FROM *PARATUS* TO *SA SOLDIER*: A REFLECTION ON THE PRIMARY MAGAZINE OF THE SA MILITARY 1990-2010

by

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Declaration

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ABSTRACT

The nature of media has changed and evolved over the years with rapidly increasing changes observed after the Cold War period. The nature of media, both civilian and military in South Africa, was no exception. Within the military environment, four distinctive periods can be identified between 1912 and 2010.

During the World Wars, the *Nonkay* magazine existed for security forces. During the middle 1950's the *Kommando* magazine came into existence. During the time of the Cold War *Paratus* was the magazine for the South African military. *Salut* magazine came into existence during 1994 after the end of the Cold War and, in South Africa, the transition from apartheid state to a democratic state. In order to reflect the agenda of the new incumbent government and the changed interests of stakeholders, the magazine changed in 2001 from *Salut* to the *SA Soldier.* The changes included content, layout and the messages conveyed. These changes were undertaken in order to adapt to the changed economic, political and military environments or *settings* in which South Africa found itself.

The study that I undertook entailed qualitative descriptive research; an exploration into the evolving world of the military media between 1990 and 2010 and a slice of life from the military media over two decades. A content analysis of the *Paratus, Salut* and the *SA Soldier* magazine was undertaken, followed by a literature review that explored this field and confirmed that little or no prior studies existed relating to South African military magazines. An in-depth study of the content of the magazines revealed several dominant themes. This study examines those themes and provides reasons how these themes were identified, selected and analysed. Reasons for their inclusion is elaborated upon and discussed in each chapter.

The last chapter provides an overall view of the chapters, mentioning the overall findings of the study and effectively brings the study to an end by suggesting a number of research gaps in need of future exploration.

OPSOMMING

Die *natuur* en *aard* van geskrewe media het 'n metamorfose na die Koue Oorlog beleef. Die media – beide siviel en militêr – in Suid-Afrika is geen uitsondering nie. Tussen 1912 en 2010 kan vier kenmerkende periodes geidentifiseer word. Gedurende die Wêreldoorloë, was die *Nonkay* Tydskrif beskikbaar vir veiligheidsmagte, gedurende middel 1950 was dit vervang met die *Kommando* tydskrif. Gedurende die Koue oorlog het die Suid-Afrikaanse weermag die *Paratus* as tydskrif gestig en dit is vervang aan die einde van die oorgangsfase van *apartheid* na *demokrasie* na die *Salut* in 1994. Ten einde die nuwe demokratiese agenda en gepaargaande transformasie van in die militêre omgewing te bevorder, is die *Salut* verander na die *SA Soldier* gedurende 2001. Grootskaalse veranderinge nie net in terme van die naam en doel nie, maar ook in terme van inhoud, uitleg en beriggewing het gevolg. Die veranderinge moes in pas kom met die nuwe ekonomiese, politiese en militêre arenas wat Suid-Afrika hom in bevind het.

Die studie teen die bree agtergrond van die funksionalistiese raamwerk is onderneem as kwalitatiewe beskrywende navorsing. 'n Verkenningstog na die evolusie van militêre media tussen die tydperk 1990 en 2010 is onderneem. 'n Inhoudsanalise is gedoen op *die Paratus, Salut en SA Soldier* tydskrifte. Dit is gevolg deur 'n literatuuroorsig wat bevestig het dat geen sodanige studie voorheen onderneem in Suid-Afrika is nie. Nadat die navorser homself aan die leeswerk toegewy het, het sekere dominante temas gemanifesteer. Hierdie studie se fokus was die ondersoek van hierdie gemanifesteerde temas asook analise daarvan. In elke hoofstuk is hierdie temas en die konteks daarvan in meer detail bespreek.

Die slothoofstuk gee 'n oorsig van die voorafgaande hoofstukke, en bied 'n slotsom tot die studie sowel as identifiseer navorsingsgapings wat toekomstige ondersoek benodig.

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Last, but not least for all those who, like Prof Ian van der Waag, had an impact upon me in my academic endeavours and provided me with much needed motivation when I, myself, was not sure if I should continue the study or not.

"Only the dead have seen the end of war".

Plato
Greek author & philosopher in Athens (427 BC - 347 BC)

The above mentioned quote by Plato, inspired me throughout the study. The statement

refers to that fact that wars will always be fought and lives lost. Yet, this quote convinced me that only the dead stop learning. Hence, one should always strive for perfection in everything one sets one's mind to do.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATION	MEANING
AFB	Air Force Base
ANC	African National Congress
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army.(Military Wing of the PAC)
AU	African Union
BDF	Botswana Defence Force
BMATT	British Military Advisory Training Team
Bn	Battalion
CAR	Central African Republic
DCC	Defence Command Council
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DS	Defence Secretariat
ENSP	Executive National Security Programme
FF	Freedom Front
FNLA	*Frente Nacional de Liberacao de Angola*. (National Liberation Front of Angola)
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
JSCD	Joint Standing Committee on Defence
LDF	Lesotho Defence Force
MB	Military Base
Mil Hosp	Military Hospital
MK	uMkhonto we Sizwe (Military wing of the ANC)
MPLA	Portuguese Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola
NDF	Namibian Defence Force
NP	National Party
NPKF	National Peace Keeping Force

NS	Naval Station
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan African Congress
PC	Personal Computer
PKO	Peace Keeping Operations
PSO	Peace Support Operations
Psy Ops	Psychological Operations
SAA	South African Army
SAAF	South African Air Force
SAAWC	South African Army Women's College
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADF	South African Defence Force (Pre 1994)
SAI	South African Infantry
SAMHS	South African Medical Health Services
SAN	South African Navy
SANDF	South African National Defence Force (Post 1994)
SANW	Afrikaans *South African National Defence Force* 'Suid Afrikaanse Nasionale Weermag'
SAP	South African Police (Before 1994)
SAPS	South African Police Services (Post 1994)
SAS	South Africa's Ship
SAW	Afrikaans Abbreviation for South African Army 'Suid Afrikaanse Weermag'
SCD	Standing Committee on Defence.
SCF	Southern Cross Fund
SSC	State Security Council

SWAPO	South West African Peoples Organisation
SWATF	South West African Territorial Force
TBVC states	Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei
TFDC	Test Flight Development Centre
TPA	Transvaal Provincial Administration
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN DPKO	United Nations Department Peace Keeping Operations
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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FROM *PARATUS* TO *SA SOLDIER* : A REFLECTION ON THE PRIMARY MAGAZINE OF THE SA MILITARY (1990-2010)

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CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH RATIONALE AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Printed media has been used for many purposes throughout history and became a popular medium for the transference of information as well as its role as a marketing agent through the use of advertisements in a contemporary capitalist society. Most important, media, in various forms, directs a particular message towards a selected target audience. This statement also holds true for the military media as a social agent, whether in war or peace. Printed media has extensively been used as an instrument of propaganda from early times, throughout the First World War and notably since the Second World War. In short, the media influences the views and attitudes of people young and old to a great extent. Like churches, social (civil) organisations, political parties and schools, it plays a role in the socialisation of people.[1] With the increasing interdependence within the international community and the propensity of war amongst democratic and other large states less likely, contemporary media in all its versions still plays an ever-present role and has a significant influence – also in civil-military relations and impacts the military as an institution.

One of the roles that the printed military media assumed in South Africa (SA) was to keep the soldiers and their families informed in terms of developments in the organisation. Only selected messages were conveyed, or not, to these soldiers and stakeholders related to them. Selective reporting is a phenomenon that one should

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[1] On socialisation see Hughes, M and Kroehler, C J. (2005). *Sociology: The Core*. New Delhi: McGraw-Hill, 70ff; see also Rodee, C, Anderson, T J, Christol, C Q and Greene, T H. (1983). *Introduction to Political Science*.Tokyo: McGraw-Hill, pp 153ff; Oomkes, F.R. (1991). *Communicatieleer*. Amsterdam: Boom Meppel: pp. 26-27. On agents of socialisation and the role of the media as agent of socialisation see also Schaefer, R.T. (2005). *Sociology*. New Dehli: McGraw-Hill, 91ff, 95ff, 149-150.

take note of in this regard. More will be shared on this subject. The message the media carries, in this case military media, is important in that both the needs and interests of the organisation and the audience are taken into account.

Where the media serves a specific interest or range of interests, certain issues may be emphasised, others downplayed and some issues ignored or excluded from the reportage. This is usually referred to as the media agenda of a specific paper, magazine or publication, printed or otherwise.[2] Media and chosen government policies and the change in such policies also have a strong relationship.[3] This holds true in a society such as South Africa that saw a negotiated transition from a non-democratic state to one with a democratic constitution, thus implying also the changes within the armed forces.

This contribution will refer to the media agenda where relevant. During the apartheid years the printed media brought out by the then South African government had a close relation with elite interests and policies of the minority apartheid state and frequently Afrikaner Nationalism and the ideology of Total Onslaught that evolved as the white community and their leadership viewed themselves as a society under siege or garrison state.[4] The Government had virtual control over all communication networks except "alternative" newsletters and, in some instances, semi-underground community newspapers – the latter however always under threat of being banned. Thus, the image of the government as it was portrayed abroad by the apartheid elite as well as domestically was created and maintained to the larger extent by government itself. In this qualitative study broadly functionalist in nature the interdependence of state, policy and institutions such as the media had to be kept in mind throughout the study.

In post-apartheid SA, the media gained more freedom in terms of reporting on defence

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[2] Parsons, W. (1999). *Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp 88-91, 117ff; Giddens, A. (1993). *Sociology* (2nd Edition). Oxford: Polity Press: p 79, p 456. See especially page pp. 450-452 for the effect of the media on human behaviour.

[3] See again Parsons, W. (1999). *Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 87ff.

[4] Van der Westhuizen, C. (2007)*. White Power and the rise and fall of the National Party*. Cape Town: Zebra Press: p 286, p 290, p 295ff, p 324. See also Frankel, P H. (1984). *Praetoria's Praetorians: Civil-Military Relations in South Africa*, Sydney: Cambridge University Press especially pp. 29ff. See also Liebenberg, I. (2013). Transition from Authoritarian Rule to Democracy, pp. 13ff In: Manganyi, C., Liebenberg, I and Potgieter, T (Eds). *South Africa and Romania: Transition to Democracy and Changing Security Paradigms*. Durban: Just Done Publishers.

related matters. The role of the SA military printed media is increasingly also geared towards that of the neighbouring states as well as civil society. Since the end of apartheid, other means of communication merged that was not previously available. The rise of internet allowed news updates to occur more rapidly and extensively than ever before. Likewise, social media became a noticeable actor in contemporary society. This has led to an enlarged target audience for the news or message communicated to stakeholder communities. We live in a society in which communication is an everyday phenomenon and certain ideals or messages are conveyed to us in a form that may influence our ideals, beliefs or behavioural patterns.[5] Instances of this can be observed in the effectiveness of advertising on the television and how sales of a product usually increase during the peak television times when most people watch television.[6] Media and the messages conveyed are important in any society. Thus, one may argue, if it is important to influence society, then the media is likewise important for the military bureaucracy, military industry and related stakeholders.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Research suggests that a gap exists in terms of the study and the analysis of South African Defence media around and after transition. Little enough has been undertaken and a relative extensive exploration has yet to be undertaken in this area. Studies concerning the role of media's impact on political socialisation have been done in terms of television and newspapers, but not the more contemporary magazines of the SA Military. In the broader realm of media studies, various studies have been undertaken during and post-apartheid.[7] Such a study in terms of newspapers were done, for example, by C.F. de Klerk in terms of the *Beeld* between 1988 and 2005, but no analysis has been done in terms of its content themes. A study by Liebenberg in 1994 focused on selective reporting by two newspapers in the Western Cape Province (*Die Burger* and the *Cape Times)* during the middle 1980s but barely touched on

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[5] Compare Stappers, J.G. (1983), *Massa-Communicatetion: Een Inleiding*, Amsterdam: De Arbeiders Pers, pp. 105-107 and Hughes, M and Kroehler, C.J. (2005). *Sociology: The Core*. New Delhi; McGraw-Hill: 70ff
[6] Hughes, M and Kroehler, C.J. (2005). *Sociology: The Core*. New Delhi; McGraw-Hill: 70ff
[7] Keyan Tomaselli of the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS), University of (KwaZula-Natal) became well known for his studies on the media in apartheid society during the 1980s. However the focus was on the broader apartheid society and resistance to apartheid and not the military. For a brief summary on the role of newspapers under apartheid, see Bird, E and Garda, Z. n.d. *The role of the print during the apartheid era* (n.p.). See also Finn, S. (1982). *Mass Media and the 1981 election*. Cape Town: Salt River Printers.

military or police issues per se.[8]

Analysing South African media has been mainly focussed on newspapers and television as these media are prominent and they reach a relatively large target audience. In terms of magazines, not much has been undertaken, specifically regarding the SA military media. This research gap will receive attention in this thesis.

