up the army in 1995. Many of the active-duty troops were in various stages of training or retraining for at least one year after that. After the integration of these forces into the SANDF was completed, officials planned to reduce army ranks, to a force of about 91,000 by the year 1998. Officials were also considering further reductions, perhaps to a force of about 75,000 active-duty troops, by the year 2000. The number of military reservists, in a wide variety of reserve duty statuses, was estimated at more than 360,000 in late 1995. The government's *South Africa Yearbook, 1995* indicated that more than 500,000 troops were on part-time or reserve status (see table 20, Appendix).

The chief of the army, who holds the rank of lieutenant general, commands all army forces. He is assisted by his general staff at the army headquarters in Pretoria. He also is responsible for the Army Battle School at Lohatla in the Northern Cape, the Defence College (formerly the South African Military College) at Pretoria, and various corps schools, such as the Artillery School at Potchefstroom (North-West Province), the Infantry School at Oudtshoorn (Western Cape), and the Intelligence School at Kimberley.

The army is organized into territorial forces and conventional forces, both commanded by the chief of the army through different command structures (see fig. 21). This division reflects the army's dual mission—to ensure internal security and to defend the country against external threats. The territorial forces are organized by region and are primarily responsible for internal security tasks, such as helping the police ensure law and order, combating terrorism, patrolling national borders, protecting strategic sites, providing emergency and disaster relief, and administering military reserve



Source: Based on updated information from Robert Hall and Ian Kemp, eds., *Whither South Africa's Warriors?*, Jane's Intelligence Review, Special Report No. 3, London, 1994, 12.

Figure 21. Organization of the South African Army, 1996

forces within their region. In 1996 most members of the former homeland military forces were being incorporated into the territorial forces.

The ten regional military commands are headquartered at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Durban, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Nelspruit, and Pietersburg. In 1996 the boundaries of the military regions were being changed to conform more closely to the country's new administrative regions.

Like the territorial forces, the army's conventional forces are stationed throughout the country, but their training and organization are separate from the territorial forces. The conventional forces fall under the operational control of the army headquarters in Pretoria, not under the regional commanders. The conventional forces are trained to confront traditional security threats, such as a foreign enemy.

The conventional forces are organized into contingency forces and a mobilization force. As of the early and mid-1990s, the contingency forces consisted of one mechanized/motorized brigade and two parachute brigades—the Forty-fourth Parachute Brigade and the Forty-fifth Parachute Brigade. The mobilization force was organized into three mechanized divisions—the Seventh Division, the Eighth Division, and the Ninth Division.

Functionally, the army also distinguishes between combat corps and support service corps. The combat corps include infantry, artillery, antiaircraft, and armored corps. The infantry is the largest of the combat corps and has both mechanized and airborne units. The artillery corps uses indirect fire guns, howitzers, field guns, and multiple rocket launchers, generally coordinating operations with the antiaircraft corps to protect ground forces. The armored corps relies largely on tanks with 105-millimeter guns and on a variety of other armored vehicles.

The support service corps include engineers, signals specialists, and others trained in ordnance, technical services, intelligence, personnel, and finance, as well as musicians, caterers, and the military police. Service units maintain, repair, and recondition all equipment, except communications equipment. The military police serve as the army's internal police force and control traffic to and from operational areas.

The Commandos are formally under the authority of the regional commands of the army but are organized and deployed in a tradition similar to that of the National Guard in

the United States. Originally volunteers trained for quick-response to local emergencies, they were used to quell unrest during the apartheid era; in the 1990s, Commando units are assigned to guard important installations, such as industrial plants, oil refineries, communication centers, and transportation facilities.

Commandos generally serve a total of 1,000 active-duty days over a ten- or twelve-year period. In emergencies, the period of active duty is increased in increments of fifty days. Urban Commando units are generally organized into a single urban battalion. Rural Commando units are sometimes organized into a regional battalion.

The army's ground forces in the mid-1990s can field an imposing array of equipment, most of it produced in South Africa. Their arsenal includes tanks, armored reconnaissance vehicles, infantry fighting vehicles, and armored personnel carriers (see table 21, Appendix). The army also has a wide array of artillery pieces, including towed and self-propelled heavy artillery, multiple-rocket-launcher systems, as well as mortars and antitank and air defense weapons.

Integrating Armies in the 1990s

The military's massive reorganization began a year before the historic April 1994 elections and was scheduled to be completed by late 1996. The process began with the creation of a multiservice Joint Military Coordinating Council (JMCC) by the Transitional Executive Council (TEC)—the country's interim executive authority. The TEC also established a Subcouncil on Defence to supervise the planning phase of the reorganization. The JMCC and the subcouncil worked together to set program goals, and in late 1993 the JMCC formed five working groups to address specific problems associated with finance, intelligence, logistics, operations, and personnel. These working groups presented their recommendations to the JMCC and the subcouncil in early 1994.

At that time, the major security challenge for South Africa was the need to end the township violence that threatened to derail the April 1994 elections. Officials hastily formed a multiracial National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF), including about 3,500 members of existing military organizations—primarily the SADF and MK. In February 1994, the NPKF was deployed to several townships around Johannesburg, but its troops, with widely varying military backgrounds and training, could not

adequately coordinate their operations and standards of behavior. NPKF units encountered morale and disciplinary problems, and, in at least one instance, civilians were killed in gunfire between military and paramilitary personnel. The NPKF was disbanded soon after the April 1994 elections.

The failure of the NPKF did not delay the military reorganization, however, and other efforts already underway in early 1994 were more successful. SADF officials and a British Military Advisory and Training Team (BMATT) assembled members of the former homeland armies and former MK and Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA—the military wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress) liberation fighters at locations near Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Bloemfontein to evaluate applicants for the new army. The SANDF accepted into its ranks most senior officers from both homeland and liberation armies without extensive testing. In addition, members of the homeland armies who had been trained by SADF instructors were generally accepted immediately into the new organization.

Finally, MK and APLA members were considered for admission on an individual basis, but these cases proved more difficult. Some of the liberation fighters could not meet minimal formal education requirements. Many had received uneven or inadequate training that left them ill-prepared for either combat or organizational responsibilities. Some had been trained in languages other than English or Afrikaans. A few were disqualified because of bureaucratic problems, such as lost files, or because they were overage. The SADF and BMATT personnel provided three to six months of basic training for many former liberation fighters, in order to rectify gaps in background qualifications or experience. For some of the new SANDF soldiers, training continued through 1996.

The New Face of the Army

As the military reorganization proceeded, a multiracial officer corps emerged. By early 1996, more than 1,300 former members of homeland or liberation armies held officer ranks of lieutenant or above. At least eleven black South Africans had been promoted to the rank of major general or above.

As of 1996, military officials had no plans to reinstate conscription as long as there were enough qualified volunteers to meet national security needs. They planned, instead, to transfer some soldiers into the police and others into service brigades. The latter would act as civic-action teams to work on

road construction and other infrastructure development projects. Military officials chose this tactic over large-scale dismissals in order to avoid flooding the civilian work force and to provide some work-related training and job skills for former guerrilla fighters. Funds were allocated for this training in late 1994, and the first three- and six-month training courses began in early 1995.

Military officials were working to maintain continuity in SANDF military training, and, at the same time, to inculcate a sense of the changing responsibilities of the army in the 1990s. Military trainers were preparing for new border control problems, as the threat of political infiltration by antiapartheid dissidents gave way to a tide of political and economic refugees hoping to prosper in the new South Africa. Officials also were concerned about increased smuggling and other forms of border fraud. One of their greatest challenges was the dramatic increase in cross-border narcotics trafficking that threatened to bring South Africa into the global spotlight as an important transshipment point in the late 1990s. Finally, the military continued to prepare for the possibility of cross-border hostilities with a neighboring state, although this possibility appeared remote as of 1996.

Air Force

The South African Air Force (SAAF) includes about 7,000 career active-duty troops and 3,000 active-duty volunteers who are fulfilling their national service obligations, as of 1996. About 400 air force personnel are women. In addition, about 20,000 reservists are available to be rotated into active duty as ground support personnel; reservists are also assigned to tactical air units and to units charged with safeguarding SAAF facilities (see fig. 22).

The air force is under the overall command of the chief of the air force, a lieutenant general, who is assisted by the chief of the air force staff and the air force inspector general. The air force's headquarters organization reflects the same six-division administrative structure as the entire military establishment, with divisions handling finance, intelligence, logistics, operations, personnel, and planning.

All regional commands and functional commands are answerable to air force headquarters in Pretoria for all air operations. Until 1993, there were two regional commands, the Western Command and the Southern Command. The Western

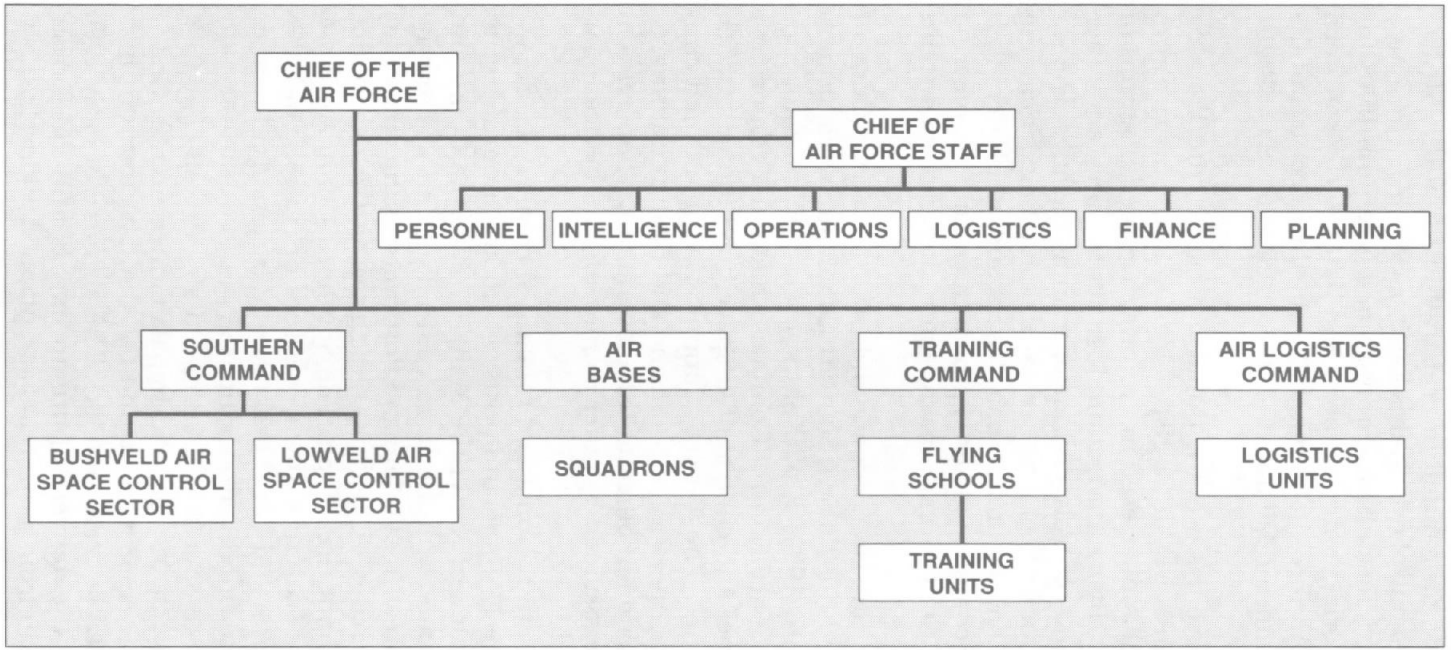
Command was dismantled in preparation for South Africa's relinquishing control over Walvis Bay in early 1994. The Southern Command, located at Simonstown, has responsibility for several territorial command posts and bases in the southern coastal area. Air force bases not under the direct control of the Southern Command fall under air force headquarters at Pretoria.

The air force has two functional commands, the Training Command and the Air Logistics Command. The Training Command, headquartered in Pretoria, oversees programs in basic training, flying, navigation, logistics training, and other instruction, and controls most major training facilities. The Air Logistics Command controls several air force units, including airfield maintenance units, repair depots, and supply depots. It also provides complete matériel procurement and engineering services, including aircraft management and ground systems support.

Two other functional commands, the Air Space Control Command and the Tactical Support Command, were dismantled in the early 1990s as part of the overall military downsizing. The Air Space Control Command had been responsible for air defenses and control of airspace, in conjunction with civil authorities. The Tactical Support Command had conducted formal operational command and control training, as well as instruction in other air force operations. These responsibilities were assumed by other commands and by headquarters personnel.

In addition to regional and functional commands, the air force has several command posts, which are subordinate to commands. One of these, the Main Threat Area Command Post, is co-located with the air force headquarters at Pretoria. The Main Threat Area Command Post oversees the operations of several air bases, air defense radar sites, and other installations throughout the region. The Southern Command Post, headquartered at Cape Town, oversees operations of bases near Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, and is responsible for air force maritime and other operations in these coastal areas.

The air force operates an estimated 400 aircraft. The fleet includes Cheetah, Mirage, and Impala fighter aircraft, Cessna light reconnaissance aircraft, and Oryx and Alouette III helicopters (see table 22, Appendix). The air force in early 1996 was awaiting the delivery of fifty to sixty Pilatus PC–7 basic training aircraft from Switzerland and planned to purchase sev-



Source: Based on updated information from Robert Hall and Ian Kemp, eds., *Whither South Africa's Warriors?*, Jane's Intelligence Review, Special Report No. 3, London, 1994, 17.

Figure 22. Organization of the South African Air Force, 1996

eral locally manufactured Rooivalk combat helicopters. The air force is also upgrading its Cheetah fighter aircraft and is developing plans to produce short- and medium-range air-to-air missiles for this purpose.

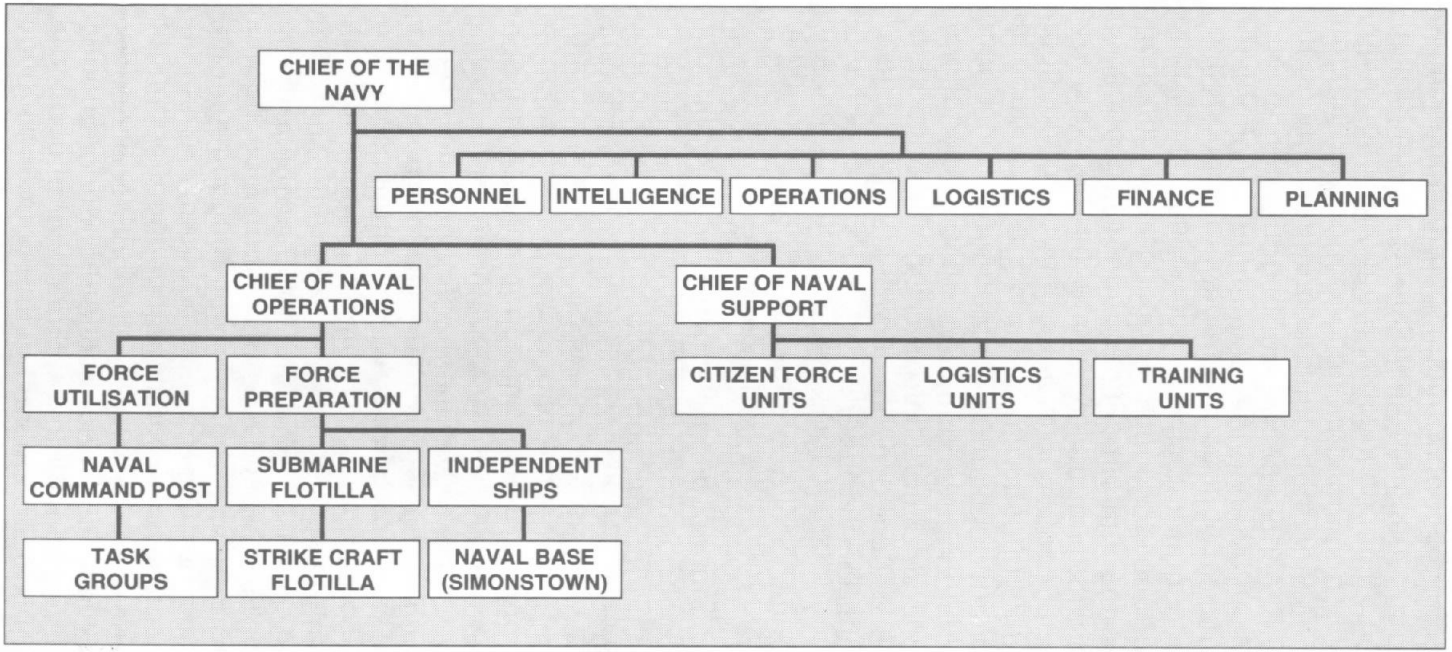
Navy

In the mid-1990s, the South African Navy (SAN) is a 4,500-person uniformed force, including 300 women. The navy is commanded by a vice admiral, the chief of the navy. The chief of the navy is assisted by a chief of naval operations and a chief of naval support; the latter two positions are filled by rear admirals. Naval headquarters are at Pretoria, although most important elements of the navy are at the navy's two bases at Simonstown and on Salisbury Island, near Durban. In addition to the headquarters organization and bases, the command structure includes seven naval units, flotillas, and independent ships (see fig. 23). Naval units are stationed in Johannesburg and Pretoria and at several of South Africa's major ports.

Naval officer training is provided at the South African Naval College in Gordon's Bay, near Simonstown. Basic training is provided at the nearby South African Naval Staff College and on the SAS *Saldanha.* Technical naval training is provided on the SAS *Wingfield,* and advanced combat and other nontechnical specialist training is provided on the SAS *Simonsberg.* After completing an initial period of service with the navy, voluntary service personnel separating from active duty are assigned to one of the seven reserve naval units.

The navy is organized into a submarine flotilla, which possesses three Daphne-class submarines, a surface-strike flotilla with nine Minister-class 450-ton missile craft, and a mine countermeasure flotilla with four River-class mine hunters and four Ton-class minesweepers. The navy's plans for upgrading and expansion include the purchase of four corvette hulls, to be fitted with a locally manufactured combat system. These are expected to be commissioned by the year 1999. The navy also plans to acquire six 800- to 1200-ton strike craft by the year 2003 and four new submarines by the year 2005, and is considering the decommissioning of its nine well-worn Minister-class missile craft (see table 23, Appendix).

The navy helped to celebrate South Africa's return to the international community in the mid-1990s, when a growing number of foreign ships docked at South African ports. The January 1994 visit to Simonstown by the HMS *Norfolk* was the



Source: Based on updated information from Robert Hall and Ian Kemp, eds., *Whither South Africa's Warriors?*, Jane's Intelligence Review, Special Report No. 3, London, 1994, 17.

Figure 23. Organization of the South African Navy, 1996

first British Royal Navy visit in twenty-seven years. A month later, the French frigate FNS *Germinal* made the first official visit by a French vessel in nineteen years. In November 1994, two United States vessels, the USS *Gettysburg* and the USS *Halyburton*, received a twenty-one-gun salute in Simonstown in the first call by United States Navy ships in twenty-seven years.

South African ships also participated in joint naval exercises in 1994, the first in twenty years. In June 1994, a 6,000-ton fleet replenishment ship, the SAS *Drakensberg*, took part in exercises with the British Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force. The South African Navy also carried out joint exercises with the Argentine, Brazilian, and Uruguayan navies in May 1995. In addition, maritime training involved ships and aircraft from the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, and Spain.

The navy has performed coast guard duties and search-and-rescue missions throughout its history, and is preparing for increased responsibilities during the late 1990s, primarily to protect the country's 200-nautical-mile exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and to combat smuggling and maritime narcotics trafficking. South Africa's navy is also in demand by other African governments; in the early 1990s, for example, South African personnel performed naval facility repairs for Zaire, marine surveys for Mozambique, and relief-supply transport to Kenya for shipment to Somalia and Rwanda.

Medical Service

The South African Medical Service (SAMS) was established as a full service branch of the SADF in 1979 to consolidate the medical services of the army, the navy, and the air force. The SAMS includes full-time army medical personnel, civilian employees of the Ministry of Defence, and (until the mid-1990s) qualified national service personnel on active duty. Reservists from the Citizen Force and from the Commandos are sometimes assigned to short-term active duty in the SAMS, as well. The military employs roughly 400 medical doctors, and private medical specialists are sometimes appointed to supplement the staff of the SAMS.

The surgeon general heads the SAMS and has the rank of lieutenant general. The SAMS operational units include three hospitals—the First Military Hospital near Pretoria, the Second Military Hospital at Cape Town, and the Third Military Hospital at Bloemfontein. There are also three specialized insti-

tutes—the Institute for Aviation Medicine, the Institute for Maritime Medicine, and the Military Psychological Institute. They provide comprehensive medical care for military personnel and their dependents, as well as the police and employees of other security-related government departments, and occasionally to neighboring countries. The SAMS also provides occasional veterinary services for animals (mainly horses and dogs) used by the security services. The Institute for Aviation Medicine and the Institute for Maritime Medicine screen pilot candidates for the air force and for civilian aviation certification, as well as divers and submariners for the navy. The military's medical services also include general medical and dental care, and specialized rehabilitation services.

The SAMS is organized into regional medical commands, corresponding to the army's regional commands, as well as a Medical Logistics Command and a Medical Training Command. The regional commands support military units, military base hospitals, and military unit sickbays in their region. The Medical Logistics Command is responsible for medical logistics only, as each service provides for its own logistics support. In addition, the Medical Training Command supervises the South African Medical Service College, the South African Medical Service Nursing College, and the South African Medical Service Training Centre, as well as the military hospitals' training programs. The nursing college, in Pretoria, grants a four-year nursing diploma in association with the University of South Africa. Specialized, in-service training courses for nurses and for nursing assistants are also available.

The SAMS implemented several retrenchment measures in the early 1990s. It consolidated all quartermaster stores in the Cape Town and the Bloemfontein areas, relocated the SAMS training center from Potchefstroom to Pretoria, closed several medical supply depots, consolidated computer centers and systems, rationalized procedures for procuring medicine and medical equipment, discontinued survival training, and reduced or closed sickbays and military medical clinics that served other armed services affected by retrenchments.

Uniforms, Ranks, and Insignia

The SADF has been recognized internationally for its emphasis on appearance and strict observance of dress-code regulations, and SANDF officers in the mid-1990s indicated their determination to maintain these high standards. SANDF

uniforms are generally functional in design. The army's service uniform consists of a brown jacket and tie, and light brown shirt and trousers. In warm weather, an open-collared, short-sleeved khaki shirt or light jacket replaces the jacket and tie. Senior officers' service uniforms are distinguished by poppy-red lapel tabs. The army's field uniforms—required for work details, for training, and for field exercises—include a brown shirt, fatigue trousers, a webbed utility belt, and boots. Camouflage battle dress is authorized for selected units. A peaked cap or beret is worn on selected occasions with service uniforms and field uniforms. Some combat units are distinguished by the color of their berets. Bush hats are also worn in the field, but not in public.

Air force uniforms are steel blue. Like the army and the navy, the air force permits open-collared shirts in warm weather and shorts and knee socks on occasion.

The navy wears dark blue uniforms in winter and white, in summer. Enlisted ranks in the navy wear jacket-and-tie uniforms in cool weather and white jackets with a high collar in summer.

Military rank is indicated by shoulder or sleeve insignia (see fig. 24 and fig. 25). Officer insignia are worn on the shoulder, with the exception of naval officers' cool-weather uniforms, which display the insignia on the sleeve. Enlisted rank insignia are worn on the sleeve. Some military insignia were changed in the mid-1990s. For example, the Castle of Good Hope, in several army and air force insignia, was replaced by a nine-pointed star, symbolic of the nine provinces of the new South Africa.

Military awards recognize several categories of service and accomplishments. As of the mid-1990s, South Africa's highest decoration is the Castle of Good Hope, which is reserved for exceptional heroism on the battlefield. The Honoris Crux, conferred in four classes, is awarded for valor. The Order of the Star of South Africa, conferred in two classes, is restricted to general officers who perform meritorious service in promoting the efficiency and the preparedness of the armed forces. Other ranks are eligible for the Southern Cross and the Pro Merito decoration, and various medals are given in recognition of outstanding service and devotion to duty.