The thesis will examine the SA Military magazines from 1990 until 2010, *Paratus, Salut* and *SA Soldier* in order to assess the content themes as they emerged over the period. The pre- and post-apartheid socio-political and security environment stand in stark contrast. For this reason, where, comparative elements will be referred to with *Paratus* as the official military magazine during the 1970s and the 1980s.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION(S)

Which editorial voices can be discerned and how were these voices reflected in the magazine content of *Paratus*, *Salut* and the *SA Soldier* magazines between 1990 and 2010?

Secondly, in this period were there changes in the main themes conveyed to the readers and stake-holders?

And, thirdly, what were these evolving themes?

1.4 AIM

The aim of this study is to identify the editorial voices and evolving themes and discern the extent to which these were reflected in content conveyed to the readership of the *Paratus, Salut* and *SA Soldier* magazines between 1990 and 2010.

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[8] Liebenberg, I. (1994). Die Cape Times en Die Burger en die 1982 skeuring binne die Nasionale Party. *Journal for Contemporary History*, 19(1), pp. 51-74.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study is the contribution it can make towards understanding the SA military magazines and the most dominant themes reflected during the chosen period. As such, this thesis will enhance the body of knowledge by filling the gap with an in-depth look at these magazines as one specific form of media directed at a selected interest group, namely the military and its immediate stakeholder communities. Whilst some scholarly studies have been undertaken that examined the style of reporting within newspapers and television regarding defence related matters, none have yet focussed sufficiently on the SA military magazines and their style of reporting and themes. This particular study will seek to examine the military media in South Africa in a time of democracy, including the transition period and the process of transformation.

The study and its findings focus on the selected units; thus will also serve as a future topic that can be explored in more depth by other academic studies. Military publications deserve more attention as insufficient research has been done on these when research is compared to what is available on other media. Thus, this study will lay the corner stone towards improving the knowledge base on the topic.

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Giddens, media entails the conveyance of communication or interaction over a distance. Communication generally entails social interaction between or among individuals or groups. Thus, media can be classed as a specific social tool that includes newspaper and other related media that convey information over a distance to a specific audience.[9]

Media as a social institution has undergone three different periods of revolution since its early beginnings.[10] Different technological and societal factors contributed to these developments. The first revolution occurred when the printing press emerged in the

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[9] Giddens, A. (1993). *Sociology.* (2nd Edition). Oxford: Polity Press, p 446.
[10] For a more extensive discussion on the origin and evolution of (western) media since 1700 consult Giddens, A. (1993) *Sociology* (2nd Edition). Oxford: Polity Press, pp. 447 – 449. On media influence and power, see the same source (pp.449-452).

1500s in Europe. Printing capabilities revolutionised the way in which media was distributed. Not only did it allow knowledge to be transferred but it also allowed for a larger target audience. The second revolution was brought about with the innovation of the telegraph or Morse code that enabled messages to be conveyed over a very great distance almost instantaneously. As the telegraph emerged during the 1800s, it enabled persons to communicate with each other across different continents and impacted the increased role of the media. The rise of printed media became prominent. By the middle of the 1920s the printed media was joined by radio broadcasting, which further expanded the audience. Television was to follow and, later on, the evolution of the digital age.

Mass media can be described as the forms of communication that reach a large amount of people in a relatively short period of time.[11] As the mass media brought about more changes in society than the previous revolution, it is necessary to define and mention socialisation and socialisation agents. The American military involvement in Vietnam, for example, was greatly influenced by the news media, as it largely turned the American public against the country's involvement in Vietnam. As a result, the US was forced to withdraw from Vietnam, ending all military involvement in Vietnam by the early 1970s. Other important media broadcasts via television in recent years have included the media coverage during Operation Desert Storm in Iraq (1991), the 11 September 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre that immediately changed the global perception on terrorism and its perceived threat.[12] The toppling of the government in Afghanistan and the removal of Saddam Hussein in Iraq similarly lead to high level mass media reportage. In addition, the global media attention given to the toppling of the Gadhafi government in Libya by France, the UK and the USA during 2011, through the subversion of UN Resolution 1973, presented an example as do the current developments in the Middle East, especially in Syria.

The third and perhaps most significant recent invention since the early 1990s is the internet, which came about because of the vast advancement of computers and associated structures. Internet, beginning with e-mail (initially developed for strictly

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[11]Anon. (1996). *South African Students Dictionary*. Manzini: Swaziland, p 589.
[12]Soules, M. (2007). Propaganda at War: Mass media, Propaganda and Censorship. *http://www.media-studies.ca/articles/war_propaganda.htm*. (Accessed 14 September 2012).

military use), entered the public domain. The audience was becoming global and internet crosses borders in a global society being transformed into the proverbial global village. Distance and time were removed leading to instant communication with far-reaching consequences. Obviously, this advancement in technology has its limitations. These technologies are relatively expensive and not yet accessible to all people, given the poverty and social divisions in civil society. Some also claim that such mass information distribution (information overload) is consistently fragmented and so many multiple voices lack a coherent and comprehensive understanding for the user. Fragmented images and understanding can lead to obfuscation and distortion, rather than clarity, which in turn can lead to fragmentation, alienation and social dislocation.

Media revolutions have not only brought about changes in society, but have influenced the portrayal of international events and how people react to these events. Again, agenda setting plays a role and frequently favours the powerful.

During the inception of public mass media, and the various, even contending, perceptions that public media creates, it became increasingly important for militaries to create and maintain their own image through the use of media, although such an approach had existed before military media grew into prominence during the Second World War. What made the Second World War a defining moment in military media was that it was used as a direct tool to influence the national masses on a grand scale, as well as have an impact upon the enemy's morale, while strengthening morale on the home front. Indeed, much more so than during the First World War. Not only did this allow a state to project its domestic policies and influence others, it also created the ability to obtain certain strategic and tactical outcomes. The usage of military media during this period laid the basic foundations upon which modern military media is based. One of the key characteristics that run parallel with military media and that of general media is the selective usage of media that is called *agenda setting*. An example of a study conducted in terms of the evolution of propaganda and military usage of the media is the one conducted by Soules. Soules's study to an extent informed, or provided some background to this study.[13]

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[13]Soules, M. (2007). Propaganda at War: Mass media, Propaganda and Censorship. *http://www.media-studies.ca/articles/war_propaganda.htm*. (Accessed 14 September 2012). See also Parsons, W. (1999). *Public*

In peace time the same issues play a role in the media. When discussing the media (also if limited to only the selected area of study here) the above is relevant. In the media as a socialisation agent, agenda setting is worth some discussion. Two notable studies conducted by scholars on media and agenda setting are those studies by Parsons and Mc Combs.[14] Both studies looked at the role of the media and how certain media are selected in order to bring a particular issue to the media's attention and include it in their agenda and to maintain or enhance interest in the topic.

In some cases, issues are underplayed in the media to ensure that these issues do not become heated critical debates. Parsons argues that the media may be seen as gatekeepers, as they are in the business of manufacturing and producing problems.[15] Whilst Mc Combs states that in the growing influx of news that has to be reported on, the media has to be selective as it would be impossible to report on all issues. As such, the mass media that is produced is selective, according to what message needs to be conveyed to the target audience. This is seen to have become the general norm in which news is selected and distributed. In short, the media agenda reflects interests and, in turn, brings about selective reporting in a given context. Another study that provides some insights into the media and its ability to set agendas is the study conducted by Soroka named 'The Gatekeeping Function: Distributions of Information in Media and the Real World' published in *The Journal of Politics* 2012. In his study Soroka argues that media and those involved in the business of reporting on events can systematically become biased. The reasoning behind this is, that apart from the agenda or agendas of a particular newspaper or magazine, different norms and organisational values also have an impact upon the way in which news is reported upon. The interest of the audience is also seen to have an impact on agenda and content, as media tends to be interest driven. In his study overall he argues that media tend towards sensationalising certain events to keep their audience entertained and captivated. In cases, a focus is laid upon negative messages rather than positive ones[16].

Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

[14]Parsons, W. (1999). *Public policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis*. Chelteham: Edward Elgar Publishers.

[15]Mc Combs, M. (2004). *Setting the Agenda: Mass Media and Public Opinion*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

[16] Soroka, S. (2012). The Gate keeping Function: Distributions of Information in Media and the Real World. *The Journal of Politics*, 74(2), p 514.

Media as a source of socialisation also plays a role in the mobilisation of people. That is, to influence individuals and communities to maintain certain values, to strive for change, support change or to resist change.[17] This holds true for most media and certainly media that operate within the ambit of a specific interest group like the military.[18]

In the distribution of media messages use is often made of influential persons, groups or organisations in order to provide legitimacy to the intended message. This is often seen in the advertising sphere of media, where a person is often associated with a certain product in order to provide certain legitimacy to the product. The media, like churches, political parties, religious groups, youth organisations and schools are a socialisation agents.[19] In terms of media as an agent of socialisation, many studies have been conducted in South Africa during the apartheid era and afterwards. Amongst these studies are Kotze[20], Niemi and Barbara [21] and Giddens[22]. Whilst the study conducted by Kotze concerned mainly white South African students and their exposure towards political socialisation in South African schools by mass media[23],Niemi and Sobieszek looked at the various socialisation agents in early childhood and their associated results.[24] In turn, Giddens did an in-depth exploration of socialisation in the life cycle and the various factors that contribute to the socialisation of human beings and his work is still considered an authoritative source in terms of socialisation[25].

During the late 1990's a study conducted by Berger[26], examined the South African

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[17] Ferrante, J. (2011). *Seeing Sociology: An Introduction*. Singapore: Wadsworth / Cengage Learning, p 107.

[18] Kotze, H J. and Van Wyk, J. J. (1986). *Politieke Konsepte*. Kaapstad: lex Patria, p 97, pp. 90-91.

[19]Rodee, C. C., Anderson, T. J., Christol, C. Q., and Green, T. H. (1985), *Introduction to political science*. St Lousiana: McGraw-Hill; pp 153 ff. See also, Worsely, P (ed), (1972). *Introducing Sociology*, Middlesex: Penguin Books, pp 153ff. Consult also Hudghes, N and Koehler, C. J. (2005). *Sociology: The Core*. Toronto: McGraw Hill, pp 70, 88ff.

[20]Kotze, H. J. (1986). Mass Media and Political Socialisation: A South African Case study. *International Political Science Review*, 7(4).

[21]Niemi R. and Sobieszek, B. (1977). Political Socialisation. *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol 3.

[22] Giddens, A. (1993). *Sociology* (2nd Edition). Oxford: Polity Press

[23] Ferrante, J. (2011). *Seeing Sociology*. Woodsworth: Cengage Learning, pp. 104-107. Other socialisation studies on South African Students are those by Booysen, S., (pp 35ff) and Gagiano, J., (pp 10 ff) in Van der Lugt, C and Liebenberg, I. (eds), (1990). *Worlds of Difference: The Political Attitudes of White Students in South Africa*, Mowbray: Idasa.

[24]Niemi R. and Sobieszek, B. (1977). Political Socialisation. *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol 3.

[25]Giddens, A. (1993). *Sociology* (2nd Edition). Oxford: Polity Press

[26]Berger, G. (1999). Towards an Analysis of the South African Media and Transformation 1994-1999. *Transformation*, 38, pp. 83-114.

media and how it has transformed between 1994 and 1999. In this study, a notable change in the media could be seen in the years that passed when South Africa became an increasingly open society. The activities of the media in South Africa today stands in sharp contrast to that of the previous apartheid era's state-controlled media in which newspapers that propagated antiapartheid ideals and activities were forced into self-censorship, banned, closed down or harassed.