Military Intelligence and Intelligence Coordination

The military has a long history of intelligence gathering and evaluation, but military intelligence agencies were virtually

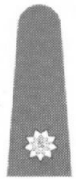
SOUTH AFRICAN RANK (ENGLISH)	2D LIEUTENANT	LIEUTENANT	CAPTAIN	MAJOR	LIEUTENANT COLONEL	COLONEL	BRIGADIER	MAJOR GENERAL	LIEUTENANT GENERAL	GENERAL
SOUTH AFRICAN RANK (AFRIKAANS)	TWEEDE LUITENANT	LUITENANT	KAPTEIN	MAJOOR	LUITENANT KOLONEL	KOLONEL	BRIGADIER	MAJOOR GENERAAL	LUITENANT GENERAAL	GENERAAL
ARMY AND AIR FORCE										
U.S. RANK TITLES	2D LIEUTENANT	1ST LIEUTENANT	CAPTAIN	MAJOR	LIEUTENANT COLONEL	COLONEL	BRIGADIER GENERAL	MAJOR GENERAL	LIEUTENANT GENERAL	GENERAL
SOUTH AFRICAN RANK (ENGLISH)	ENSIGN	SUBLIEUTENANT	LIEUTENANT	LIEUTENANT COMMANDER	COMMANDER	CAPTAIN	COMMODORE	REAR ADMIRAL	VICE ADMIRAL	ADMIRAL
SOUTH AFRICAN RANK (AFRIKAANS)	VAANDRIG	ONDERLUITENANT	LUITENANT	LUITENANT KOMMANDEUR	KOMMANDEUR	KAPTEIN	KOMMODOOR	SKOUT ADMIRAAL	VISE ADMIRAAL	ADMIRAAL
NAVY										
U.S. RANK TITLES	ENSIGN	LIEUTENANT JUNIOR GRADE	LIEUTENANT	LIEUTENANT COMMANDER	COMMANDER	CAPTAIN	REAR ADMIRAL LOWER HALF	REAR ADMIRAL UPPER HALF	VICE ADMIRAL	ADMIRAL

Figure 24. Officer Ranks and Insignia, 1996

SOUTH AFRICAN RANK (ENGLISH)	PRIVATE		LANCE CORPORAL	CORPORAL	SERGEANT		STAFF SERGEANT	WARRANT OFFICER CLASS 2		WARRANT OFFICER CLASS 1	
SOUTH AFRICAN RANK (AFRIKAANS)	SKUTTER/WEERMAN		ONDER-KORPORAAL	KORPORAAL	SERSANT		STAFSERSANT	ADJUDANT OFFISIER KLAS 2		ADJUDANT OFFISIER KLAS 1	
ARMY	NO INSIGNIA										
U.S. RANK TITLES	BASIC PRIVATE	PRIVATE	PRIVATE 1ST CLASS	CORPORAL / SPECIALIST	SERGEANT	STAFF SERGEANT	SERGEANT 1ST CLASS	MASTER SERGEANT	FIRST SERGEANT	SERGEANT MAJOR	COMMAND SERGEANT MAJOR
SOUTH AFRICAN RANK (ENGLISH)	PRIVATE	LANCE CORPORAL		CORPORAL	SERGEANT		FLIGHT SERGEANT	WARRANT OFFICER CLASS 2		WARRANT OFFICER CLASS 1	
SOUTH AFRICAN RANK (AFRIKAANS)	WEERMAN	ONDERKORPORAAL		KORPORAAL	SERSANT		VLUGSERSANT	ADJUDANT OFFISIER KLAS 2		ADJUDANT OFFISIER KLAS 1	
AIR FORCE	NO INSIGNIA										
U.S. RANK TITLES	AIRMAN BASIC	AIRMAN	AIRMAN 1ST CLASS	SENIOR AIRMAN SERGEANT	STAFF SERGEANT	TECHNICAL SERGEANT	MASTER SERGEANT	SENIOR MASTER SERGEANT		CHIEF MASTER SERGEANT	
SOUTH AFRICAN RANK (ENGLISH)	NO RANK	SEAMAN	ABLE SEAMAN	LEADING SEAMAN	PETTY OFFICER		CHIEF PETTY OFFICER	WARRANT OFFICER CLASS 2		WARRANT OFFICER CLASS 1	
SOUTH AFRICAN RANK (AFRIKAANS)	NO RANK	SEEMAN	BEVARE-SEEMAN	BAASSEEMAN	BOOTSMAN		EERSTE-BOOTSMAN	ADJUDANT OFFISIER KLAS 2		ADJUDANT OFFISIER KLAS 1	
NAVY		NO INSIGNIA									
U.S. RANK TITLES	SEAMAN RECRUIT	SEAMAN APPRENTICE	SEAMAN	PETTY OFFICER 3D CLASS	PETTY OFFICER 2D CLASS	PETTY OFFICER 1ST CLASS	CHIEF PETTY OFFICER	SENIOR CHIEF PETTY OFFICER		MASTER CHIEF PETTY OFFICER	

Figure 25. Enlisted Ranks and Insignia, 1996

independent of each other and of other government agencies for much of this history. In 1962 the Directorate of Military Intelligence was established to coordinate the collection and the management of defense-related information among the military services. In 1969 the government established the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) to coordinate military, domestic, and economic intelligence. During the 1970s, BOSS became embroiled in several unethical projects and government scandals that seriously undermined its credibility. In 1978 President P. W. Botha established the Department of National Security to strengthen his control over the intelligence community and to incorporate it into his Total Strategy against opposition to the state. Botha himself held the cabinet portfolio on national intelligence and continually stressed the need for community-wide coordination.

In 1981 the Department of National Security, renamed the Directorate of National Intelligence, increased the emphasis on military intelligence and military access to all other forms of intelligence. The directorate worked closely with the military, coordinating efforts among intelligence agencies, and using directorate analyses and recommendations to formulate security policy.

In the uneasy atmosphere of the mid-1980s, the definition of "enemies of the state" expanded rapidly, extending the role of the intelligence community. Various intelligence services engaged in operations involving harassment, assault, disappearance, and sometimes the murder of antiapartheid activists.

In the early 1990s, the government began reorganizing the country's intelligence-gathering network. The Intelligence Services Act (No. 38) of 1994, the National Strategic Intelligence Act (No. 39) of 1994, and the Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence Act (No. 40) of 1994 established a National Intelligence Coordinating Committee (NICC) to present coordinated intelligence analyses to the president and the cabinet.

The NICC oversees the operations of the four arms of the intelligence community. These are the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), which is responsible for domestic intelligence gathering; the South African Secret Service (SASS), which manages foreign intelligence; the military intelligence agencies, and the police intelligence unit. The NICC is chaired by the deputy minister of intelligence services, who is appointed by the president and who reports directly to the president. (There is no minister in charge of intelligence activities.)

The 1994 legislation also authorizes military intelligence units to collect foreign intelligence and, under specific, limited circumstances, to collect domestic intelligence. It does not authorize any military intelligence agency to conduct domestic intelligence gathering on a routine basis.

One overriding concern among senior government officials in the postapartheid era is guaranteeing the protection of the individual against interference by the agencies under their control. To help protect citizens against such abuse, the president appoints an inspector general for the NIA and for the SASS. The two inspectors general report to the Joint Committee on Defence, which includes members of both houses of Parliament, appointed jointly by the president and the speaker of the National Assembly. This committee must report to both houses of Parliament at least once each year concerning the state of intelligence gathering nationwide.

Defense Budget

South Africa's defense budget grew almost tenfold in nominal terms between 1975 and 1989, from R1 billion to R9.4 billion (for value of the rand—see Glossary). In constant dollar value, however, the increase was modest—from US$3 billion per year in the early 1980s to US$3.43 billion per year in the last half of that decade, based on 1988 prices. Defense spending averaged 16.4 percent of government budgets in the 1980s; it ranged from a high of 22.7 percent in 1982 to 13.7 percent in 1987, but rose to 15.7 percent of government spending in 1989.

Although South Africa's defense spending was high in comparison with economic output in the 1980s, the "trend toward militarization" in that decade, which was noted by many observers in analyzing South Africa's apartheid-era spending, was not evident in global comparisons. Out of 144 countries surveyed by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1989, South Africa ranked thirtieth in total military expenditures, forty-fourth in military spending as a percentage of gross national product (GNP—see Glossary), and sixty-third in military spending as a percentage of total government spending. South Africa also ranked forty-ninth in the size of its armed forces and 103d in the size of the armed forces in relation to population.

By the mid-1990s, defense spending had been reduced to less than 3 percent of gross domestic product (GDP—see Glos-

sary), and less than 10 percent of total government spending (see table 8; table 24, Appendix). Military salaries consumed more than half of defense spending, in part the result of the military reorganization. Spending on armaments and equipment had declined, as a portion of defense spending, from 44 percent in the 1980s to 28 percent in 1994, according to newly appointed SANDF chief General George Meiring. Meiring and other defense officials in 1995 expressed concern about military preparedness, noting the reduced production and acquisition of armored vehicles, the decline in antiaircraft capability, the reduction of civil service positions from 144,000 to about 100,000, the closure of military bases, and the reduction in military training courses. Deputy Minister of Defence Ronnie Kasrils said in 1995 that the government's planned cuts in defense spending could also result in the loss of as many as 90,000 jobs in defense-related industries.

The budget for military intelligence in 1994 was R163 million, and of this, R37 million was allocated for clandestine military intelligence gathering, according to a senior military intelligence officer reporting to the Joint Committee on Defence in October 1994. Spending on clandestine military intelligence was about 1 percent of the total military budget, according to the 1994 report.

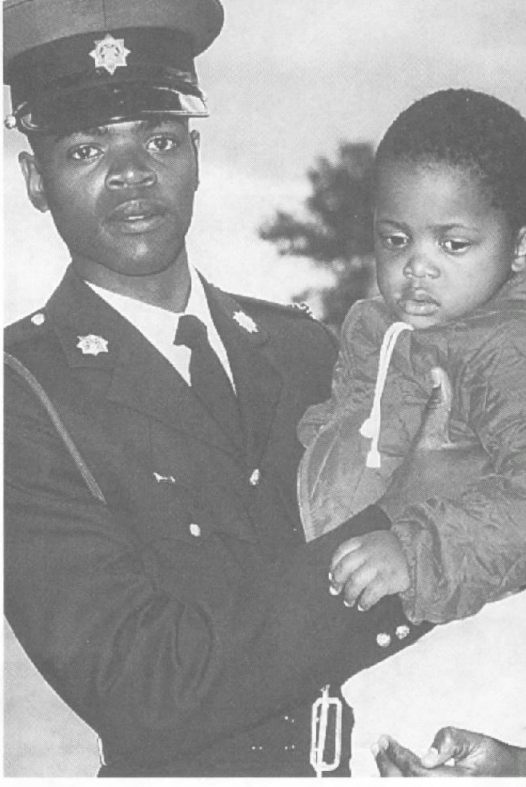
Internal Security

Police

Early Development

The South African Police Service (SAPS) traces its origin to the Dutch Watch, a paramilitary organization formed by settlers in the Cape in 1655, initially to protect (white) civilians against attack and later to maintain law and order. In 1795 British officials assumed control over the Dutch Watch, and in 1825 they organized the Cape Constabulary, which became the Cape Town Police Force in 1840. The Durban Police Force, established in 1846, became the Natal Mounted Police in 1861, and gradually assumed increasing paramilitary functions as South Africa endured the last in a series of frontier wars that had continued for more than a century.

In 1913 a number of police forces consolidated into the Mounted Riflemen's Association, and some members of this association established a separate organization, which they



Officer of the South African Police Service
Courtesy Embassy of South Africa, Washington

called the South African Police (SAP). Four years later, the Mounted Riflemen's Association relinquished its civilian responsibilities to the SAP as most of the riflemen left to serve in World War I. The SAP and the military maintained their close relationship even after the SAP assumed permanent responsibility for domestic law and order in 1926. Police officials often called on the army for support in emergencies. In World War II, one SAP brigade served with the Second Infantry Division of the South African Army in North Africa.