Many sources on methodology and qualitative research process, including content analysis, are available. The most authoritative in terms of these studies are Krippendorff[27], Mc Qual[28], Gunther[29] and Zhang, Y. and Wildemuth[30]. Not only do these studies entail in-depth analyses on the different approaches and methods in order to conduct qualitative content analysis, they also look at their validity and lay down basic steps in order to ensure its reliability. However, the study conducted by Gunther[31] mainly concerns the analysis of newspaper media. Mc Qual,[32] in turn, examined mass media in general, also laying out certain theories in terms of its analysis and possible approaches that could be followed. Krippendorff[33] on the other hand looks at the history of content analysis and the different approaches. The work of Zhang and Wildemuth[34] is more encompassing as it looks not only at the methodology underlying the qualitative analysis of content, but also considers the differences between qualitative and quantitative analysis, potentially opening space for the dialogue on mixed methods..

Studies on the relationship between the military and the media, have been conducted. South African case studies are dealt with by de Klerk[35] and Scholtz[36]. The relationship between these two agents in times of peace and war are fundamentally different from

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[27] Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. (2nd Edition). California: Sage Publications.

[28] McQual, D. (2004). McQual's *Reader in Mass Communications Theory*. London: Sage Publications.

[29] Gunther, B. (2000). *Media research methods*. London: Sage Publications

[30] Zhang, Y. and Wildemuth, B. M. n.d. Qualitative Analysis of Content. *http://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~yanz/Content_analysis.pdf*. (Accessed 20 September 2012).

[31] Gunther, B. (2000). *Media research methods*. London: Sage Publications.

[32] McQual, D. (2004). McQual's *Reader in Mass Communications Theory*. London: Sage Publications.

[33] Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. (2nd Edition). California: Sage Publications.

[34] Zhang, Y. and Wildemuth, B. M. n.d. Qualitative Analysis of Content. *http://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~yanz/Content_analysis.pdf*. (Accessed 20 September 2012), p 11.

[35] De Klerk, C.F. (2007). *Militêre Beriggewing in Suid Afrika soos gemanifesteer in Beeld*. (Unpublished Thesis, Tshwane University of Technology).

[36] Scholtz, L. (1998). The Media and the military: Allies or Adversaries? *Scientia Militaria*, 28(2).

each other, as both studies demonstrate. In times of war certain information needs to be limited in its access to the public because such knowledge might put military operations at risk. However, as de Klerk states, since the 1990s, it has become increasingly difficult to keep certain information from the public.

There are positives here. The military can make use of open accessibility to the mass media for its own benefit, in order to obtain strategic and tactical results in operations or simply to enhance its image among the citizenry and members of civil society.[37] In the case of South Africa's negotiated transition and the acceptance of a liberal democratic constitution (Act 108 of 1996 together with the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2)) and transformation to a multi-party democracy these remarks of De Klerk are relevant. More so, since by implication the constitution opened up public and civil space. The imperatives of a democratic constitution and emerging civil society activities facilitate pressures toward the democratisation of state and society (not without strains, public contestation, trials and tribulations, though). The latter impacts the military, defence and security sector.

Other valuable studies that provide insight towards the complexity between the media, the military and the government are the following studies. Firstly, Boylan[38] not only looks at the relationship between the military and the media, but also examines its changing nature alongside that of new technological innovations. Boylan also discusses the relationship between the military and the media and governments that as similar to a marriage in which one cannot divorce or survive without the other. What is most interesting about this contribution by the author is that it draws from his personal experiences in the US Army and its relations with the media during the recent involvement in Iraq. The author also clearly stated that the nature of the media and the military are very different from one another, thus often leading to tension, friction or conflict.[39]

Secondly, Badsey considers the imagery of the media and how the military is portrayed by the television and the newspapers. Reference towards the Operation Iraqi freedom

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[37]De Klerk, C.F. (2007). *Militêre Beriggewing in Suid Afrika soos gemanifesteer in Beeld.* (Unpublished Thesis, Tshwane University of Technology).
[38] Boylan, S. A. (2011). The Military-Media Relationship: An exercise in Strategic Patience. *Military Review*, p 2.
[39] *Ibid.,* pp. 2-4.

2003 is made to illustrate how the media views occurring events. Not only does the media play an important role in military operations, but it also influences the military strategy and the outcome of operations.[40] Badsey states that the study of the relationship between the military and the media is a complex one and has only recently been considered an important field of study. The media and the military can be very diverse and as a result, Badsey states that in today's world, no clear distinction can really be made between 'the military' and 'the media'.[41] Overall, this study adds to understanding the impact of public opinion and how it is influenced by the media. The above also applies to a military not at war (peace-time military) and the interface between the public, the media (including military media)

Perception management is considered important in any military operation. As such, almost all militaries have some relationship with psychological warfare or information warfare. The work done by Taylor[42] and Brazzoli[43] examines psychological warfare and information warfare.

Taylor, in turn, analyses how the creation, maintenance, and well as the destruction of opposing perceptions was imperative during the "war on terror" campaign.[44] Essentially Taylor makes the statement that during the war on terror, the US's value system was under attack by terrorists. He also looks at the growing need of democratic states to increase and improve their relations with the media. Examples are drawn from the 9/11 attacks on the twin towers and the perceptions that were created, including the perceptions that the US media and public created during the war on terror. Thus, winning the hearts and the minds of their support bases is still the *modus operandi* of governments and the militaries in the international community today.[45] Brazzoli on the other hand looks at the practical application and relevancy of Psychological Operations (PsyOps) and Information Warfare (IFW) in South Africa.

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[40] Badsey, S. (2004). The Military and the Media: The media, Strategy and Military Culture. *Australian Army Journal*, 2(2), pp. 189-190.

[41] *ibid., pp 190-191*

[42] Taylor, P. M (2002). Perception Management and the 'War Against Terrorism'. *Journal of Information Warfare*, 1(3), pp. 16-17.

[43] Brazzoli, M. S. (2006). Future prospects of information warfare and particularly psychological operations. *http://www.iss.org.za/uploads/CHAP132020.PDF*. (Accessed 26 February 2013).

[44] Taylor, P. M (2002). Perception Management and the 'War Against Terrorism'. *Journal of Information Warfare*, 1(3), pp. 16-17.

[45] Taylor, P. M (2002). Perception Management and the 'War Against Terrorism'. *Journal of Information Warfare*, 1(3), pp. 18-20.

Brazzoli also considers perception management to be the fourth important instrument of power at the disposal of a state.[46] A distinction is also made between the soft and the hard application of this states power. Not only does PsyOps have an offensive value, but it also has a defensive value, that Brazzoli examines in a comprehensive analysis.[47] Both these sources would prove invaluable in understanding how the military slots in with various kinds of media, as well as the purpose of the messages they convey.

Of importance is that the complex relationship demonstrates similar elements, in terms of whether it is reporting during military operations, or in war or the reportage of prominent issues in a peacetime environment - what I will call the peace-time defence force or military. Themes will emerge; they will evolve, merge or diverge depending on social conditions and the position and perceptions of the military in a changing society. In a study such as this the qualitative element, including exploring the reporting by military magazines along the lines of salient themes in a transitional society will not only illuminate new social priorities – among others, the qualitative changes in civil-military environment and civil-military relationships – but provide a glimpse of the relation between socio-politics in society and the military. In hyperbolic terms, in war-time convincing the populace of the need to maintain the war against an enemy may transform over time (i.e. during transition or transformation) into convincing or influencing the citizen to fight against Aids or poverty or gender discrimination as "new enemies".

Literature relating to the content analysis of magazines in the chosen area of research is scarce. No studies exist yet that I am aware of in terms of the content analysis of military magazines in South Africa. This is the gap that I have strived to fill in this study in order to contribute to the larger body of knowledge and possibly lay the foundation for future studies to be pursued.

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[46]Taylor, P. M (2002). 'Perception Management and the 'War' Against Terrorism'. *Journal of Information Warfare*, 1(3), p 223.
[47]*ibid.,* pp. 223-224.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

The research here represents a strong qualitative element and is situated within a broad functionalist paradigm. The interaction and close interdependence between institutions, policy and media reportage in the military media is recognised.

Denzin and Lincoln argue: "Qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right. It crosscuts disciplines, fields, and subject matter".[48] Qualitative research includes, among others, content analysis of the broad environment of public communication - in this case printed media - and, more specifically, military media in South Africa over a selected period.[49] Content analysis as described by Babbie is the study of recorded human means of communication, which includes books, newspapers and the internet.[50] Either qualitative or quantitative methods may be used in order to analyse the contents of selected media in either a deductive or an inductive method.[51] Qualitative and quantitative approaches may complement each other or merge into a mixed methods approach. In the course of my research I did not deploy the mixed method approach, but publicly available statistics are used to illustrate the argument and augment the presentation of this research narrative.

In this case the choice was made for published materials (thus issues published in hard copy) as all the journals relevant to this study (*Paratus, Salut* and *SA Soldier*) that appeared were distributed in hard copies to all formations, units and mustering of forces). Moreover, during the early period publications (i.e. editions pre- and post-transition for *Paratus* and also *Salute*) were not digitally available at the time, nor have they been transformed into digital editions, following transition and the establishment of the new defence force (SANDF).

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[48]Denzin, N. and Lincoln Y. S. (Eds). (2011). *Qualitative Research* (4th Edition). New Dehli: Sage Publishers, p.3.
[49] As argued by Denzin, N., and Lincoln Y. (2011), p. 530: "In many cases qualitative researchers who use written texts as their materials do not try to follow any predefined protocol in executing their analysis". The implication is clear; many a time the researcher is led by the research process and do not impose preconceived ideas or even a rigid (sub-) discipline on their approach. For this project the above is partially applicable. However the reader will discover that in executing the research here the researcher abided also by standard protocols of qualitative research.
[50] Babbie, E. (2010). *The Practice of Social Research*. (12th edition), Belmont: Wadswort, p 333.
[51]Elo, S., and Kyngas. H. (2007). The Qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* (62)1, p 109.

This particular study takes the form of a descriptive qualitative content analysis and focus on the dominant themes covered in the SA Military magazines over the chosen period, following an inductive method in order to draw conclusions from the observations made about the media content between 1990 and 2010. For the purposes of this qualitative and descriptive study, no statistical analysis was used (hence no complete quantification of data was embarked upon, i.e. on the emerging themes and no use was made of programs such as SPSS for statistical analysis). Where necessary, reference is made to numbers of articles and complimentary illustrative material graphs derived from material consulted are presented throughout the text.

As far as possible, no pre-designed framework was imposed on the qualitative research process. In the process of reading, the investigator/researcher was rather led by the articles published and the themes that emerged as the process progressed. One of the strengths of a qualitative research approach is that it is not regimented but the qualitative data co-leads the researcher to reach his/her findings. In this regard the evolution of the subsequent military magazines could be taken under close scrutiny, again broadly informed by the broad structural functionalist research paradigm.

In view of the large numbers of serial editions of the military magazines under study as chosen units of analysis published during the years 1990 to 2010, as well as the use of older magazines (i.e. *Paratu*s before the unbanning of the liberation movements and the onset of transition) which are used where applicable for illustrative purposes, or for presenting a past/present contrast in magazine content, a choice was made to work with a *capita selecta* rather than scrutinising each and every edition. For this purpose, the use of where necessary to illustrate a change in theme of emphasis between *Paratus,* the magazine preceding and immediately after transition and the post-1990 magazines, *Salut* and *SA Soldier* the *capita selecta approach* added value. To consult each and every edition in detail and include these in the study would be neigh impossible. Other editions were, however scanned through, to ensure a fuller picture.[52] This was done because qualitative research frequently reflects an approach

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[52]*Paratus*, *Salut* and *SA Soldier* appeared since inception eleven times a year (monthly editions) with the twelve edition the annual almanac.

where elements of "inward" looking and "outward" looking are part of the research process and the researcher should be aware of this; doing so further develops a "feeling" for the public mood and debates and its influence on the military media and vice versa. The themes emerging or evolving in the magazines relate closely to outside developments, i.e. public media discussions, political issues raised, during transition and afterwards, in the course of the *transformative state* (a state and society aimed at transformation in race, gender, equity status, etc.). Public debates, parliamentary discussions and policy discussions further had a real or conceivable influence on civil-military relations, the transition from the old order to the new order in the military, and the emergence of new priorities, for example those reflected in the Defence White Paper and the Defence Review Process (1995-1998), later published entitled *Defence in a Democracy* (1998).

Why choose a qualitative research approach in this study? There are a number of reasons:

Qualitative research increasingly covers a broad spectrum.[53] Qualitative research is interested in context or a specific setting or settings. As remarked by Denzin and Lincoln: "Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings … they represent things (to the reader)."[54] In short, qualitative research is a situated activity in which the researcher relays phenomena (in this case the reportage of a range of military magazines on various issues) to his or her audience. The qualitative researcher also attempts to describe phenomena (again in this case the media reportage of successive military magazines in South Africa) and interpret them. In qualitative research one speaks of local understandings.[55] Such understanding applies to, for example, the role, contents, emerging themes and imagery as projected in the media within a certain context, such as the military in a pre-transitional, transitional and transformational setting.

Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of (a variety of) empirical materials which include texts and visual material. The text, as used here, include the

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[53] Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S Lincoln (2011). Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In: Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S Lincoln (Eds). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research,* p.13
[54] *ibid.,* p.3.
[55] *ibid.*

material chosen for the study, but also text written on the chosen materials, for example, accredited articles, chapters in books and books. It is worth mentioning that qualitative research is not limited to any separate discipline but is deployed in many disciplines. Among others, qualitative researchers use content, discourse, archival materials, tables, graphs and numbers and may use statistics, where deemed necessary, as long as these sources provide relevant "insights and knowledge" and add value to the study.[56]

Qualitative researchers are concerned with not only describing but also assisting the reader to comprehend the world or social environment upon which the research focuses – in this case the successive military magazines of the SANDF covering the period 1990 – 2010. The magazines under scrutiny in this study are, in successive order, *Paratus*, *Salut* and *SA Soldier*, and the settings in which they functioned or are functioning.

Like most research, the qualitative research approach begins with a question or questions to be answered. In this case the question relates to the emerging themes in successive military magazines.

To achieve this, the data was collected from selected military magazines covering the chosen period. Only manifest content was dealt with in this study as latent content is beyond the scope of this study. Secondly, the study will make use of inductive content analysis in which the coding and categorisation of data will take place as laid out by Elo and Kyngas[57]. Insights gained from the literature review will be utilised where necessary and add value to this study.

In terms of observing dominant themes, the choice was made to look at the frequency of titles related to standing or emerging themes and not the space occupied by the articles on the topic. The choice was made to explore and scrutinise the topics covered, so, for the purposes of this qualitative descriptive study, the number of columns used or the square centimetres of reporting will not be used. This decision

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[56] Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S Lincoln (2011). Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In: Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S Lincoln (Eds). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, p. 6.
[57] Elo, S., and Kyngas, H. (2007). The Qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing,* 62(1), p 109.

was agreed up by the supervisor and candidate and may be open for criticism, but it is argued that this approach would be practical. Incidentally, the topics observed in the selected issues happened to generally occupy more space than other topics.

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Obtaining ethical clearance in research endeavours is a set requirement in order to abide by the norms and best practice of the social scientific community. No interviews with past or serving SADF/SANDF members were conducted, thus no ethical clearance, or institutional clearance was required.

The publications under study, SADF/SANDF members and other stakeholders, i.e. civil society and local communities were all in the past and present public domain and no classified materials were used. Other sources used relate to academic and research publications related to the study and open-source materials such as the news media.

1.9 DEMARCATION AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is clearly demarcated. It will focus on the main magazines produced by the SA Armed forces between 1990 and 2010. Although this study does not deal with service-orientated magazines, it must be noted that each arm of service in the SA Armed forces also have their own magazines and newsletter.

This study specifically focuses on editions of the magazines, which address the entire armed forces of South Africa during the selected period. These magazines are the *Paratus*, S*alut* and the *SA Soldier*.

The changes in South African society during the early 1990's were brought into being by a political stalemate that developed amidst among strong internal and external pressures. The realisation of the stalemate was followed by a period of tentative talks between the ANC as a banned movement and the incumbent government (the "talks-about-talks" phase). These political initiatives amid a political stalemate created the possibility to normalise South African politics, however risky such actions may have been. The ANC and other banned organisations were unbanned in February 1990. As

some apartheid laws were revoked by the then South African president, F.W. de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, iconic leader of the banned ANC was released from prison in 1990. In this sense, it can be argued that the post- apartheid period started in 1990 and not in 1994. Hence, the study starts off in 1990 due to the change in political atmosphere that occurred within the SA society including the military, as well as the changes that also became more evident in South African society.[58]

Limitations that could be foreseen in the course of the study included the full availability of sources (the availability or otherwise of all successive editions of the relevant magazines) to enable the research process in terms of magazine content analysis. A second challenge was relocation of the researcher at various periods that hampered the smooth continuity of the research project. However, with planning and focus these limitations were minimised and eventually overcome.[59]

1.10 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis will consist of five chapters. The first chapter discusses the background and rationale for the study, methodology of the researcher, the review of scholarly literature and his planned approach for the undertaking of this thesis. This chapter also provides a brief description, or an introduction, to the period covered in the thesis.

The second chapter embarks on the discussion of the *Paratus* magazine from 1990 until 1994 when it changed to the *Salut* magazine. During this time period many changes in the South African society became evident and, even more so, within the nature of the South African Defence Force that would change into the South African National Defence Force. Awareness grew about the coming changes as part of the envisaged political transitions and some reference will be made to this.

The third chapter focuses on the *Salut* magazine from 1993 until 1999, which illustrated another period of deepening change from 1990 onwards. In this chapter, the

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[58]Glad, B., and Blanton, R. (1997). F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela: A Study in Cooperative Transformational Leadership. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 27(3), pp. 565-567. For more changes that was evident in the South African society and its military see the following sources:

[59]Despite planning and attempted management of time, the relocation by the author and his family from the Military Academy at Saldanha to Potchefstroom and the fact that accommodation challenges enforced full relocation on two occasions in Potchefstroom caused some interruptions. Appointment in various positions with different areas of responsibilities further compounded the issue.

transformational period of the post-apartheid government is clearly seen in terms of its policies and the political changes that were negotiated. The change in socio-political scenery, the evolution of new civil-military relations and themes emanating from these, as reported upon in the successive editions of the journal, deserve attention.

The fourth chapter looks at the *SA Soldier* from 2001 until 2010. Within the chapter itself, attention is given to how the racial policies and doctrines of the SANDF changed from that of the SADF. For example, other salient themes emerged related to South African participation within International Peace Support Operations and the growing need to provide prevention and treatment of those affected by HIV/Aids. These all deserve attention.

The fifth chapter will deliberate on the thesis as a whole, in essence providing a summary of all the observations made during the undertaking of this thesis. The chapter concludes by stressing the motivation behind the reporting of the whole period and how it has gradually changed into the format that it presently has. This chapter will provide a brief discussion on the observations and the conclusions reached during the research process. The author also identifies and recommends several potential areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2: PARATUS (1990-1994) CHANGING THE MESSAGE - ON FOUNDATIONS FOR DEMOCRACY AND A NEW MILITARY DISPENSATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and the SACP in early 1990s hailed a new era of transition through negotiation. Talks about talks led to political negotiations between the incumbents of the state and its political contenders[60]. This change from one regime to another, through mostly peaceful means, was described by some as a small miracle. For many, years of committed struggle in tandem with well-planned but nimble changes in political strategy brought about the negotiated constitution.[61] In effect, through a process of a negotiated transition apartheid was ended and the foundations for a constitutional state were laid. Despite numerous setbacks and moments of extreme tension, the country saw an Interim Constitution (1993) and free and fair elections in 1994[62]. In 1996, the Interim Constitution of 1993 was replaced by the new Constitution and the Bill of Rights (Act 108 of 1996).

One can expect *Paratus* to reflect this rather abrupt change in atmosphere with some measure of pragmatism - the latter perhaps inspired by transitional uncertainties and, at times, outright confusion. The ruling ideology of Total Onslaught and the long feared communist enemy (including the imagined Soviet expansion into South Africa) virtually disappeared overnight from the discourse and new political realities loomed, including a new democratic system and an integrated military.

Yet in the tenuous move from what was seen as a previous unchanging – even unthinkable – reality, new uncertainties loomed with a discourse of transition, a past lived and a new one envisioned by contending actors.[63] The editors of the *Paratus* magazine had to feel their way into a new world of reporting. Especially the

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[60] van der Westhuizen, C. (2007). *White Power and the Rise and Fall of the National Party*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, pp.171ff, 211ff.

[61] Modise, T. (2007). Parliamentary oversight of Defence transformation: The South African experience. *ISS Monograph* no 137, pp. 3-4.

[62] Van der Westhuizen, C. (2007). *White Power and the Rise and Fall of the National Party*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, pp.171ff, 211ff.

[63] Political transitions are always marked by deep uncertainties (Van Vuuren, W., and Liebenberg, I. (1998). Government by illusion: The legacy and its implications. In: Schutte, C., Liebenberg, I. and Minnaar, A. (Eds). *The Hidden hand: Covert Operations in South Africa* (Revised edition), pp. 95ff. See also Liebenberg,I. Unconventional intervention during transition, pp.137ff in the same work. Compare also Sisk, Timothy D. (1995). *Democratization in South Africa: The Elusive Social Contract*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 88ff.

uncertainties of changing civil-military relations that called for pragmatism to counteract contradictions and, at times, even confusion. One would suspect that new themes would have developed in how the magazine was to convey the message of change to its readers. In reality, new themes would emerge while other themes would receive less and less attention and eventually disappear from the agenda. The advent of a constitutional state and the effects thereof on civil-military relations and perceptions of the military – in particular the now "old" SADF and the new defence force to take its place – were to play a major role in the reportage by the *Paratus*. *Paratus,* as mouthpiece of the SADF/SANDF, was tasked with the responsibility of communicating the message of farewell to apartheid and minority rule and to welcome a new democratic era and a new defence force.

The tool, namely print media for defence/military purposes that communicated defence issues to the public stakeholders, remained the same, but socio-political change and a new evolving environment with the resultant change in the context of military matters, had to be communicated to the old and the new readership of the military magazine. The researcher had to be acutely aware of this during the research process. Implicitly it meant that the researcher had to immerse him or herself in the media context of the past and present while being aware (or at least take note of) conceivable future developments. Such immersion was necessary to understand context and atmosphere and to convey an understanding of these changes to the reader of the study.

The understanding of the military media's evolving context also required some broader understanding of the political context, past and present within which these changes took place as the reader will discover. For this reason, the changes in approach or the evolution from one magazine to another had to be viewed and understood against the socio-political background that marked a specific era. The reader will observe that references to such political changes and socio-political dynamics (including evolving government policies) are frequently referred to.

This chapter will relate some of these differences in approach between the "old" *Paratus* (1975-1989) and the *Paratus* editions post February 1990.

A *capita selecta* of *Paratus* issues was reviewed while other issues obtained were generally scanned for information. The *capita selecta* included issues for the months of March, July, September and December. Where a copy of the magazine for the identified month was not available that specific issue was substituted by an issue from the following month, i.e. April, August, October and so forth.[64]

2.2 SOME RESEARCH CHALLENGES

This chapter and, to an extent, the whole research project, provided some interesting challenges. One of the challenges for the researcher was to inform himself of the political and military context of the then South Africa, the political sentiments and prevalent world view (including those of the new contenders to the state) and the potential or real effect thereof on the SADF's communication media. In this regard, background reading reflected in the introduction and accompanying footnotes was imperative.

Due to the age of the *Paratus* magazine, several issues accessed through the SANDF Documentation Centre and the library of the South African Military Academy became very brittle and original copies that are complete and in good condition were not always readily available. In some cases good copies were sourced through private collectors, senior colleagues and their friends, or were harvested through solicited sources.[65]

Another pertinent challenge was the accessibility of *Paratus* editions covering the 1970s and 1980s, coupled with the time available for the researcher to accrue these. Due to a change in area of deployment and various time-consuming duties within changing job environments, sources in libraries and archives in Cape Town and Pretoria were geographically relatively far removed and few of the sources were digitally available. Geographic distance and changing deployment responsibilities did not allow the researcher to spend extended time *in loco* at these institutions. The same applied to the Documentation Centre of the SANDF housed in Pretoria.

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[64] The same approach in choosing issues for *Salut*, to be discussed in the next chapter, was followed.
[65] The *Salut* magazine to be discussed in the next chapter also presented similar problems.

It was decided to make a *capita selecta* from available editions of *Paratus* in the South African Military Academy Library and South African Defence Force Documentation Centre from the 1980s and from editions that could be sourced from persons that had access to these during the 1970s and early 1980s.This took some time but was successfully accomplished.