When the National Party (NP) edged out its more liberal opponents in nationwide elections in 1948, the new government enacted legislation strengthening the relationship between the police and the military. The police were heavily armed after that, especially when facing unruly or hostile crowds. The Police Act (No. 7) of 1958 broadened the mission of the SAP beyond conventional police functions, such as maintaining law and order and investigating and preventing crime, and gave the police extraordinary powers to quell unrest and to conduct counterinsurgency activities. The Police Amendment Act (No. 70) of 1965 empowered the police to search without warrant any person, receptacle, vehicle, aircraft, or premise within two kilometers of any national border, and to seize anything found during such a search. This search-and-

seize zone was extended to within ten kilometers of any border in 1979, and to the entire country in 1983.

The Police Reserve, established in 1973, enabled the government to recall former police personnel for active duty for thirty to ninety days each year, and for additional service in times of emergency. Another reserve (volunteer) force was established in 1981, consisting of unpaid civilians willing to perform limited police duties. A youth wing of this reserve force reported that it had inducted almost 3,000 students and young people to assist the police during the late 1980s.

The police increased the use of part-time, specialized personnel, such as the special constables (*kitskonstabels*), to help quell the growing violence in the 1980s. In 1987, for example, the police recruited almost 9,000 *kitskonstabels* and gave them an intensive six-week training course. These "instant" police assistants were then armed and assigned to areas of unrest, which were often the most turbulent townships. Even with training courses extended to three months, the *kitskonstabels*' often brutal and inept performance contributed to the growing hostility between the police and the public by the late 1980s.

Although the mission of the SAP grew well beyond conventional policing responsibilities during the 1970s, the size of the police force declined relative to population. In 1981 the police force of roughly 48,991 represented a ratio of less than 1.5 police per 1,000 people, down from 1.67 per 1,000 people in the 1960s. Alarmed by the increased political violence and crime in the mid-1980s and by the lack of adequate police support, officials then increased the size of the police force to 93,600—a ratio of 2.7 per 1,000 people—by 1991.

The police are authorized to act on behalf of other government officials when called upon. For example, in rural areas and small towns, where there may be no public prosecutor available, police personnel can institute criminal proceedings. The police can legally serve as wardens, court clerks, and messengers, as well as immigration, health, and revenue officials. In some circumstances, the police are also authorized to serve as vehicle inspectors, postal agents, and local court personnel.

The Police in the 1990s

After President de Klerk lifted the ban on black political organizations and released leading dissidents from prison in 1990, he met with the police and ordered them help end apart-

heid, to demonstrate greater political tolerance, and to improve their standing in black communities. The police accepted these orders, but did so much more slowly and reluctantly than the military. White police personnel were, in general, ambivalent about the changes taking place and divided over strategies for implementing them. For decades the police force had been organized around the authoritarian ideal of maintaining apartheid. With wide-ranging powers, the police had operated without strong institutional checks and balances and without serious external scrutiny. For many, the government's new policies represented an abrupt reversal in the orientation of the police.

Through the early 1990s, police units were sometimes integrated, but most police recruits had been trained in single-race classes, sometimes in institutions designated for one racial group. For example, most black police personnel had trained at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria; most whites, in Pretoria; most coloureds, at Lavis Bay, near Cape Town; and Asians at Wentworth, near Durban. As the apartheid era ended, these programs were restructured to emphasize racial tolerance and respect for basic human rights. The police also increased recruitment among black youth and hired international police training experts to advise them on ways to improve race relations in the service.

The basic police training regimen includes courses in criminal investigation procedures, self-defense, weapons handling, drills, inspections, public relations, and law. Specialized courses include crowd and riot control, detective skills, horsemanship and veterinary training, and advanced-level management skills. Since 1990, South Africa also has provided training for police from Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, and Zaire.

Police officers on duty generally carry a pistol or revolver and a truncheon. To quell disturbances, police use a variety of arms, including 37-millimeter stopper guns, which can shoot tear gas, rubber bullets, or signal colors; twelve-gauge Browning semiautomatic and Beretta pump shotguns; and R–1 semiautomatic rifles. Through the early 1990s, the police were also equipped with smoke and tear-gas dispensing vehicles, tank trucks with water cannons, vehicles that dispensed barbed wire or razor wire to cordon off areas rapidly, and a small number of helicopters capable of dropping "water bombs" on crowds of demonstrators. Riot-control forces deployed in specially designed buses or Casspir armored personal carriers.

The climate of escalating violence in the early 1990s often posed even greater challenges to the police than they had faced in the 1980s, as violence shifted from antigovernment activity to a mosaic of political rivalries and factional clashes. At the same time, many South Africans feared that the police were causing some of the criminal and political violence, and they demanded immediate changes in the police force to mark the end of apartheid-era injustices.

To meet the new challenges, the 91,000 active police personnel in 1991, including administrative and support personnel, were increased to more than 110,000 by 1993 and 140,000 by 1995. Throughout this time, police reserves numbered at least 37,000. In 1996 the combined active and reserve police represented a police-to-population ratio of almost 4.0 per 1,000.

As part of the overall reorganization of the police, the government merged the formerly dreaded Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and the police security branch to form a Crime Combatting and Investigation (CCI) Division. The new CCI, with responsibility for reversing the rising crime rate, combined the intelligence and operational resources of the security police with the anticrime capabilities of the CID.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel in 1991 also appointed an ombudsman to investigate allegations of police misconduct. He increased the recruitment of black police personnel, formed a civilian riot-control unit that was separate from the SAP but worked with it, developed a code of police conduct agreed upon by a number of political parties and communities, and substantially increased police training facilities. In 1992 Kriel began restructuring the SAP into a three-tiered force consisting of a national police, primarily responsible for internal security and for serious crime; autonomous regional forces, responsible for crime prevention and for matters of general law and order; and municipal police, responsible for local law enforcement and for minor criminal matters. He also established police/community forums in almost every police station.

By the time the April 1994 elections were held, the SAP had undergone a significant transformation, in keeping with the nation's sweeping political reforms. It was a more representative force, with greater dedication to protecting citizens' rights. The SAP was renamed the South African Police Service (SAPS), and the Ministry of Law and Order was renamed the Ministry of Safety and Security, in keeping with these symbolic

reforms. The new minister of safety and security, Sydney Mufamadi, obtained police training assistance from Zimbabwe, Britain, and Canada, and proclaimed that racial tolerance and human rights would be central to police training programs in the future. By the end of 1995, the SAPS had incorporated the ten police agencies from the former homelands and had reorganized at both the national level and at the level of South Africa's nine new provinces.

The SAPS headquarters in Pretoria is organized into six divisions. These are the Crime Combatting and Investigation Division, the Visible Policing Division, the Internal Stability Division, the Community Relations Division, the Supporting Services Division, and the Human Resource Management Division.

The Crime Combatting and Investigation Division holds overall responsibility for coordinating information about crime and investigative procedures. It administers the SAPS Criminal Record Center, the SAPS Commercial Crime Unit, the SAPS Diamond and Gold Branch, the South African Narcotics Bureau, the Stock Theft Unit, the Inspectorate for Explosives, murder and robbery units located in each major city, and vehicle theft units throughout the country. In addition, the division manages the National Bureau of Missing Persons, which was established in late 1994.

The Visible Policing Division manages highly public police operations, such as guarding senior government officials and dignitaries. Most government residences are guarded by members of the division's Special Guard Unit. The division's all-volunteer Special Task Force handles hostage situations and other high-risk activities. The Internal Stability Division is responsible for preventing and quelling internal unrest, and for assisting other divisions in combatting crime. The Community Relations Division consults with all police divisions concerning accountability and respect for human rights. The Supporting Services Division manages financial, legal, and administrative aspects of the SAPS. The Human Resource Management Division helps to hire, to train, and to maintain a competent work force for the SAPS.

Three police unions are active in bargaining on behalf of police personnel and in protecting the interests of the work force, as of 1996. These are the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru), which has about 15,000 members; the South African Police Union (SAPU), which has about 35,000 mem-

bers; and the Public Service Association (PSA), which has about 4,000 members.

Crime and Violence

Patterns of crime and violence in South Africa have often reflected political developments, especially since the 1950s. Crime surged to alarming proportions after a new constitution was implemented in 1984, granting limited parliamentary representation to coloureds and to Asians, but not to blacks. The number of reported murders in South Africa rose to 10,000 in 1989 and to 11,000 in 1990. The incidence of assault, rape, and armed robbery showed similar increases. Police estimated that 22,000 people died in crime-related violence in the fifteen months ending in February 1991. By 1992 South Africa had one of the world's highest crime rates, on a per capita basis.

Waves of serious violence swept through many townships around Johannesburg and in Natal Province, where the rivalry between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC) resulted in several hundred—some estimated more than 1,000—deaths each year in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. Officials estimated that 12,000 citizens (and 2,000 SADF troops) were involved in ANC-IFP clashes in the early 1990s.

White right-wing terrorists added to the crime rate as they were increasingly marginalized from the political process. Groups such as the White Liberation Army, the White Republican Army, the Boer Republican Army, the White Wolves, and the Order of the Boer Nation claimed responsibility for more than thirty-five bombings. Some of these groups formed an alliance known as the White People's Front in 1992 and threatened further violence as the political transition continued.

Community Response

Dealing with rising levels of crime and violence became a major public preoccupation in the 1990s and resulted in a variety of ad hoc security arrangements and alliances. For example, many organizations and a few individuals hired private security guards for protection. Civilians volunteered to monitor street crime in several turbulent townships. The ANC, after initially opposing these groups as "vigilantes," formed its own Self-Defense Units to help protect ANC supporters in the townships. Their political rivals in IFP strongholds responded by

forming Zulu Self-Protection Units, especially in and around workers' hostels.

During the apartheid era, black South Africans had been legally barred from owning guns, but many whites considered gun ownership a normal defensive measure and a cherished right. Gun owners were legally required to register their weapons with the police, and a record 123,000 firearms were registered in 1990. By 1992 more than 2.5 million firearms had been registered nationwide. Police officials estimated that one-half of all white families owned at least one firearm, and at least 100,000 white households owned more than five registered weapons. Many more people were arming themselves illegally, according to police estimates.

Weapons thefts were extremely common. More than 7,700 firearms were reported stolen during 1990 alone. More than 5,000 guns were turned in to the police during a six-week amnesty in late 1990, and another 1,900, during a second amnesty in 1992. Although firearms and explosives were the cause of more than one-half of the deaths in the early 1990s, spears, knives, and axes—so-called Zulu traditional weapons, which were legal—were responsible for about 20 percent of violent deaths.

Government Response

Under strong pressure to end the township violence of the early 1990s, the police undertook numerous security sweeps through townships and squatter camps. During one of the largest of these, Operation Iron Fist, in late 1990, some 1,500 SAP and several hundred SADF troops swept through workers' hostels around Johannesburg and recovered several thousand illegal weapons. More than 30,000 SAP and SADF personnel conducted routine crime sweeps after that, and they made 337 arrests in one operation alone in 1991. By 1993 more than 10,000 people had been arrested, and large quantities of illegal drugs and weapons had been confiscated.

President de Klerk's credibility was severely damaged in July 1991, when official documents leaked to the public confirmed long-standing rumors of police support for the Zulu-dominated IFP in its rivalry with the ANC. A burst of publicity, dubbed "Inkathagate" by the press, threatened to derail constitutional negotiations after evidence linked senior government and police officials with funds secretly channeled to the IFP's labor activities and membership drives, which many believed

had fueled the violence. Public anger rose, both because of the politicization of the police and because the government then appeared incapable of halting the violence as the scandal intensified.

The September 1991 National Peace Accord marked a desperate effort by both the government and the ANC to end the killing and to ease anxiety about official involvement in it. The accord, signed by more than two dozen leaders of government and political organizations, established committees and channels of communication at national, regional, and community levels to try to avert bloodshed arising out of political disagreements. Under this accord, the government established the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, chaired by a respected jurist, Richard Goldstone, to investigate the causes of the violence. The Goldstone Commission's interim report in early 1992 attributed most of the killing to the political battle between supporters of the ANC and the IFP, but it also confirmed suspicions that elements of the security forces, especially the police, had contributed to the unrest.