2.3 SELECTION OF EDITIONS

This *capita selecta* covers editions between February 1990 and March 1994. Yet, note had to be taken of pre-1990 editions to assist the researcher to form a broader social collage or understanding of the past role of *Paratus* i.e. by consulting some early issues that appeared between 1975 and 1989. The reason for the choice of the period February 1990 to March 1994 and the consultation of earlier editions was the following:

The 1970s (especially 1972 onwards when the State Security Council [SSC] was established and the ideology of Total Onslaught started to gain momentum) marked the era in which South Africa experienced increased political upheavals aimed at the system of minority rule. South Africa also extensively entered the military scene on the African continent between 1975 and 1988 through, among others, the by then illegal military occupation of Namibia and regular military forays into Angola, ostensibly to eliminate the armed wing of the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO), the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). Throughout this period the South African government aggressively projected its military power into southern Africa with Angola, (northern) Namibia and Mozambique bearing the brunt. Simultaneously, inside the country, states of emergency reflected hard-handed measures that were mirror-imagined in an aggressive foreign policy and militarist projection. The final withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia took place in 1989.

2.4 CHANGING POLITICAL CONTEXTS: PAST AND PRESENT MEET

In South Africa, the ideology of Total Onslaught was in full swing during the 1970s and

1980s.[66] Apart from its ideological insistence on separate development (apartheid)[67], Pretoria took a cue from the pervasive Cold War discourse, which suited the ruling regime as the preservation of the minority state could now be coupled to a Total Onslaught waged by Communism, especially the Soviet Union against (white) South Africa. The State Security Council (SSC) was established in 1972**.**[68] After that date South Africa's government mobilised its military forces to fight a perceived Total Onslaught from Communist China, but especially from the Soviet Union, which was viewed as a major exporter of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism worldwide and into Africa ,*inter alia* threatening South Africa (read: Pretoria). As Leonard[69] argues "a shift has taken place in South Africa: The government anchored police repression (became) a government anchored by military power". He continues that "the extent of the militarisation was reflected in legislation". In this atmosphere the Total Onslaught discourse and resultant militarisation of South African politics bloomed.[70]

With the Cold War in full swing, white South Africa chose to align itself with the West. Traditionally South Africa's previous governments found themselves "naturally" within the ambit of the Western World. During the First World War, South Africa, as a British dominium, fought with the Allied Forces (Britain, France and later the USA). In active support for Britain, South African forces did not only fight in Europe but also in African theatres such as German South West Africa (later South West Africa, today

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[66]On Total Onslaught as an ideological tool and mobilising concept consult Seegers, A. (1996). *The Military in the Making of Modern South Africa*. London: I B Taurus Publishers, pp. 164, 175-176, 186-187, 249-250, 306; Van der Westhuizen, C. (2007). *White Power and the Rise and Fall of the National Party*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, pp. 109; Dale, R. *The Namibian War of Independence, 1966-1989: Diplomatic, Economic and Military Campaigns*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, pp 51, 102, 121, 130; Liebenberg, I. Transition from authoritarian rule to democracy in Manganyi, C. Liebenberg, I and Potgieter, T. (Eds). (2013). *South Africa and Romania: Transition to Democracy and Changing Security Paradigms*. Durban: Just Done Productions and Publishing, pp.25ff; Liebenberg, I. (2013). The Arms Industry Civil Military relations and Reform in South Africa in Manganyi, C. Liebenberg, I and Potgieter, T. (Eds). (2013). *South Africa and Romania: Transition to Democracy and Changing Security Paradigms*. Durban: Just Done Productions and Publishing, pp. 241ff.

[67] The terms apartheid and separate development would later be replaced by the term Reform. In reality the new discourse of reform retained the separation of races and saw an increase in centralisation of government (van Zyl Slabbert, F. *The Last White Parliament*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers 72ff;

[68] Seegers, A. pp.161. Liebenberg, I. (1990). *Ideologie in Konflik*. Emmerentia: Taurus Publications, pp.106ff; Frankel, P. H. (1984). *Pretoria's Praetorians: Civil-Military Relations in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p 128, p 147, p 105-106; Liebenberg, I and De Wet, F. (2012). Militarised politics, economic consequences and the implosion of state legitimacy under apartheid. In: Potgieter, T and Liebenberg, I. (Eds). *Reflections on War: Preparedness and Consequences*. Stellenbosch: Sun Media, pp.69-71.

[69] Leonard, R. (1983). *South Africa at War*. National Book Printers: Cape Town, p 3.

[70] Compare also Cock, The role of violence in current state security strategies in Swilling M. (1990).*Views on the South African State* p. 87.See especially the quote by Cock: "This type of conflict has involved the process of militarisation. Militarisation is defined here as a social process that involves the mobilisation of resources for war at political, economic and ideological levels. The SADF as institution has played a crucial part in this mobilisation" (Cock, 199): 87)

Namibia)[71], German East Africa and saw deployment in Madagascar.

During the Second World War the Union of South Africa aligned itself once again with Britain and hence France and later the USA.[72] The white population was deeply divided about the Second World War. Some supported Britain, some Germany and some favoured neutrality. South Africa entered the war on the side of the Allied forces in 1939 after a stormy debate and dramatic vote in Parliament. After the Second World War the Union remained committed to a coalition of the Allied Forces as the Cold War escalated. The South African Air Force partook in the Berlin Airlift in 1948 as tensions escalated between the "West" and the Warschau Pact led by the Soviet Union.[73]

It was no small wonder that South Africa likewise participated in the coalition of the willing spearheaded by the USA in the Korean War.[74] This alignment, however becoming more complex, remained after South Africa became an independent white ruled republic on the 31st of May 1961. The South African Defence Force (the former Union Defence Force), as the defender of apartheid South Africa, was rearming itself. From 1972 onwards this phenomenon strengthened. South Africa's invasion of Angola during the middle 1970s on the side of Unita and the FNLA pro-Western rebel movements which had covert USA support, is well known. Operation Savannah lasted from middle of 1975 until March 1976 when South Africa was forced to withdraw from Angola after Cuban intervention and strong international opinion against the invasion within the United Nations General Assembly, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), a collection of newly independent and developing states, mainly situated in what can be described as the "South".

Internally resistance against apartheid policies increased with the Soweto uprising (1976) as an example. After initial peaceful resistance against apartheid during the

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[71] McGregor, G and Goldbeck, M. (2014). *The First World War in Namibia*. Windhoek. Gondwana Publishers, pp. 8-9. See also Gerald L'Ange. (1991). *Urgent Imperial Service: South African Forces in German West Africa, 1914-1915*. Rivonia: Ashanti Publishers. For a broad background to foreign policy between 1910 and 1970, see Geldenhuys, D. (1984). *The Diplomacy of Isolation: South Africa's Foreign Policy Making.*10ff, 33ff, 43ff.

[72] Orpen, N. (1968). *East African and Abyssinian Campaigns*. Cape Town. Purnell and Sons, pp. vii, 1-2. See also Steyn, H., Van der Walt, R. and Van Loggerenberg, J. (2003). *Armament and Disarmament: South Africa's Nuclear Weapons Experience*. Pretoria: Network Publishers, p. 17.

[73] Wessels, A. (2012). The South African Air Force, 1920-2012: A review of its history and cultural heritage, *Scientia Militaria*, 40(3), pp. 230.

[74] See Liebenberg, I. (2014). An integral part of Pretoria: The Story of the South African Air Force, 1920-2014. *Africana Yearbook*, No. 31, p. 11.

1950s, culminating in the Defiance Campaign and the eventual banning of the ANC, PAC and SACP who then elected for an armed struggle, some relative calm arrived. But internal peace was predictably temporary. Smaller incidences of resistance took place such as the bus boycotts in Natal during 1972 and 1973. The 1976 uprising came as a shock when students, initially in Soweto and later countrywide, rebelled against the Afrikaans language policy of the apartheid government.

Post 1976 resistance escalated inside the country. Outside the borders, tensions were to increase. Since 1966, South Africa had engaged SWAPO in Namibia, according to its previous mandate. Times were changing. After international political contestation, Namibia was seen as a territory illegally occupied by South Africa. South Africa's activities against SWAPO and cross-border operation/interventions in Angola increased. The Total Onslaught zeal was to contribute to the militarisation of state and society,[75] increasing repression in South African and military projection into southern Africa, with Angola bearing the brunt.

Only after the military stalemate at the Cuito Cuanavale, Lomba River and Tumpo Triangle battles was SA finally forced to withdraw from Angola; Resolution 435 was implemented and Namibia became independent. Inside the country increased repression during the 1980s led to states of emergency as resistance escalated. Despite the implementation of the Tricameral Parliament that excluded black South Africans but nominally included coloured people and Asian South Africans[76], the internal resistance and increased international pressures led to the unbanning of the liberation movements in 1990; and the transition from authoritarian rule to constitutional democracy took place through a lengthy negotiated transition (1991 – 1996). With the political transition came the transition of the SADF as a security institution defending a minority rule towards a more inclusive military serving a democratic state and the SADF was renamed the South African National Defence

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[75] See Frankel, (1984), pp.29ff. Authors such as Frankel (see before) and Grundy, K W. (1988) in his *The Militarization of South African Politics* (Oxford: University Press) describe the phenomenon of militarisation in detail. Consult again Seegers (1996), pp.161ff and Liebenberg (1990), pp. 114ff.

[76] Heribert Adam aptly refers to the apartheid reforms as "modernizing racial domination" in his work *Modernization of Racial Domination: The Dynamics of South African Politics* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1971). In a later work co-authored with Kogila Moodley entitled *South Africa without Apartheid: Dismantling Racial Domination* (1986. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman), the issue of power centralisation together with (sham-) reform during the 1970s and 1980s is further expanded on.

Force.[77]

Thus, in 1989, South Africa found itself torn between two worlds. Firstly, the decline of the USSR which led to the decline of Communism, along with the fall of the Berlin Wall, brought about a new political situation. Secondly, the withdrawal from Angola and the negotiated settlement in South Africa between former enemies brought about a fundamentally different environment. Therefore, the role of the SADF was questioned by civil society as there was no longer a war to fight, hence the new rationale of the SADF and the new constitution, which resulted in the SANDF involvement with peace support operations in the latter 1990's.

The *capita selecta* of editions of *Paratus* used before 1990 in this chapter thus covers the period of the rise of the Total Onslaught mentality, South Africa's militarisation, increased centralisation of power in SA and the period of increased aggression in southern Africa, but especially in Namibia (no longer a mandate of SA but internationally by the UN defined as illegally occupied), and more or less permanent forays into Angola, which by now was an independent state albeit infused with conflict which represented elements of a civil war. The above served as a useful background to this study. It is also relevant to take note that five competing paradigms (as Venter[78], observed) existed when looking at the conflict, especially the border war. He identifies the following broad viewpoints or paradigms found in the literature of the conflict during the 1970s and 1980s:

His conceptual framework allows for (1) the defence of the RSA against the Total Onslaught;(2) the liberal critique against the total onslaught discourse (3) the viewpoint that the ANC (and by implication SWAPO) was the main liberation movement and the conflict should be viewed against this background (4) the technocratic but sympathetic analysis towards the RSA and SADF and (5) a radical critical point of departure

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[77] For more detail on the transition from apartheid military to a military in defence of a democracy consult Rupiya, M (Ed). (2005). *Evolutions and Revolutions: A Contemporary History of Militaries in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies (ISS), pp.235-268. See also Nathan, L. (1994). *The Changing of the Guard: Armed Forces and Defence Policy in a Democratic South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers. Ferreira, R. (2013). South Africa: From the Apartheid Army to a Post-Apartheid Defence Force in Manganyi, C. Liebenberg, I and Potgieter, T. (Eds). (2013). *South Africa and Romania: Transition to Democracy and Changing Security Paradigms*. Durban: Just Done Productions and Publishing, pp. 123-136 is also relevant.

[78] Venter, A. (2009). Mededingende Politieke Paradigmas oor die Grens Oorlog 1966-1989. *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, 34(1), pp. 36-56.

deconstructing the Total Onslaught and Total Counter Strategy discourse and specifically the assumption that a "communist" inspired onslaught backed by a power hungry USSR. Venter points towards the value and weaknesses of each paradigm.[79] For the purposes of the research here, the researcher took note of the above. However the research approach and resultant analysis here are not situated within anyone of these paradigms. What is relevant is that the government media, including the military media operated within the first paradigm, namely the belief in a Total Onslaught at the time. In so far as the analysis of the themes identified in *Paratus* before 1990 this had to be kept in mind, although this study is situated within a overarching functionalist perspective.