Then ANC leader Mandela, who was vocal in his criticism of the government for its failure to quell the unrest of the early 1990s, insisted that international attention be given to the issue of state-sponsored violence. In June 1992, Mandela, Foreign Minister Roelof "Pik" Botha, and IFP leader Mangosuthu (Gatsha) Buthelezi addressed the United Nations concerning this issue. After that, other countries increased their involvement in South Africa's political reform. In August of that year, former United States Secretary of State Cyrus Vance went to South Africa as United Nations special envoy. Acting on his suggestion, the United Nations sent political monitors to South Africa to demonstrate international support for the institutions that had arisen out of the National Peace Accord. At the same time, South Africa's political leaders implemented another of Vance's recommendations—to speed up the pace of progress toward nationwide elections.

Then, in late 1992, the Goldstone Commission concluded that secret cells within the police force had, with the cooperation of military intelligence officials, "waged a war" on the ANC, primarily because of its commitment to armed struggle to end apartheid and its association with the South African Communist Party (SACP). The commission's report also implied that elements in the security forces were continuing to

provoke or commit violent acts. In response to rising pressures, President de Klerk persuaded twenty-three senior military officers to retire, including the heads of the SADF and military intelligence.

Despite significant progress, there were at least 4,300 politically motivated deaths in 1993, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations, and each new round of violence brought a new sense of urgency to the task of preparing for elections. More than 2,000 murders were in Zulu-inhabited areas of KwaZulu and Natal Province. The Goldstone Commission later concluded that some of the weapons used in the violence against ANC supporters had been supplied by the police.

The police arrested a few whites who advocated violence to block the elections, including Afrikaner Resistance Movement (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging—AWB) leader Eugene Terreblanche. In most cases, the accused were fined for their activities or were granted immunity in return for information about their organizations and activities. White extremists were arrested for the April 1993 murder of a popular SACP leader, Chris Hani, and two were sentenced to death for that crime. (The death penalty was abolished before their sentences were carried out.)

Prison System

In the mid-1990s, South Africa's Department of Correctional Services operates 234 prisons. Of these, 226 are primarily or solely for male prisoners, and 119 of these have separate women's sections. The department also operates twenty prison farms.

There were roughly 114,000 prisoners nationwide—nearly 92,000 serving prison sentences and about 22,000 not yet sentenced—as of 1995. Some 70 percent of prisoners were black, 25 percent were coloured, 4 percent were white, and less than 1 percent were Asian. This prison population constituted roughly 130 percent of prison capacity. More than 400,000 people were jailed at some time during 1995, most for periods ranging from a few days to several months. Nearly 26,000 people per day were on parole.

The Department of Correctional Services has roughly 22,500 employees, at least 4,500 fewer than its workload requires, according to official estimates. Severe staff shortages are sometimes ameliorated by employing some of the 1,500

members of the Prisons Service Reserve Force (mostly retired prison staff) and as many as 1,000 military reservists.

Four categories of prisoners are held: unsentenced prisoners, most of whom are detained pending a hearing or sentencing; short-term prisoners, who are serving terms of less than two years; long-term prisoners; and juvenile prisoners, who are under twenty-one years of age. Through 1994 women made up about 4 percent of the prison population, but late that year, the new government granted an amnesty to all female prisoners with children under the age of twelve, if they had been convicted of nonviolent crimes. In late 1994, 250 prisoners over the age of sixty also had their sentences remitted and were released from prison.

In 1995 the prison population included 1,278 children under the age of eighteen, half of them awaiting trial, according to the Department of Correctional Services. The number represented less than half the number of juveniles in prison in 1992. A small, but unknown, number of children under age fourteen were among the juveniles in prison, according to international human rights observers.

Literacy training and vocational courses are offered in some prisons. Parole supervision is generally strict, and parole violators are returned to prison, where they must serve out their original terms and sometimes additional periods of incarceration. Some jurisdictions instituted a system of correctional supervision as an alternative to prison sentences in the early 1990s, partly in response to prison overcrowding. Correctional supervision entails community service, victim compensation, house arrest, treatment sessions, a prohibition of alcohol consumption, or a combination of these programs. The department also established correctional boards in 1992 to provide a communication link between its officials and residents of local communities. In addition, the department established a National Advisory Board on Correctional Services to advise prison authorities on legal and policy concerns. The National Advisory Board is chaired by a Supreme Court judge, and its members include specialists from the court system and the police, as well as social welfare authorities, and business and community representatives.

Penal Code

South Africa's courts are empowered to impose punishments of death (through early 1995), imprisonment, periodic impris-

The Castle of Good Hope, pentagonal fortress built in 1666, later served as a prison. Courtesy Embassy of South Africa, Washington

onment for a total of between 100 and 2,000 hours over a period of weeks or months, being declared a "habitual criminal," commitment to an institution other than prison, fines, and whipping. Those convicted of lesser crimes are often given a choice of punishment—for example, a fine or imprisonment. During the apartheid era, the courts imposed prison terms of several days to several weeks for pass law violations, and ten to twenty years for membership in the ANC or the SACP, which were banned organizations until 1990. Other typical prison sentences are terms of two to ten years for robbery; up to twenty years for assault or rape; ten to fifteen years for possessing an illegal firearm; ten to twenty years for attempted murder; and twenty years to life in prison for murder.

Murder and treason were capital crimes through the 1980s, although whites often received light sentences for crimes against black people, and they were almost never sentenced to death for murdering blacks. All executions were suspended in early 1990, and although more than 240 people were sentenced to death between 1990 and early 1995, no one was executed during that time. Parliament abolished the death penalty in early 1995.

Whipping is frequently used to punish juveniles for public misbehavior, but may only be imposed on male offenders under the age of thirty. The punishment may not exceed seven

strokes of a cane. Whipping is done in private, although the parents of a juvenile can be present. This punishment was imposed on more than 30,000 juveniles and young men each year in the early 1990s.

Human Rights and National Reconciliation

South Africa's record on human rights came under frequent attack during the apartheid era, and improving it became a high priority for achieving national reconciliation and international legitimacy in the 1990s. South Africa had more than 2,500 political prisoners in 1990, according to the UN Human Rights Commission. Responding to criticism on this sensitive subject during the early 1990s negotiations, then President de Klerk agreed to review all cases of crimes against state security, and as a result, the government released 933 political prisoners by April 1991. It rejected 364 appeals for release because of the nature of the crimes involved. In September 1992, based on special requests by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and through the intervention of UN special representative, former United States Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, the government released an additional 400 political prisoners as a further step toward successful negotiations. Officials went ahead with election preparations even though the issue of political prisoners was not fully resolved, and the new government in mid-1994 released from prison several hundred people who had been convicted of nonviolent crimes. Among them were an unreported number whose offenses were considered political.

The ANC faced its own internal accusations of human rights violations during the early 1990s. Former detainees from ANC prison camps alleged that they had been held in harsh conditions in Angola, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, or Zambia. Human rights monitors confirmed that prisoners in these camps had sometimes been tortured and, in a few cases, had been executed. Moreover, they alleged that some of the camps continued to be in operation, even after the ANC had announced the suspension of its armed struggle against apartheid. Mandela promised to investigate and to end these practices, but would not agree to air the allegations in public.

The interim constitution's chapter on fundamental rights guarantees freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, and religion, as well as the freedom to travel and to live where one chooses, and the protection of minority rights. The interim constitution repealed Section 29 of the Internal Secu-

rity Act, which had allowed the government to detain individuals for indefinite periods without charging them with a crime. Subsequent legislation established an independent Human Rights Commission and Office of the Public Protector, both to be appointed by the parliament. The public protector is charged with investigating allegations of abuse or incompetence against members of the government, including the police.

Despite obvious improvements in human rights policies and practices in the mid-1990s, several forms of human rights abuse continued at unacceptable levels and appeared to involve high-level police officials. Thirty-one unexplained deaths occurred in police custody in 1994, according to the private South African Human Rights Committee. This number was eight fewer than in 1993, and fifty-six fewer than in 1990. Pathologists' reports confirmed instances of police abuse in some of the 1994 deaths, and a team of international human rights monitors and independent experts uncovered a pattern of torture of detainees by some police personnel in the Johannesburg area.

The Goldstone Commission's investigations had unearthed prima facie evidence implicating senior police officials in supplying weapons to the Zulu-based IFP in 1993 and 1994, and had noted that some of these weapons had surfaced at the scene of IFP attacks on political opponents. These conclusions had resulted in the retirement of several senior police officers; one police training unit commander was charged with murder and later sentenced to life in prison.

Soon after the new government was in office in 1994, it began investigating allegations of "hit squads" within the KwaZulu police (predominantly IFP supporters) and launched an investigation into ANC-instigated violence in KwaZulu-Natal. Despite some initial reluctance, the provincial government cooperated with the international human rights monitors and allowed them access to prisons and detainees.

Violence against women continued to occur with regularity through the mid-1990s. The Department of Justice issued chilling statistics in 1994: more than one-half of all women who were murdered had died at the hands of their male partners. About 43 percent of women questioned in one study said they had been the victim of marital rape or assault. The police received reports of more than 25,200 rapes between January 1 and October 31, 1994—a 17 percent increase over the same

period in 1993—but estimated that most such incidents were not reported and only about 25 percent of reported rapes resulted in convictions. Numerous laws were passed, both before and after the April 1994 elections, aimed at protecting women against abuse, but these laws were often ignored or bypassed. The new government pledged stricter legislation and stronger efforts to establish fair treatment for women.

The new government's promises of an improved human rights record and of security forces that are accountable to the population helped to set the tone for democratic reforms in 1994 and 1995. But the security forces faced even greater challenges than the political leaders in trying to implement these reforms. Members of the police, in particular, had to abandon their apartheid-related agendas—enforcing or opposing the old order—while, at the same time, upholding the changing laws that apply to the entire population. They had to establish "instant legitimacy," as several South African scholars observed, in the midst of change.

Legislation in 1995 established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to deal with grievances arising out of human rights violations of the apartheid era. The commission's goals are to establish the truth about such crimes, to identify victims and determine their fate, to recommend reparation for victims and survivors, and to recommend to the president amnesty or indemnity under limited circumstances. Any grant of amnesty initially applied only to politically motivated acts committed before October 8, 1990, and subsequent legislation extended the cut-off date to May 10, 1994.

President Mandela appointed Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu to chair the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and a respected jurist, Alex Boraine, as his deputy. The commission began hearing testimony in March 1996, and it scheduled hearings in each province to enable South Africans from all regions to testify or to apply for amnesty. By mid-1996 several hundred testimonies had been heard, most of them concerning brutality or other mistreatment by the former security forces.

With less than one-half of its hearings completed in mid-1996, the commission was generally viewed as a positive step toward national reconciliation. A few outspoken critics disagreed, however, and charged the commission with impeding justice. Among these were relatives of ANC activists who had been killed by the security forces; some survivors criticized the

commission for even considering amnesty applications from those who might otherwise have been brought to justice in the courts. Some former members of the security forces, for their part, criticized the commission for its apparent willingness to accept allegations against them. A few others who had testified before the commission complained that they had received little or no compensation for their losses, although most requests for compensation had not yet been acted upon by mid-1996. Despite these complaints, it appeared likely that the hearings would contribute to a broader public understanding of the violence that had bolstered the implementation of apartheid.

* * *

South Africa has an extensive military history literature. Official accounts are available in numerous publications by Neil D. Orpen, such as *The History of the Transvaal Horse Artillery, 1904–1974*; *The Cape Town Rifles: The 'Duke,' 1856–1984*; *War in the Desert*; *East African and Abyssinian Campaigns*; and *Prince Alfred's Guard, 1856–1966*. Helmoed-Römer Heitman's *The South African War Machine, South African Arms and Armour,* and *War in Angola: The Final South African Phase* also cover important areas of military history. Different historical viewpoints are found in A. N. Porter's *The Origins of the South African War: Joseph Chamberlain and the Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1895–1899* and Carman Miller's *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899–1902*. An interesting comparative perspective is found in James O. Gump's *The Dust Rose like Smoke: The Subjugation of the Zulu and the Sioux*. Jacklyn Cock's *Women and War in South Africa* presents a gender-related view of the subject.

The climate of domestic violence of the 1980s is analyzed in publications of the South African Institute of Race Relations, such as the annual *Race Relations Survey,* and in John Kane-Berman's *Political Violence in South Africa. Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa,* edited by N. Chabani Manganyi and André du Toit; *Policing the Conflict in South Africa,* edited by Mary L. Mathews, Philip B. Heymann, and Anthony S. Mathews; and *Policing South Africa: The South African Police and the Transition from Apartheid,* by Gavin Cawthra, are also valuable.

South Africa's regional security policies since the early 1980s are discussed in numerous periodicals and monographs. *High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighborhood* by

Chester A. Crocker, and *Toward Peace and Security in Southern Africa,* edited by Harvey Glickman, discuss Western points of view on that era. *The New Is Not Yet Born: Conflict Resolution in Southern Africa* by Thomas Ohlson and Stephen John Stedman with Robert Davies reviews regional clashes and peacemaking efforts in recent decades.

The changing security situation in the mid-1990s is outlined in the *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Yearbook, 1995*; "Prospects for Security and Stability in the New South Africa" by Carole Birch in *Brassey's Defence Yearbook*; and "Current Trends in South Africa's Security Establishment" by Annette Seegers in *Armed Forces and Society.* Jane's Information Group's special report of July 1994, *Whither South Africa's Warriors?,* is a valuable contribution. The South African National Defence Force periodical, *Salut,* conveys brief insights into military concerns in the mid-1990s. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Appendix

Table

Table 1. Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors

When you know	Multiply by	To find
Millimeters	0.04	inches
Centimeters	0.39	inches
Meters	3.3	feet
Kilometers	0.62	miles
Hectares	2.47	acres
Square kilometers	0.39	square miles
Cubic meters	35.3	cubic feet
Liters	0.26	gallons
Kilograms	2.2	pounds
Metric tons	0.98	long tons
.....	1.1	short tons
.....	2,204	pounds
Degrees Celsius (Centigrade)	1.8 and add 32	degrees Fahrenheit

Table 2. Population by Province, 1994

Province	Population[1]	Density[2]
Eastern Cape	6,665,400	38.2
Free State	2,804,600	21.5
Gauteng	6,847,000	374.7
KwaZulu-Natal	8,549,000	94.5
Mpumalanga	2,838,500	38.4
Northern Cape	763,900	2.1
Northern Province	5,120,600	43.8
North-West Province	3,506,800	28.8
Western Cape	3,620,200	28.8

[1] Estimated.
[2] Persons per square kilometer.

Source: Based on information from South Africa, South African Communication Service, *South Africa Yearbook, 1995*, Pretoria, 1996, 5–21.

Table 3. Number of Pupils and Teachers by Province, 1995

Province	Pupils		Teachers
	Primary (six years)	Secondary (six years)	
Eastern Cape	1,583,261	741,962	58,254
Free State	414,826	283,573	23,521
Gauteng	787,599	621,036	46,335
KwaZulu-Natal	1,628,679	948,588	63,283
Mpumalanga	545,312	368,363	23,521
Northern Cape	110,223	62,333	7,222
Northern Province	1,050,594	866,428	52,061
North-West Province	545,841	369,588	30,740
Western Cape	504,967	331,602	31,716
TOTAL	7,171,302	4,593,473	336,653

Source: Based on information from Jacob P. Strauss, Hendrik van der Linde, et al., *Education and Manpower Development, 1995*, Bloemfontein, 1996, 6–10.

Table 4. Major Institutions of Higher Learning and Research, 1995

Institution	Enrollment	Location	Date Founded
Universities			
Medical University of South Africa	3,497	Pretoria	n.a.[1]
Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education	10,408	Potchefstroom	1869
Rand Afrikaans University	20,145	Auckland Park	1966
Rhodes University	4,594	Grahamstown	1904
University of Cape Town	14,672	Cape Town	1829
University of Durban-Westville	10,626	Durban	1961
University of Fort Hare	5,200	Alice	1916
University of Natal	14,093	Durban/Pietermaritzburg	1910
University of North-West	4,918	Mmabatho	1979
University of Port Elizabeth	5,600	Port Elizabeth	1964
University of Pretoria	24,435	Pretoria	1908
University of South Africa (correspondence)	130,350	Pretoria	1873
University of Stellenbosch	14,608	Stellenbosch	1918
University of the North	19,012	Turfloop	1959
		Witzieshoek	
		Giyani	
		Phuthaditjhaba	
University of the Orange Free State	9,446	Bloemfontein	1855
University of the Western Cape	14,650	Bellville	1960
University of the Witwatersrand	17,428	Johannesburg	1922
University of Transkei	7,325	Eastern Cape	1976
University of Venda	7,166	Sibasa	n.a.
University of Zululand	7,997	KwaDlangezwa	1960
Vista University (correspondence)	34,014	Pretoria	1982
Technikons[2]			
Border Technikon	1,366	East London	n.a.
Cape Technikon	9,360	Cape Town	1979
Mangosuthu Technikon	4,648	Umlazi	1978
M.L. Sultan Technikon	6,359	Durban	1946
Peninsula Technikon	6,773	Bellville	1967
Technikon Natal	7,551	Durban	1907
Technikon Northern Transvaal	6,764	Pretoria	1979
Technikon Orange Free State	5,895	Bloemfontein	1981
Technikon Port Elizabeth	7,864	Port Elizabeth	1925
Technikon Pretoria	16,509	Pretoria	1906

Table 4. (Continued) Major Institutions of Higher Learning and Research, 1995

Institution	Enrollment	Location	Date Founded
Technikon SA	83,741	Florida	1980
Technikon Setlogalo	1,958	Rosslyn	n.a.
Technikon Witwatersrand	10,976	Doornfontein	1925
Transkei Technikon	2,181	Butterworth	n.a.
Vaal Triangle Technikon	7,856	Vanderbijlpark	1966
Research organizations			
Agricultural Research Council	—[3]	Pretoria	1992
Atomic Energy Corporation of South Africa	—	Pretoria	1982
Council for Geoscience	—	Pretoria	1912
Council for Scientific and Industrial Research	—	Pretoria	1945
Hartebeesthoek Radio Astronomy Observatory	—	Krugersdorp	1961
Human Sciences Research Council	—	Pretoria	1969
Institute for the Study of Man in Africa	—	Johannesburg	1960
MINTEK[4]	—	Randburg	1934
Municipal Botanic Gardens	—	Durban	1849
National Zoological Gardens of South Africa	—	Pretoria	1899
South African Institute for Medical Research	—	Johannesburg	1912
Learned societies			
Africa Institute of South Africa	—	Pretoria	1960
Classical Association of South Africa	—	Bloemfontein	1956
Economic Society of South Africa	—	Pretoria	1925
Foundation for Education, Science and Technology	—	Pretoria	1950
Genealogical Society of South Africa	—	Kelvin	1963
Heraldry Society of Southern Africa	—	Cape Town	1953
Royal Society of South Africa	—	Cape Town	1877
South Africa Foundation	—	Johannesburg	1959
South Africa Institute of International Affairs	—	Johannesburg	1934
South African Academy of Science and Arts	—	Pretoria	1909
South African Archaeological Society	—	Vlaeberg	1945
South African Association of the Arts	—	Pretoria	1945
South African Geographical Society	—	Witwatersrand	1917
South African Institute for Librarianship and Information Science	—	Pretoria	1930

Table 4. (Continued) Major Institutions of Higher Learning and Research, 1995

Institution	Enrollment	Location	Date Founded
South African Institute of Race Relations	—	Johannesburg	1929
South African Museums Association	—	Sunnyside	1936
Van Riebeeck Society	—	Cape Town	1918

[1] n.a.—not available.
[2] Postsecondary technical training.
[3] —not applicable.
[4] Mineral science and mining technology.

Source: Based on information from *The World of Learning, 1995*, London, 1995, 1348–75; and South Africa, Department of Education, *Annual Report, June 1994–December 1995*, Pretoria, 1996, Appendix.

Table 5. Real Gross Domestic Product by Sector, Selected Years, 1948–93
(in millions of rands)[1]

Year	Primary Sector[2]	Secondary Sector[3]	Tertiary Sector[4]	Total[5]
1948	14,463	10,738	26,151	51,352
1953	17,197	15,007	30,966	63,169
1958	22,536	19,534	37,844	79,914
1963	30,094	26,042	45,412	101,548
1968	34,588	40,094	60,974	135,656
1973	33,410	58,125	78,418	169,953
1978	35,155	66,887	91,812	193,853
1983	33,205	77,164	110,029	220,399
1988	36,745	82,033	124,447	243,225
1993	36,451	76,895	128,655	242,001

[1] For value of the rand—see Glossary. Figures at factor cost and in constant 1990 prices.
[2] Includes agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, and quarrying.
[3] Includes construction, electricity, gas, manufacturing, and water.
[4] Includes accommodations, business services, catering, communications, community services, finance, insurance, real estate, social and personal services, storage, transport, and wholesale and retail trade.
[5] Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Based on information from South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race Relations Survey, 1994–95*, Johannesburg, 1995, 379–80.

Table 6. Key Economic Indicators, 1991–95
(in billions of United States dollars unless otherwise indicated)

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Gross domestic product (GDP)[1]	310.1	341.0	383.1	432.8	485.9
Real GDP growth[2]	-1.0	-2.2	1.3	2.7	3.3
Consumer price inflation[2]	15.3	13.9	9.7	9.1	8.7
Gross domestic fixed investment[3]	50.1	47.5	45.9	50.1	55.2
Exports, f.o.b.[4]	23.3	23.6	24.1	25.1	27.9
Imports, c.i.f.[5]	18.9	19.8	20.0	23.4	29.4
Current account balance	2.2	1.4	1.8	-0.6	-3.1
Gross reserves[6]	3.0	3.0	2.7	3.1	4.4
External debt	25.6	27.2	25.5	27.9	30.8
Exchange rate[7]	2.76	2.85	3.26	3.55	3.64
Population[8]	38.0	38.6	39.5	40.4	41.2

[1] In billions of rands at current market prices; for value of the rand—see Glossary.
[2] In percentages.
[3] In billions of rands at constant 1990 prices.
[4] f.o.b.—free on board.
[5] c.i.f.—cost, insurance, and freight.
[6] Includes gold.
[7] In rands per United States dollar; annual average.
[8] In millions.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Report: South Africa* [London], No. 1, 1996, 3, 5.

Table 7. Sources of Government Revenue, 1994, 1995, and 1996[1]
(in millions of rands)[2]

	1994	1995	1996[3]
Income taxes: individuals	37,786	44,763	49,755
Income taxes: companies	11,917	15,502	17,368
Value-added tax	25,425	28,975	32,750
Customs and excise duties	18,074	19,124	20,446
(Less payment to Southern African Customs Union)	-3,089	-3,250	-3,890
Other taxes and revenues	6,741	6,436	6,562
TOTAL	96,854	111,550	122,991

[1] For years ending March 31.
[2] For value of the rand—see Glossary.
[3] Estimated.

Source: Based on information from South Africa, South African Communication Service, *South Africa Yearbook, 1995*, Pretoria, 1996, 239.

Table 8. Government Expenditures, 1995 and 1996[1]

	1995		1996	
	Value[2]	Percentage	Value[2]	Percentage
Economic services				
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	3,645	2.5	2,764	1.8
Fuel and energy	433	0.3	138	0.1
Manufacturing	802	0.5	621	0.4
Mining	223	0.2	208	0.1
Regional development	817	0.6	937	0.6
Transportation and communication	6,701	4.5	6,357	4.1
Water projects	1,208	0.8	1,309	0.8
Export promotion and tourism	3,947	2.6	3,321	2.2
Total economic services	17,776	12.0	15,655	10.2
General government services				
Foreign affairs	1,320	0.9	1,321	0.9
General research	506	0.3	510	0.3
Administration and other	11,321	7.6	8,816	5.7
Total general government services	13,147	8.9	10,647	6.9
Security services				
Defense	12,908	8.7	11,025	7.2
Judiciary	1,601	1.1	1,705	1.1
Police	10,168	6.9	11,614	7.5
Prisons	2,584	1.7	2,862	1.9
Total security services	27,261	18.4	27,206	17.6
Social services				
Education	31,428	21.2	32,616	21.2
Health	15,565	10.5	16,885	11.0
Housing	1,648	1.1	4,226	2.7
Community development[3]	2,192	1.5	785	0.5
Recreation and culture	668	0.5	833	0.5
Social security and welfare	13,672	9.2	16,713	10.8
Total social services	65,173	44.0	72,058	46.7
Interest	24,863	16.8	28,604	18.6
Government enterprises	9	0.0	7	0.0
TOTAL	148,229	100.0	154,177	100.0

[1] For years ending March 31. Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.
[2] In millions of rands; for value of the rand—see Glossary.
[3] Includes sewage and sanitation services.