The number of *Paratus* editions selected and analysed were 16 editions in total dated from 1990 until March 1994. The months of March, July, September and December was chosen and, where necessary, substituted by a subsequent month as mentioned above. Working through this selection to obtain data for this chapter provided a thorough reflection of the apartheid's military rise over a decade of increasing aggressive politics inside and outside a country, where internal and external politics became mirror images of each other.

One expects that to some degree these political and military sentiments of the time would be reflected in *Paratus* and so deserved attention in this research project.

The following dominant themes emerged during scrutiny of the selected editions. Predictably, the themes that emerged in *Paratus* were different from those in *Salut* and *SA Soldier*. The dominant themes that surfaced in the 16 editions of *Paratus* during the gathering of data are discussed here.

2.5 STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTER

Firstly, the selection of the themes encountered and discussed in the chapter is outlined. Secondly, the researcher examines in depth the themes as they have

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[79] Venter, A. (2009). Mededingende Politieke Paradigmas oor die Grens Oorlog 1966-1989. *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, 34(1), pp. 36-56.

emerged with illustrative examples. Figures are used to illustrate the dominance of certain themes over others. The last section of the chapter deals with the findings that will be drawn upon from the earlier parts of the chapter, in essence, a summary.

In addition to this, it must also be noted that in order to provide a thorough understanding of the evolutionary path of the *Paratus* magazine to the *SA Soldier*, it will be necessary to include some relevant examples from the 1970s in order to place the magazine in the appropriate historical context. This will also in essence distinguish not only the dominant themes between the 1970s of the *Paratus* and the 1990s, but will also evidently reflect the political changes and the agenda of the military media under discussion. Between the two eras there are stark differences in the compilation of articles and style of reporting, along with the change in media agenda settings.

The importance of the inclusion of referencing of the *Paratus* back to the 1970s relates to a time when South Africa was involved with internal insurrection and a period of general unrest due to the political climate at both the domestic and external fronts, because of apartheid policies. The earlier presence in the collective memory of the Afrikaner government and its followers of the ever present so called "Swart Gevaar" (the Black threat) and the growing "Rooi Gevaar" (or Red threat: the danger of the supposed Communist Onslaught) also played a role. With both these threat perspectives intertwined, the apartheid government was fully convinced they would face a black communist threat. In this state of mind (some may say collective thinking or groupthink, thus a perspective that develops without questioning the prevalent thinking or political consensus among the political elite of the ruling state) the political elite believed that the best way to counter this threat would be by means of segregating and having some form of control over the black people in South Africa. These are some of the factors that would be taken into consideration during the transitional period's negotiations. Hence the reference to former *Paratus* editions provides an important setting to the broader research theme.

2.6 SELECTION OF THEMES

The same approach and the criteria for inclusion in the analysis phase of the thesis have been followed with all of the subsequent chapters in this thesis covering the subsequent magazines, namely *Salut* and *SA Soldier*.

This chapter, like the rest of the chapters that follow, will look at the emerging themes manifested in the different magazines during the 1990-2010 period. However, in this particular chapter focus and attention is given to the discussion of the *Paratus* magazine between 1990 and 1994. References are occasionally made, where necessary, to illustrate the evolutionary change in the themes observed during the 1970s. The selection criteria for inclusion in the chapter are the following:

a. A theme should feature at least more than once in any given month of the magazine.

b. Mainly articles written by journalists were considered as opposed to letters and more personal correspondence.

c. Media reports featured that were directly related to the context and period of activities, thus specific topics raised within the media setting.

In some cases, themes that manifested in the magazine over a specific time period might not be considered dominant, but they had to be considered due to the relevance and context of the message within that specific period. Examining various themes and topical issues raised assisted in observing the evolution of reporting, the agendas deployed and the general appearance of the magazine.

2.7 DOMINANT THEMES THAT SURFACED

The main themes that emerged from the 16 editions that surfaced in the *capita selecta* of the *Paratus* magazine over the 1990-1994 periods are the following:

    a.   Disability

    b.   Combat readiness and public safety, civil unrest

    c.   Environmental conservation

    d.   Humanitarian aid

    e.   Religion as a means of mobilisation and conciliation

    f.   Role of women in the SA Military

    g.   The Total Onslaught as portrayed in the *Paratus* Magazine

    h.   Downscaling of the Defence Force and question of future roles

2.8 DISABILITY

In *Paratus* issues before 1990 not much attention was given to the disabled, presumably not to draw too much attention to losses and injuries incurred during the border war. A supplement to *Paratus,* however, mentioned that a mining firm on the Rand was offering to sponsor the further education of a national serviceman who lost the use of both arms in the operational area.[80] Certainly during the 1990s reportage on this issue increased.

During November 1990, a statue that portrayed a wounded soldier assisted by a comrade was unveiled at 1 Military Hospital in Pretoria. This statue served to recognise the dedication and sacrifices that were made by living soldiers, who had become disabled in course of services rendered in their execution of duties for South Africa. The statue is named the 'Curamus' statue.[81]

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[80] Supplement to *Paratus*, April 1977, p. 1.
[81] Barnard, L. (1990). Gestremdes se offers erken. *Paratus*, November, p 16.

Figure 1: The Curamus statue unveiled at 1 Military Hospital during 1990.[82]

The article even informed the reader that artificial limbs could be ordered to meet the affected disabled person's needs. The article further states that 1 Military Hospital in Pretoria has an orthopaedics department that provides opportunities and facilities to make recovery and rehabilitation easier for those born with disabilities or who were disabled during the border war.[83] Hence, those disabled in operational duties or other related injuries, are provided with another chance in life as this article illustrated.[84]

Figure 2: A Captain from the Orthopaedic department busy working on an artificial limb for fitting.[85]

Another article pertaining to disabled peoples in the SADF, dealt with a civilian member working at 3 SAI Bn who was working as a switch board operator. Initially he

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[82] Barnard, L. (1990). Gestremdes se offers erken. *Paratus*, November, p 16.

[83] The *Border War* as known in local parlance lasted from 1966 to 1989. Members of the permanent force, conscripted soldiers and citizen force members were wounded and many disabled during this period. Waves of publications, mostly from the "old" SADF's perspective appear with a minority of current publications telling the "broader story" of this war. On the border war see for example, Richard Dale. (2014). *The Namibian War of Independence 1966-1989: Diplomatic, Economic and Military Campaigns*. Jefferson: MacFarland & Company. A recent publication edited by Ian Liebenberg, Jorge Risquet and Vladimir Shubin, (2015). *A Far Away War: Angola, 1975-1989*. Stellenbosch: Sun Media contains an exhaustive list of publications related to this war.

[84] Snyman, A. (1991). Ledemate op bestelling. *Paratus*, October, p 23.

[85] *Ibid.*

had struggled to use the personal computer, but later got used to the interface which enabled him to work efficiently, despite the challenges he faced.[86]

Disability in the line of duty during the period while serving South Africa in the security services was seen as a sacrifice second only to death. These images were clearly portrayed in the magazine of the time. The message, simply, was: "we care about 'our' disabled members".

Disabilities, in general, featured eighteen times in the total of sixteen *Paratus* magazines. These articles ranged from artificial limbs and the making thereof, to the Curamus statute that was erected. Amongst other special mentions were those regarding the workplace re-adaptations that were made in order to make life easier for those affected with disabilities (to improve quality of life following disability, for example, by making buildings accessible for disabled people working for the defence force).

2.9 COMBAT READINESS, PUBLIC SAFETY AND CIVIL UNREST

Internal unrest was a common phenomenon during the transitional period and many people were aware of it, having observed such instances, even experienced it, or had seen others experiencing this in their social environment. Numerous times the SADF was portrayed in the magazine as having restored public order, together with the *South African Police* (SAP) in sectors that experienced unrest. At the time unrest was a common occurrence as there was a rivalry between different political factions such as the Inkatha Movement (later *Inkatha Freedom Party* [IFP]) and the ANC/PAC that were unbanned.

Third force activities by rogue units such as the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) or as known in Afrikaans as *Burgerlike Samewerkingsburo* (BSB) also contributed to violence, the stirring up of distrust within communities and revenge attacks.[87] The existence of these units however, was not known to the public before the story broke

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[86] McCallum, K. (1991). Talking Computer for Blind Switchboard Operator. *Paratus*, October, p 35.
[87] Schutte, C., Liebenberg, I. (Eds). (1998). *The Hidden Hand: Covert Operations in South Africa* (revised edition). Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.

in the media and later was touched upon in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (SATRC). In the military media however, the South African military was portrayed as the keepers of peace and defenders of communities wherever violence may have occurred.

The SADF's tasks during the transitional period of 1990 to 1994 along with that of the National Peace Keeping Force (NKPF), were to maintain good order and prevent outright civil war amongst factions within South Africa, who had grudges to solve with former combatants or to gain influence in rural, sub-rural and urban spaces.

It was emphasised that the cooperation between the then SAP and the SADF during the 1985 and 1986 uprisings the SADF/SANDF provided valuable support in terms of safety during the transition period between the 1990s and 1994. This link was carried through in later reporting. An article written in 1992 elaborates upon this by stating the SAPS could not have maintained national order without the help of the SADF during the transition.[88]

Figure 3: SADF bringing order to chaos in the early 1990's during the transitional period.[89]

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[88] Anon. (1993). Eenheid in sy aan sy optrede. *Paratus*, December, p 11.
[89] van de Venter, A. (1990). Die SAW bring kalmte na onlustigheid. *Paratus*, July, p 11.

In line with the view that the SADF at the time could still be viewed as a combat ready force, attention given to the military show in Pretoria show that illustrated the capabilities of the SADF. Amongst some of the items on display was the ZT3 anti-tank missile which had much greater penetration than its other global competitors. The ZT3 missile was one of the many products South African manufactured during the period of sanctions against apartheid South Africa.[90]

Figure 4: The ZT3 Locally Manufactured Anti-Tank Guided Missile (ATGM)[91]

In September 1990, the Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, delivered a speech where he stated that the SADF would not sit idly by whilst elements in South African society wanted to disrupt the peace talks. The SADF as institution to protect South African citizens was impartial, he said. The SADF served the people of South Africa, and therefore, all South Africans were represented by the SADF. [92]

Another article declared that the SADF was above political disputes and served the citizens of South African (See 'Die SAW is verhewe bo politiek').[93] The article not only portrayed the SADF as being politically impartial, but also attempted to illustrate that an uncertain future would exist if not for the sacrifices of the SADF.

In September 1993, a number of articles bore witness to the transitional violence at Tzaneen. One article explained that the purpose of the force being deployed was not to oppress the population, nor to fight against any specific faction. The main reason for deployment was to facilitate a reasonable degree of law and order so that the police can carry on with normal policing duties. Without the SADF being deployed in order to

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[90] Barnard, L. (1990). Pretoria skou bewys: SAW versker die toekoms. *Paratus*, September, p 4.
[91] Anon. nd. ZT3 Ingwe Anti-tank Guided Missle. http://www.military-today.com/missiles/ingwe.htm. (Accessed 05 August 2016).
[92] Nel, C. (1990). SADF will not watch with folded arms. *Paratus*, September, p 6.
[93] Anon, (1990). SA Weermag verhewe bo politiek. *Paratus*, Julie, p 63.

facilitate this said order, it was questionable if the police had the capacity to create such conditions it was argued.[94]
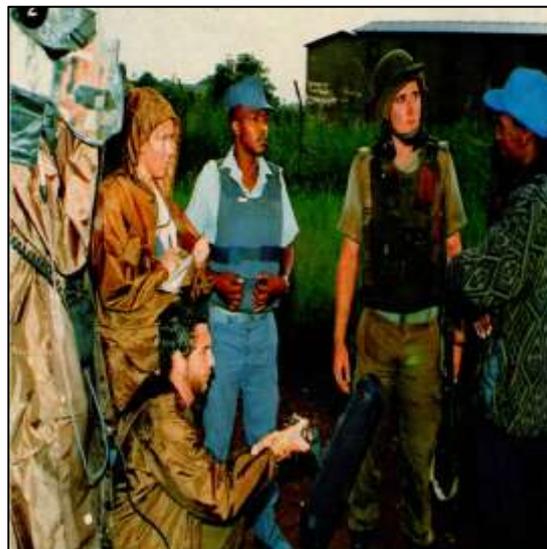
Figure 5a: A SADF convoy of Samil 20 Personnel carriers' on route to stem the violence on the East Rand. [95]
b. The SAPS operating alongside the SADF in order to bring order to chaos on the East Rand.[96]

The SADF had, had a rather bumpy relationship with the non-establishment media during the time of the Border War and even less so with the international media for understandable reasons. This also held true with people inside South Africa as many politically alienated (black) people viewed the military as an extension of the minority state. Later in the war, with growing internal tensions, the SADF made some effort to allow the media, under guidance, to write articles about military actions while simultaneously some of the information was still censored. Apart from legislation that imposed what could and what could not be published[97], some media imposed self-censorship on themselves. In the case of the Afrikaans media, forms of self-censorship occurred as a result to media loyalty to the regime. The Afrikaans media also found itself within the paradigm of the Total Onslaught discourse as identified by Venter.[98] SADF members who themselves took part in operations where also not allowed to

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[94] Thiart, G. (1993). Geweld moet gestuit word. *Paratus*, September, p 11.
[95] Thiart, G. (1993). Geweld moet gestuit word. *Paratus*, September, p 10.
[96] De Kock, M. (1994). Buffer teen Geweld. *Paratus*, March, pp. 24-26.
[97] On media regulations and censorship see for example John Dugard on restrictions on the media and freedom of speech (1978): 146ff (Dugard, J. (1978). *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order,* Princeton University Press: New Jersey. On repressive law, see Hund and van der Merwe H W. (1986). *Legal Ideology and Politics in South Africa*. Creda Press: Cape Town.
[98] Venter, A. (2009). Mededingende Politieke Paradigmas oor die Grens Oorlog 1966-1989. *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, 34(1), pp. 36-56.

share any information on objectives, strength or numerical superiority or tactics or losses, the reasons given for this being "state security"). Likewise journalists visiting the operation areas were strictly prescribed as to what may be published or not.