Source: Based on information from South Africa, South African Communication Service, *South Africa Yearbook, 1995*, Pretoria, 1996, 238.

Table 9. Major Imports, 1992, 1993, and 1994
(in millions of rands) [1]

Commodity	1992	1993	1994[2]
Machinery and appliances	15,010	17,131	24,805
Vehicles and transportation equipment	6,619	8,916	11,284
Chemicals	5,789	6,599	8,292
Base metals and articles	2,502	2,606	3,399
Professional and scientific equipment	2,243	2,716	3,299
Textiles	2,437	2,654	3,295
Plastics and rubber articles	2,250	2,639	3,256
Paper products	1,463	1,740	2,183
Precious and semiprecious stones and precious metals	351	1,467	1,847
Vegetable products	2,570	1,928	1,365

[1] For value of the rand—see Glossary.
[2] Preliminary figures.

Source: Based on information from South Africa, South African Communication Service, *South Africa Yearbook, 1995*, Pretoria, 1996, 224; and *Africa South of the Sahara, 1997*, London, 1996, 908.

Table 10. Major Exports, 1992, 1993, and 1994
(in millions of rands) [1]

Commodity	1992	1993	1994[2]
Base metals and articles	9,484	9,905	11,853
Precious stones and precious metals	7,160	10,138	10,213
Mineral products	7,083	8,444	7,712
Chemicals and plastics	3,221	3,378	4,757
Vegetable products	2,291	2,437	4,197
Prepared foodstuffs and tobacco	1,857	1,813	2,826
Machinery and appliances	2,151	2,811	2,567
Vehicles and transportation equipment	2,329	2,701	2,265
Paper and paper products	1,896	1,937	2,042
Textiles	1,809	1,812	1,923

[1] For value of the rand—see Glossary.
[2] Preliminary figures.

Source: Based on information from South Africa, South African Communication Service, *South Africa Yearbook, 1995*, Pretoria, 1996, 223; and *Africa South of the Sahara, 1997*, London, 1996, 908.

Table 11. Distribution of Employment in the Formal Economy, 1994
(in percentages)

Economic Activity	Regular Employment[1]	Casual Employment
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	12.2	8.3
Armed forces	2.3	0.2
Construction	5.6	12.6
Domestic services	8.5	26.6
Education	7.8	2.8
Electricity and water services	1.9	1.6
Finance	4.2	1.6
Legal services	2.0	0.3
Manufacturing	16.6	9.8
Medical services	5.6	1.6
Mining	7.3	0.7
Hotels and restaurants	2.6	6.4
Transportation and communications	6.7	4.2
Wholesale and retail trade	10.9	16.7
Other	5.8	6.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

[1] Total labor force estimated at 12.5 million, excluding agriculture, forestry, and fishing.

Source: Based on information from South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race Relations Survey, 1994–95*, Johannesburg, 1995, 473.

Table 12. Selected Mining Production, 1992, 1993, and 1994
(in thousands of tons unless otherwise indicated)

Mineral	1992	1993	1994
Iron ore	28,226	28,912	32,321
Diamonds[1]	10,177	10,324	10,812
Manganese ore	2,462	2,504	2,851
Chrome ore	3,000	2,563	3,590
Gold[2]	611	616	580
Copper	167	157	165.2
Asbestos	124	97	92.1
Platinum[2]	69	90	164.8
Lead	75.4	100.2	95.8
Silver[2]	172	195	n.a.[3]
Uranium oxide[2]	2,222	2,008	1,913
Coal	174,072	182,262	190,672

[1] In thousands of carats.
[2] In tons.
[3] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from South Africa, South African Communication Service, *South Africa Yearbook, 1994*, Pretoria, 1995, 59; and South Africa, South African Communication Service, *South Africa Yearbook, 1995*, Pretoria, 1996, 122, 125.

Table 13. Selected Agricultural Production, 1992, 1993, and 1994
(in thousands of tons)

Commodity	1992	1993	1994[1]
Barley	265	230	275
Corn	8,125	9,668	12,143
Grapes	1,450	1,249	1,284
Potatoes	1,215	1,127	1,306
Sorghum	98	478	520
Sugarcane	12,955	11,244	15,683
Wheat	1,269	1,984	1,782
Wool	124	111	106

[1] Initial estimates.

Source: Based on information from South Africa, South African Communication Service, *South Africa Yearbook, 1995*, Pretoria, 1996, 108; and *Africa South of the Sahara, 1997*, London, 1996, 905.

Table 14. Selected Industrial Production, 1992–95

Product	1992	1993	1994	1995
Automobiles, assembled	206,600	227,700	227,000	228,400
Cement[1]	5,850	6,135	7,065	7,437
Cigarettes[2]	35,563	34,499	n.a.[3]	n.a.
Electrical energy[4]	154,083	159,505	165,985	171,301
Petroleum products[5]				
Gasoline	7,234	8,113	8,720	8,947
Kerosene	703	916	980	935
Distillates	5,893	5,915	5,736	6,551
Rubber tires[6]	7,333	7,676	8,111	8,947
Steel, crude[7]	9,061	8,610	8,300	8,000
Sugar, refined[7]	1,316	1,098	1,246	n.a.
Wheat flour[7]	1,833	1,867	1,872	n.a.
Wine[8]	3,779	3,647	2,150	n.a.

[1] In millions of tons.
[2] In millions of cigarettes.
[3] n.a.—not available.
[4] In millions of kilowatt-hours.
[5] In millions of liters.
[6] In thousands.
[7] In thousands of tons.
[8] In thousands of hectoliters.

Source: Based on information from South Africa, South African Communication Service, *South Africa Yearbook, 1995*, Pretoria, 1996, 124; and *Africa South of the Sahara, 1997*, London, 1996, 906.

Table 15. Foreign Tourist Arrivals, 1991–95

Region of Origin	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Africa	1,193,700	2,328,000	2,698,100	3,125,958	3,452,164
Europe	367,600	395,300	429,900	463,477	721,878
North America and South America	67,100	75,000	91,700	115,621	160,473
Asia	59,300	67,500	87,500	113,724	158,463
Oceania	20,000	24,800	30,100	36,658	61,085
Other	2,300	2,200	32,500	41,109	130,001
TOTAL	1,710,000	2,892,800	3,369,800	3,896,547	4,684,064

Source: Based on information from *Africa South of the Sahara, 1996*, London, 1995, 882.

Table 16. Political Party Representation in National Government, 1995

Political Party	Executive			Legislature	
	President	Deputy Presidents	Cabinet[1]	National Assembly	Senate
African National Congress	1	1	18	252	60
National Party	—	1	6	82	17
Inkatha Freedom Party	—	—	3	43	5
Freedom Front	—	—	—	9	5
Democratic Party	—	—	—	7	3
Pan-Africanist Congress	—	—	—	5	—
African Christian Democratic Party	—	—	—	2	—

[1] Plus one nonpartisan portfolio.

Table 17. Political Party Representation in Provincial Government: Executive Officials, 1995

Province	Premier	Executive Council			
		ANC[1]	NP[2]	IFP[3]	FF[4]
Eastern Cape	ANC	9	1	—	—
Free State	ANC	9	1	—	—
Gauteng	ANC	7	3	—	—
KwaZulu-Natal	IFP	3	1	6	—
Mpumalanga	ANC	9	1	—	—
Northern Cape	ANC	5	4	—	1
Northern Province	ANC	9	—	—	1
North-West Province	ANC	9	1	—	—
Western Cape	NP	4	6	—	—

[1] African National Congress.
[2] National Party.
[3] Inkatha Freedom Party.
[4] Freedom Front.

Table 18. Political Party Representation in Provincial Government: Legislative Assemblies, 1995

Province	Political Party								Total
	ANC[1]	NP[2]	IFP[3]	FF[4]	DP[5]	PAC[6]	ACDP[7]	Min[8]	
Eastern Cape	48	6	—	1	—	1	—	—	56
Free State	24	4	—	2	—	—	—	—	30
Gauteng	50	21	3	5	5	1	1		86
KwaZulu-Natal	26	9	41	—	2	1	1	1	81
Mpumalanga	25	3	—	2	—	—	—	—	30
Northern Cape	15	12	—	2	1	—	—	—	30
Northern Province	38	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	40
North-West	26	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	30
Western Cape	14	23	—	1	3	—	1	—	42

[1] African National Congress.
[2] National Party.
[3] Inkatha Freedom Party.
[4] Freedom Front.
[5] Democratic Party.
[6] Pan-Africanist Congress.
[7] African Christian Democratic Party.
[8] Minority Front.

Table 19. Major Newspapers, 1995

Newspaper	Place of Publication	Frequency	Language	Circulation
The Argus	Cape Town	Daily	English	82,774
Beeld (Image)	Johannesburg	Daily	Afrikaans	111,958
Die Burger (The Citizen)	Cape Town	Daily	Afrikaans	94,193
Business Day	Johannesburg	Daily	English	37,085
The Cape Times	Cape Town	Daily	English	48,685
The Citizen	Johannesburg	Daily	English	136,848
City Press	Johnannesburg	Weekly	English	261,057
Daily Dispatch	East London	Daily	English	37,485
The Daily News	Durban	Daily	English	75,960
Diamond Fields Advertiser	Kimberley	Daily	English	8,000
EP Herald	Port Elizabeth	Daily	English	30,484
Evening Post	Port Elizabeth	Daily	English	16,827
Ilanga (The Sun)	Durban	Biweekly	Zulu[1]	125,761
Imvo Zabantsundu (Voice of the Black People)	King William's Town	Weekly	Xhosa[1]	14,401
The Natal Mercury	Durban	Daily	English	42,690
The Natal Witness	Pietermaritzburg	Daily	English	27,500
Post (Natal)	Durban	Weekly	English	47,667
The Pretoria News	Pretoria	Daily	English	23,006
Rapport (Dispatch)	Johannesburg	Weekly	Afrikaans	375,723
Sowetan	Johannesburg	Daily	English	207,849
The Star	Johannesburg	Daily	English	165,171
Sunday Nation	Johannesburg	Weekly	English	49,300
Sunday Times	Johannesburg	Weekly	English	467,745
Sunday Tribune	Durban	Weekly	English	115,418
Umafrika	Marianhill	Weekly	Zulu	40,500
Die Volksblad (The People's Paper)	Bloemfontein	Daily	Afrikaans	21,453
Weekly Mail	Johannesburg	Weekly	English	28,220

[1] Some articles are in English.

Source: Based on information from South Africa, South African Communication Service, *South Africa Yearbook, 1995*, Pretoria, 1996, 296; and *Financial Mail* [Johannesburg], February 23, 1996, 85.

Table 20. Composition of South African National Defence Force, 1996[1]

Service	Active Duty	Reserve
Army	118,000	377,000[2]
Air Force	8,400	20,000
Navy	5,500	1,700
Medical Service	6,000	n.a.[3]
TOTAL	137,900	398,700

[1] Reorganization incomplete.
[2] Excluding Commandos (estimated 76,000).
[3] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1996–1997*, London, 1996, 264–65.

Table 21. Major Army Equipment, 1996

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Main battle tanks		
Olifant 1A and 1B[1]	South Africa	Approximately 250
Tank technology demonstrator	South Africa	Being developed
Armored reconnaissance vehicles		
Eland-60 and -90	South Africa	1,100
Rooikat-76	South Africa	160
Armored infantry fighting vehicles		
Ratel-20, -60, and -90	South Africa	1,500
Armored personnel carriers		
Buffel, Casspir	South Africa	1,500
Mamba	South Africa	160+
Towed artillery		
G-1 (88mm)	South Africa	30
G-2 (140mm)	South Africa	75
G-4 (155mm)	South Africa	n.a.[2]
G-5 (155mm howitzer)	South Africa	75
Self-propelled artillery		
G-6 (155mm howitzer)	South Africa	20
Multiple rocket launchers		
Bataleur (127mm, 40-tube)	South Africa	120
Valkiri-22 (self-propelled, 24-tube)	South Africa	60
Valkiri-5 (towed)	South Africa	n.a.
Mortars		
M3 (81mm)	South Africa	4,000
Brandt (120mm)	South Africa	120+
Antitank guided weapons		
ZT-3 Swift	South Africa	n.a.
Milan	South Africa	n.a.
Rocket launchers		
FT-5 (92mm)	n.a.	n.a.
Recoilless launchers		
M-40A1 (106mm)	n.a.	n.a.
Air defense guns		
20mm, self-propelled	n.a.	600
23mm, self-propelled	n.a.	36
35mm	South Africa	150
Surface-to-air missiles		
SA-7 and SA-14	Soviet Union[3]	n.a.

[1] Olifant 1A and 1B manufactured in South Africa; derived from Centurion (Britain).
[2] n.a.—not available.
[3] Some captured in regional conflicts.

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1996–1997*, London, 1996, 264; and *Jane's Defence Weekly* [London], 23, No. 17, April 29, 1995, 23–41.

Table 22. Major Air Force Equipment, 1996

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Fighters, ground attack		
Mirage F–1AZ	France	20
Impala II	South Africa	75
Cheetah C	South Africa	38[1]
Cheetah E	South Africa	11
Fighters		
Mirage F–1CZ	France	11
Tanker/early warning		
Boeing 707–320	Israel	5
Transport aircraft		
C–130B	United States	7
HS–125 and –400B	Britain	3
Super King Air 200	United States	2
Citation	United States	1
C–47	United States	19
Liaison/fighter aircraft		
Cessna 185	United States	24
Helicopters		
SA–316/–319 (some armed)	France	63
SA–330 C/H/L Puma	France	63
BK–117	—[2]	19
CSH–2 Rooivalk	South Africa	12[1]
Training aircraft		
C–47TP	United States	12
Cheetah D	South Africa	14
T–6G Harvard IIA/III	United States	130
Impala I	South Africa	114
Pilatus PC–7	Switzerland	60
SA–316/–330 helicopters	France	37
Unmanned aerial vehicles		
Seeker	n.a.[3]	n.a.
Scout	n.a.	n.a.
Missiles		
Air-to-surface		
AS–11/–20/–30	n.a.	n.a.
Air-to-air		
R–530	n.a.	n.a.
R–550 Magic	n.a.	n.a.
V–3C Darter	n.a.	n.a.
V–3A/B Kukri	n.a.	n.a.
AIM–9 Sidewinder	n.a.	n.a.
Python 3	n.a.	n.a.

Table 22. (Continued) Major Air Force Equipment, 1996

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Ground equipment		
Armored personnel carriers (Rhino)	South Africa	n.a.
Radar		
Fixed	n.a.	3
Mobile	n.a.	Several
Surface-to-air missiles		
Cactus (Crotale)	n.a.	20
SA-8/-9/-13	n.a.	n.a.

[1] Some on order.
[2] Some acquired from former "independent" homelands.
[3] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1996–1997*, London, 1996, 241, 265; and A.D. Baker, comp., *Combat Fleets of the World, 1995: Their Ships, Aircraft, and Armament*, Annapolis, Maryland, 1995, 676–79.

Table 23. Major Naval Equipment, 1996

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Submarines		
Daphné class (550mm torpedo tube)[1]	France	3
Missile craft		
Minister class	Israel	9
Inshore patrol craft		
Hydrofoils (Coastguard T2212 class)	n.a.[2]	3
Harbor craft (Namicurra class)	n.a.	28
Mine warfare ships		
Coastal minesweepers (Ton class)	Britain[1]	4
Minehunters (River class)	n.a.	4
Support and miscellaneous		
Combat/logistic support vessels		
(Drakensberg)	South Africa	1
(Outeniqua)	Ukraine	1
Hydrographic survey vessel	n.a.	1
Diving support vessel	n.a.	1
Antarctic transport with two helicopters	n.a.	1
Tugs	n.a.	3
Frigates		
(1,500-ton to 1,800-ton)	South Africa	4[3]

[1] Modified.
[2] n.a.—not available.
[3] Construction to begin late 1990s.

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1996–1997*, London, 1996, 264–65.

Table 24. Defense Budget, 1995 and 1996[1]
(in millions of rands)[2]

Budget Allocation	1995	1996
Ground defense	3,687	3,095
Air defense	1,633	1,777
Maritime defense	649	686
Medical services	857	720
Command and control	397	420
General support	320	323
Special defense account	3,093	3,514
TOTAL	10,636	10,535
Percentage of GDP[3]	3.4	2.2

[1] Years ending March 31.
[2] For value of the rand—see Glossary.
[3] GDP—gross domestic product.

Source: Based on information from Helmoed-Römer Heitman, "R2.9b Defence Budget Marks End to Decline," *Jane's Defence Weekly* [London], 23, No. 12, March 25, 1995, 5.

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Glossary

Afrikaner—South African of Dutch ancestry, often with German, French, or other European forebears; member of white community tracing its roots to the seventeenth-century Dutch settlers at the Cape of Good Hope.

apartheid—"Separateness," (Afrikaans, Dutch); policy implemented by National Party government (1948–94) to maintain separate development of government-demarcated racial groups; also referred to as "separate development," and later "multinational development"; abolished by Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1993.

Bantu—Literally, "human beings," in more than 300 Bantu languages of equatorial and southern Africa. Bantu languages are classified within the central branch of the Niger-Congo language family; characterized by a system of noun classes marked by prefixes, so that each dependent word in a sentence carries a prefix of the same class. Outsiders often simplify by omitting prefix; for example, the amaZulu (people) are known as the Zulu; their language, isiZulu, is also referred to as Zulu. Speakers of seSotho, the BaSotho, are often referred to simply as Sotho peoples. Four major subgroups of Bantu languages—Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga-Shangaan, and Venda—are widely represented in South Africa. They include nine of South Africa's official languages—isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNdebele, sePedi, seSotho, seTswana, siSwati, tshiVenda (also luVenda), and xiTsonga. During the apartheid era, the term *Bantu* was often used in government regulations, official statements, and sometimes in conversation to designate people of black African descent. Because this group was particularly disadvantaged by apartheid, the term *Bantu* assumed pejorative connotations in many apartheid-era contexts.

Bantustan—An area reserved for an officially designated Bantu-speaking ethnic group during the apartheid era; a term generally supplanted by "homeland," national state, or self-governing state during the 1970s and 1980s.

Boer—Farmer (Afrikaans); generally used in eighteenth and nineteenth century to refer to white South African settlers of Dutch, German, and French Huguenot origin; generally supplanted by the term *Afrikaner* (*q.v.*) in the twentieth

century. *See also* Trekboer.

coloureds—Those "of mixed race," in apartheid terminology; usually referred to people with African and Dutch ancestry.

European Community (EC)—*See* European Union (EU).

European Union (EU)—Formerly, the European Community (EC), established as the EU by the Treaty on European Union, November 1, 1993. The EU comprises three communities: the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC), and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). Each community is legally distinct, but since 1967 the three bodies have shared common governing institutions. The EU forms more than a framework for free trade and economic cooperation: EU signatories have agreed in principle to integrate their economies and ultimately to form a political union. EU members in early 1996 were Austria, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden.

fiscal year (FY)—In South Africa, April 1–March 31. For example, FY 1997–98 includes the period from April 1, 1997, to March 31, 1998.

gross domestic product (GDP)—A measure of the total value of goods and services produced by a domestic national economy during a given period, usually one year. Obtained by adding the value contributed by each sector of the economy in the form of profits, compensation to employees, and depreciation (consumption of capital). Only domestic production is included, not income arising from investments and possessions owned abroad, hence the use of the word *domestic* to distinguish GDP from the gross national product (GNP—*q.v.*). Real GDP is the value of GDP when inflation has been taken into account.

gross national product (GNP)—The total market value of all final goods and services produced by an economy during a year. Obtained by adding gross domestic product (GDP—*q.v.*) and the income received from abroad by residents and then subtracting payments remitted abroad to nonresidents. Real GNP is the value of GNP when inflation has been taken into account.

Highveld—High-altitude grassland, generally between 1,200 meters and 1,800 meters above sea level.

homeland or reserve—A primarily residential area set aside for a single officially designated black ethnic group during the apartheid era. Some of the ten homelands in the 1980s consisted of more than a dozen discrete segments of land. Homeland boundaries shifted as the government assigned additional groups of people to the often crowded homelands or as neighboring jurisdictions successfully pressed claims to territory within a homeland's boundary.

import substitution—An economic development strategy that emphasizes the growth of domestic industries, often by import protection using tariff and nontariff measures. Proponents favor the export of industrial goods over primary products.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)—Established along with the World Bank (*q.v.*) in 1945, the IMF is a specialized agency, affiliated with the United Nations, that is responsible for stabilizing international exchange rates and payments. The main business of the IMF is the provision of loans to its members (including industrialized and developing countries) when they experience balance of payments difficulties. These loans frequently carry conditions that require substantial internal economic adjustments by the recipients, most of which are developing countries.

lineage—A group, the members of which are descended through males from a common male ancestor (patrilineage) or through females from a common female ancestor (matrilineage). Such descent can in principle be traced.

mfecane—"Crushing" or "hammering" (isiZulu); refers to early nineteenth-century upheaval in southeastern Africa caused by expansion of Zulu society under the military leadership of Shaka and combined economic and population pressures throughout the region; *difeqane,* in seSotho.

parastatal—A semi-autonomous, quasi-governmental, state-owned enterprise.

Paris Club—Informal name for a consortium of Western creditor countries (Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States) that have made loans, or have guaranteed export credits, to developing nations and that meet in Paris to discuss borrowers' ability to repay debts. Paris Club deliberations often result in the tendering of emergency loans to countries in economic difficulty or in the rescheduling of debts. Formed in October 1962, the organization

has no formal or institutional existence. Its secretariat is run by the French treasury. It has a close relationship with the International Monetary Fund (*q.v.*), to which all of its members except Switzerland belong, as well as with the World Bank (*q.v.*), and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The Paris Club is also known as the Group of Ten (G–10).

polygynous—having more than one wife at the same time; polygynous marriages are allowed by tradition in many African societies.

rand (R)—Unit of currency. A decimal currency of 100 cents, the rand replaced the South African pound in 1961. The official exchange rate of the rand against the United States dollar was R1=US$1.40 until December 1971, and from September 1975 to January 1979, R1=US$1.15. From 1972 to 1975, and after 1979, the government allowed market forces to determine the value of the rand. The exchange rate averaged R3.55=US$1 in 1994 and R3.64=US$1 in 1995. On April 30, 1996, R4.34=US$1; conversely, R1= US$.23. Financial rands were issued only to foreign buyers for capital investment inside South Africa. They were available periodically until 1983 and again in September 1985, but were abolished in March 1995.

Rand—Local contraction of Witwatersrand (*q.v.*).

Trekboer—Migrant farmer, in Afrikaans; signifies participation in nineteenth-century population migrations eastward from the Cape of Good Hope. *See also* Boer.

Witwatersrand—Literally, "Ridge of White Waters" (Afrikaans), often shortened to Rand; mining region south of Johannesburg known primarily for rich deposits of gold and other minerals.

World Bank—Informal name used to designate a group of four affiliated international institutions that provide advice and assistance on long-term finance and policy issues to developing countries: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). The IBRD, established in 1945, has as its primary purpose the provision of loans at market-related rates of interest to developing countries at more advanced stages of development. The IDA, a legally separate loan fund administered by the staff of the

IBRD, was set up in 1960 to furnish credits to the poorest developing countries on much easier terms than those of conventional IBRD loans. The IFC, founded in 1956, supplements the activities of the IBRD through loans and assistance designed specifically to encourage the growth of productive private enterprises in the less developed countries. The president and certain senior officers of the IBRD hold the same positions in the IFC. The MIGA, which began operating in June 1988, insures private foreign investment in developing countries against such noncommercial risks as expropriation, civil strife, and nonconvertibility of currency. The four institutions are owned by the governments of the countries that subscribe their capital. To participate in the World Bank, member states must first belong to the International Monetary Fund (*q.v.*).

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