As background to the situation on what may be published or not (mostly not) one has to understand that the security-minded state in South Africa had a plethora of laws in place to curb the free flow of information on all levels of society. For example, Section 3(2) of the Official Secrets Act of 1956 amended in 1965, 1969 and 1972, limited access to any information on matters military and security. The Defence Act of 1957 and amended by Act No 85 of 1967 further limited any reportage of things military by individuals or the media and thus in fact allowed only the state to control the distribution of any information on the military in all respects.[99] The National Supplies Procurement Amendment Act (No 73 of 1979) and the National Key Points Act (No 102 of 1980) further strengthened any reporting on developments around security and supply. Apart from the above acts the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 as amended in 1965 and the Internal Security Act of 1976 further entrenched the system of press control. The state, for all practical purposes, from 1950 developed towards becoming the sole controller of and dissemination of information, and this impacted society at the time particularly those belonging to, related to or in any way associated with security issues. As can be observed, the control over media increased progressively as the perceived threat to state increased under the ideology of Total Onslaught. No wonder tensions between the media and state and the security institutions of the state, including the military, became visible.

Notwithstanding for the tense relationship between the military and the free press, the military submitted information to the press to report on. The Defence Act of 1957, also ensured that the media was prevented from reporting on all military related matters including operations unless the information was not supplied by the military.[100] Scholtz, argues that the reasons for these tensions were two-fold. Firstly, the media wanted to report on matters from their own point of view, as they wanted to have an independent view. Secondly, the military believed not only that the media was likely to distrust the

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[99] Horrel, M. (1982). *Race Relations as Regulated by Law in South Africa, 1948-1979*. Johannesburg: SAIRR, pp. 253-254.

[100] Scholtz, L. (1998). The Media and the military: Allies or Adversaries? *Scientia Militaria*, 28(2), p 245.

military, but that the military needed to maintain operational security and that the media did not report "correctly" on military matters.[101]

The SADF faced these challenges during the transition period to the SANDF in that it now had to cater to a free media that was no longer as restricted as before. Members from the media were allowed to go with on operations. However, they had to be escorted by military personnel trained in media relations. The rationale for this was quite simply that the military still wanted protect itself to some extent from the media and retain the capacity to influence reporting and thus themselves shape the public views on military matters, instead of the media.

During the time period of the *Paratus* magazine from 1990 until 1994, this fluid situation somewhat changed. The majority of the media community, critical of one-sided minority rule, including the new Tricameral system, was still sceptical in terms of the role that SADF was playing in maintaining peace and stability within South Africa. The media from the SADF side, however, attempted to change negative perceptions by attempting to broaden media coverage to the public i.e., by pointing out the good cooperation between the SADF and the SAP.

The total amount of articles on combat readiness, and civil unrest during 1990 to 1994 mostly pertained to border security and civil unrest in townships, due to the changing political climate. The articles were 13 in total, of which at least 5 of them dealt with township violence. Articles on combat readiness dealt with field exercises that were held.

2.10 ENVIRONMENT AND CONSERVATION

Environmental issues and conservation featured frequently not only in the *Paratus* from the 1990s, but also in those prior to 1990. As far back as 1978 a supplement in Paratus carried an article on the front page about conservation entitled, "All ranks enthuse over SADF's conservation drive." The article stated that "The SADF, realising the urgent need to conserve South Africa's natural environment, was well advanced in

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[101] Scholtz, L. (1998). The Media and the military: Allies or Adversaries? *Scientia Militaria*, 28(2), p 239.

the implementation of a comprehensive conservation programme. The prime aim was to restore and maintain the natural balance between the indigenous fauna and flora in all areas where the SADF is present".[102] As "fine examples" of such initiatives the supplement showed the Roodewal bombing range used by the South African Air Force (SAAF), Greefswald, a training area, Air Force Base Hoedspruit.[103] Nothing, however, was mentioned about, for example, Riemvasmaak in Northern Cape Province where a training area was dedicated to infantry but also combined operations or any other areas such as missile testing ranges in the southern Cape Province.

Among the articles that were written from 1990 onwards a diversity of different elements of environmental conservation were dealt with.

During March 1990, an article dealt with the "Broodboom", and illustrated a specific tree that was older than 400 years of age. Not only was the Combat Training Centre a Military Training Centre of Excellence, but as the former Commandant Murphy said, it should be of such a nature that when soldiers come to do training that they would appreciate nature even more that they did before venturing there. Former plant species that had been endangered in the area would also once again be planted to make the environment sustainable.[104]

During July 1990, in conjunction with civilian co-operation, the Commandment Western Province launched a project to clear wetlands in the Cape Town area that were full of rubbish and being used as a dumping area by the public. The purpose of this project was also to educate the public regarding environmental conservation.[105]

Articles were also written that dealt with animals on military bases as well. An example of that was that of a Blue crane bird that was donated to 97 Ammunition Depot in De Aar during 1990. These types of articles, although focussed on conservation, were conversational in nature, and often included some elements of humour.[106]

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[102] Supplement to *Paratus*. July 1978, p. 1
[103] *Ibid.*
[104] van Staden, C. (1990). Veel meer as net dophou van wild. *Paratus*, March, p 39.
[105] Hattingh, C. (1990). Skoonste Kaap kry hupstoot. *Paratus*, July, p 13.
[106] Botes, M. (1990). Tysie 'n doring op rugbyveld. *Paratus*, September, p 37.

Figure 5: Tysie the Blue Crane donated to 97 Ammunition Depot after a rugby practice.[107]

On numerous occasions the SADF could be seen responding to either a current environmental threat or a possible future one. In December 1991, an aviation fuel spillage from Air Force Base Waterkloof found its way into the local municipal storm water system, thus posing a serious threat to the environment. Grass and plants that were contaminated had to be removed, while the aviation fuel was removed from the water system. Luckily, there existed no risk of a potential ignition of the fuel, owing to its high ignition resistance. The aviation fuel that was on the surface was soaked up with absorptive material and that underneath were sucked up with hoses.[108] The purpose of the report was to show the concern of the SANDF community about pollution and that the institution had taken immediate action to mediate the problem.

Another initiative that received a lot of attention from the *Paratus* during the later years of its existence was that of articles that dealt with nature reserves on Military Bases. An example was the nature reserves at Air Force Bases at Hoedspruit and Langebaanweg. Whilst   AFB Hoedspruit had antelope such as kudu, rhino, giraffe, etc. AFB Langebaanweg had fynbos, duikers, tortoises and other assorted smaller animal and plant life.[109] AFB Overberg, also known as Test Flight Development Centre or TFDC, had a great many sorted variety of turtles, fynbos etc.[110]

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107 Botes, M. (1990). Tysie 'n doring op rugbyveld. *Paratus*, September, p 37.
108 Thiart, G. (1991). Natuurramp afgeweer: vliegtuigbrandstof in stormwaterstelse. *Paratus*, December, p 10.
109 Thiart, G. (1993). Tussen die blinkblaar en die garriebos. *Paratus*, March, pp. 34-35.
110 Anon, (1993). Fyntjies trap. *Paratus*, July, pp 50-54.

One of the notable articles during this time also dealt with a short speech from the Minister of Defence, Wynand Breytenbach, stating that the future focus should shift in the environmental services from conservation towards a sustainable military ecology. So that even though the military had areas dedicated to training, it should be of such a nature that it could easily shift towards other uses.[111] Later when Wynand Breytenbach became the Deputy Minister of Defence and Environmental Affairs, he handed over the farm Greefswald, that was used as a training area, to the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA). Wynand Breytenbach also stipulated that the Defence Force had land at its disposal for training and that the SADF tried to maintain the training grounds to what conservation and ecological needs dictated. Surplus land was also addressed.

An article stated that the SADF had handed over 110 former training grounds to the Department of Public Works and for environmental conservation in the form of nature reserves.[112] Hence, it was argued that not only did the SADF attempt to conserve the environment, but had also made land available for further developments following the transition.

Riemvasmaak was a training area for SADF Units from the 1970s comprised of 74,563ha. The land was reallocated to the original inhabitants during the early 1990's.[113] The land is located 160km from Upington in the Northern Cape. Riemvasmaak was only one of many instances where land was handed back to the original inhabitants who had been removed from the land.

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[111] De Kock, M. (1992). Terwille van bewaring. *Paratus*, July, p 26.
[112]De Kock, M. (1993). Roete oop gemaak vir Groot Vyf. *Paratus*, September, pp 50-51.
[113] O' Neil, L. (2007). Riemvasmaak Community Land Settlement, Agreements, treaties and negotiated settlements project. *http://www.atns.net.au/agreement.asp?EntityID=4229* (Accessed 09 August 2016). A Hectare as a unit of measure comprises of a 10km x 10km square area.

Figure 6: An Aerial photograph of the former Riemvasmaak training area used by SADF from 1970 to 1995.[114]

Within the 1990 to 1994 period of *Paratus* magazine, of the 16 articles selected, 14 dealt with environmental conservation. The bulk comprised of animal and wildlife conservation. The least amount of articles (3 in total) pertained to land resettlement of which Riemvasmaak served as an example.

2.11 HUMANITARIAN AID

During the same period, but even more so during the 1990s, *Paratus* magazine had many references pertaining to humanitarian aid. *Humanitarian aid is that assistance provided in part or whole which alleviates human suffering.* Provisions of foodstuffs, airlifting flood victims or disaster assistance were all dealt with in this particular section.

During 1991, South Africa assisted Malawi , as a neighbouring state with humanitarian aid. Malawi had encountered a flood and the SAAF provided support by airlifting the affected and provided foodstuffs as well. Along with this, the engineers also helped to restore the condition of the roads after the heavy flooding.[115]*Paratus* reported on this in some detail.

Another instance of aid relief was when a Mr Meyer, one of the members on Marion island that is used as a weather station, had a heart attack and needed urgent medical

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[114] Anon. Riemvasmaak van bo, SADF.info, *http://sadf.info/8SAIRiemvasmaak.html*. (Accessed 08 August 2016).
[115] Forbes, S. (1991). SADF lends a hand: Malawi assisted after floods. *Paratus*, June, pp. 24-25.

attention. Without a proper landing strip, it was out of the question to use an aircraft. Therefore, it was decided to send the SAS Drakensberg, the replenishment ship of the South African Navy (SAN).[116] On another occasion, the SAAF dropped supplies to the members at the weather station on Marion Island as well as a hydro station that enabled the members to monitor the weather all the way from Port Elizabeth.[117] Therefore, the SAAF in particular, can be seen to be actively involved with aid relief during the period and thereafter. The assistance provided to the MTS Oceanos (1991) and during the Helderberg incident (1984) are only some of the tasks that were conducted by the SAAF.


Figure 7: a. Image from one of the survivors of the MTS OCEANOS sinking, a SAAF Puma of 26 Squadron providing assistance[118] b. A Family thanking members of the SA Navy and the SAAF for providing assistance.[119]

An article was also written to the editor of the *Paratus* during December 1991, in which a family thanked the SA Navy and the SAAF for their heroic deeds.

In the total of 16 *Paratus* editions that were used in this chapter, 7 articles were written that pertained to humanitarian assistance, given not only by the SAAF, but the whole SADF in some form or the other. Wherever possible, the SAN and the SAAF would work together and where there was an emergency on land, the SAAF and the SA Army would collaborate their efforts. Thus, it can be considered a dominant theme, due to the amount of times it featured in the magazine. The bulk related to floods in neighbouring countries and environmental disaster inside and outside South Africa in

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[116]Marais, F. (1991). SAS Drakensberg se 'nood' vaart. *Paratus*, October, p 26.

[117] Anon. (1991). Lugmag gooi voorraad af op Marion-eiland. *Paratus*, December, p 26.

[118] Hills, M. n.d Oceanos Cruiseship Sinking. *http://www.oceanossinking.com/OCEANOSSINKINGIMAGES.htm* (Accessed 08 August 2016).

[119] Anon. (1991). Oceanos Family wishes to thank the SA Navy and the SA Air Force. *Paratus*, December, p 31.

the time period.

2.12 RELIGION AS A MEANS OF MOBILISATION AND CONCILIATION

As a socialising agent religion is frequently used as a socio-political tool and religious organisations and institutions are among many socialisation agents. South Africa was (and is) no different. Religion was used along with other socialisation agents to influence the minds and worldviews[120]of the South African civil society during apartheid and afterwards.

Religion played an important role during apartheid, and even continued to do so during the transitional period, as initially reconciliation was deemed important in that it would lead to eventual social reconciliation in the late 1990s.

Under apartheid, the paradigm (or to be more specific, ideology) of Christian Nationalism advanced by the state through socialisation agents such as (especially) the Afrikaans media, the white reformed churches, the National Party and the Broederbond, with its fronts like the Ruiterwag and Rapportryers played an important – if not crucial role – to justify apartheid and mobilise citizens to defend the minority state and its interests. Church and state intertwined closely in the political discourse and action taken by political leadership and the white citizens alike. Some referred to this judicious mix between state, church and National Party as a *civil religion*.[121] Between the 1930s and the late 1970s, even lasting into the 1980s, such a worldview was nearly endemic in the white community. Early editions of *Paratus* regularly featured religion and ample space was provided for the chaplains' services and articles dedicated to these services.

Amongst the articles that were written pertaining to religion, the majority emphasised the role that the foot soldier played in the protection of the South African standard and ideals of living. Whilst initially during the apartheid years it was mainly based upon the

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[120] Some may choose to use the word *Weltanschaung* or religious paradigm here.
[121]Bosch, D. (1984). The roots and fruits of Afrikaner Civil Religion in: Hofmeyer, W.G. and Vorster, W.S. (Eds).*New faces of Africa: Essays in Honour of Ben Marais*. Pretoria: Unisa. See also De Gruchy, John, W. (1979). T*he Church Struggle in South Africa.* Cape Town: David Philip and de Klerk, W.A. (1975). *The Puritans in Africa: A Story of Afrikanerdom*. London: Rex Collins and Liebenberg, I. (1990). *Ideologie in Konflik*. Emmerentia: Taurus Publishers, pp.24ff, 34ff and 36ff.

Afrikaner ideals of state, nation and church, it would gradually change to be more inclusive of other cultures in the 1990s onwards.

Articles written on Satanism, false gods, substance abuse, amongst others, were rife during the period of the late 1970s (Keep in mind that the minority regime or racial oligarchy was underpinned by an overarching paradigm - if not ideology - of (Afrikaner) Nationalism as a civil belief system. Hence religion driven contributions that identified for example "Satanism" as a danger to the moral core of society were characterised by frequent overstatements. and with a fair amount of over-interpretation, if not sheer imagination; or they focussed under the Total Onslaught theme on the dangers of "godless atheists and communists" or labelled freedom fighters liberally as non-human terrorists inspired by the aforementioned godless subversive enemies of the self-perceived Christian State. In this discourse chaplains played an important role, with *Paratus* a good example.

Another good example is that the state could not believe that three Cuban POWS had actually had and read a copy of the Bible. It was the conviction held by many at the time that all communists did not believe in God. This however, disproved the theory. However, it also has to be kept in mind that at this point in time the Pretoria government, during a state of emergency, had control over the media and could influence viewpoints and opinions of the publics directly. Media freedom being limited by the apartheid government meant that the *Paratus* magazine which was readily available, was a good source in order to promote the points of view of the state.

In terms of conciliation and reconciliation, the amount of articles increased drastically during the transitional period. Amongst these were also the growing number of articles attempting to address cultural diversity and teach others about their cultures, whilst at the same time creating a general military culture as an outcome.

A popular series of articles bought out by the chaplain service of the SADF was "Christen in uniform"[122], within these articles, the chaplaincy services of the SADF

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[122] Translated it means Christian in uniform. These articles dealt with what can be considered bad for any Christian to do, and dealt with topics such as substance abuse, domestic violence and deceit along with other themes. These themes were based upon the Afrikaner idea of religion being ingrained into every sector of society as it related to the 'vaderland', nation and religion, pillars of the Afrikaner apartheid government. This also played an important

would attempt to appeal to the Christian belief side of the conscript by stating that he was not only fighting for his way of life, but also protecting Christianity. In a sense, it would appear to resemble the famous great crusades. Articles frequently dealt with alcohol abuse, and other substances that were misused by conscripts as a means of escaping training or war circumstances.

Figure 8: A Illustrating the "Christen in uniform" typical articles written by the SADF Chaplain Service of the time.[123] 8b illustrates that if one has faith in God he lets you grow in maturity.[124]
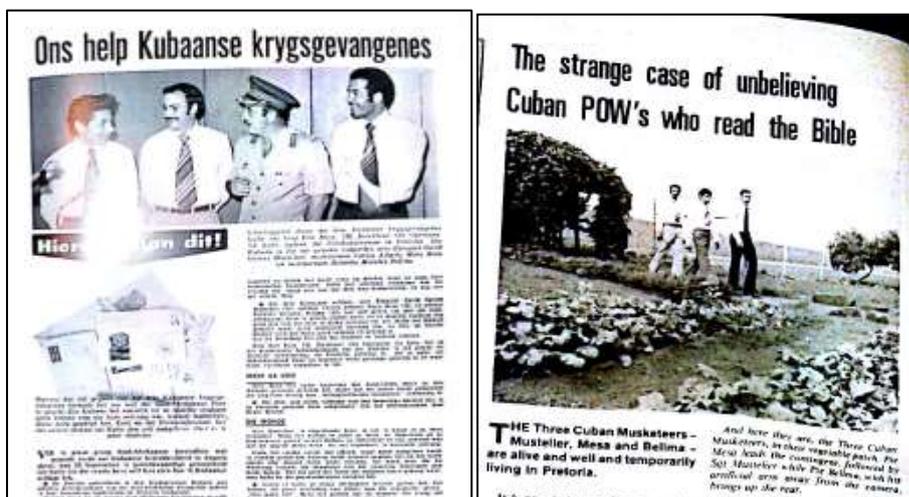
Figure.9 a & b The stories of the 3 Cuban POW's that was found with a bible, communists read the bible? [125] [126]

role upon socialisation of young Afrikaans men and women at an early age.
[123] Anon. (1975). Christen in uniform. *Paratus*, October, p 27.
[124] Anon. (1977). Op hierdie wyse laat God jou groei tot volwassenheid. *Paratus*, January, p 35.
[125] The story of these three individuals that was captured by the SADF forces in Angola, had quite a bit of coverage in the *Paratus* in order to show that the SADF is not that bad an organisation and aimed at the positive portrayal of the SADF to the South African public. No doubt what unfolded behind the scenes would not be disclosed. The articles featured in *Paratus*, November 1976, p 27.
[126] Coetzee, P. (1977). The strange case of unbelieving Cuban POW's reading the Bible. *Paratus*, January, p 4.

The political socialisation that emanated from the apartheid government and was portrayed in schools, and in the articles of the *Paratus* is clearly apparent.

Figure 10: A women in her sleepwear preparing to pray for her husband that went to partake in the border war.[127]

The above image not only combines religion, but also sexuality. If one looks at the image itself, it is an attractive women, preparing to pray for which can argue a loved one involved in active service. The fact that it is on the inner back page of the *Paratus* magazine, may be argued that a lot of young soldiers at operational bases would readily accept it as a benefit. It would convey the thought that this lovely young woman is waiting (and praying) for them to return home safely while they are far away fighting a war to protect her way of life.[128]

The *Paratus* magazine quite often made use of such imagery not only to relay subtle notes of Afrikaner nationalism and way of life to the soldiers at the front, but also to relay a religious connotation along with that of women being a sexual symbol. Thus, a lot of deductions can be made by such images.

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[127] Anon. (1974). *Paratus*, June, p iii.
[128] As illustrated, in the images reflected in this chapter not all photos of girls (or "girly images") was of the praying type.

The total amount of articles with a religious undertone that featured in the *Paratus* during the selected period was 14 out of the 16 selected magazines. Albeit some magazine articles have been included for illustrative purposes from the pre 1990 period, they were excluded from the statistics due to not being within the set time period of 1990 to 1994. They however added value in order to see that the role of the chaplaincy services was not only religious of nature and way of life orientated, but also sought to inspire the soldiers on the front.

2.13 ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE SA MILITARY

Women were seen as auxiliaries during the 1970s due to the Afrikaner perception that women's place is not on the warfront but at the home-front looking after the family whilst the husband goes to war. This perception started changing. Whilst initially women were only allowed in supportive roles, during the mid-1990s this started changing as women no longer received separate training from the men. This came about as the SA Army Women's College in George closed down in 1998, and shifted its training to SA Army Gymnasium in Heidelberg. For the first time in the history of the SADF, women would receive training alongside that of men, essentially having the same standard of training which had not earlier been considered possible.

Women became pilots, albeit on the home front, never being part of hostilities during the border war period. A plethora of articles was written on the role of women in the SADF alongside that of what role women played in other militaries across the world. For instance, due to the conservative nature of the apartheid governments' mind-set, the first female fighter pilot in the South African Air Force was mentioned for the first time in the *SA Soldier* magazine of November 2010 after having completed her solo flight.[129]

This happened some years after the other countries already had trained female fighter pilots in operational service.

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[129] Mahhubela, I. (2010). SA Air Force boasts first female Grippen pilot in the world. *SA Soldier*, November, p 17.

The perception of women was essentially a dual perception, On the one side was the image of a women being a symbol of sex appeal, an alluring image, whilst on the other side that of the supporter and family lover that looks after the family at home, and does what she can not only for South Africa but also for her husband and his comrades at war[130]. A clear example of this is seen by former president P.W Botha's wife being the robust caring mother that considers South Africa as her child. The message was clear: she always neatly dressed, respectable and formal, the real mother figure and setting an example for all other women. Even when women did do their training at SA Army Women's College, elegance and neatness was always of utmost importance. They had to wear makeup at all times and be neat and appropriately dressed.

The initial perception of women during that time was created perhaps by accident, that of "near nude" females in the back of the *Paratus* magazine. The idea was these women would inspire the men and make them miss their wives and sweethearts at home. Eventually, one could argue that it created social problems at home due to the increased sexual desires and drive of the men when they returned to the home front, quite similar to the US example of conscripts in Vietnam.

It is important to note that the role of the woman corresponded to a large degree to the patriarchal nature of the apartheid/protestant civil religion of the nation in arms and secondly to the imagery of a Total Onslaught being waged against the (white) people of the RSA. The Total Counter Strategy (*totale teenstrategie*) incorporated women, but within the limits of the then stereotypes of women as explained above.[131]

The role of women in the military and their utilisation would be a contentious topic throughout the period of the *Paratus* magazine leaving no clear cut answers before the *Salut* magazine took over.

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[130] In Afrikaans parlance: "Ons manne op die grens" In English: "Our boys on the border".
[131] Compare Dawid Bosch on Afrikaner civil religion quoted in Liebenberg, I. (1990). *Ideologie in Konflik.* Emmerentia: Taurus Uitgewers: On the role and place of women in a militarised South African society, see Cock, J and Nathan, L. (1989). Manpower and militarisation: Women and the SADF. *War and Society in South Africa: The Militarisation of South Africa.* David Phillip: Cape Town, pp. 51-66.
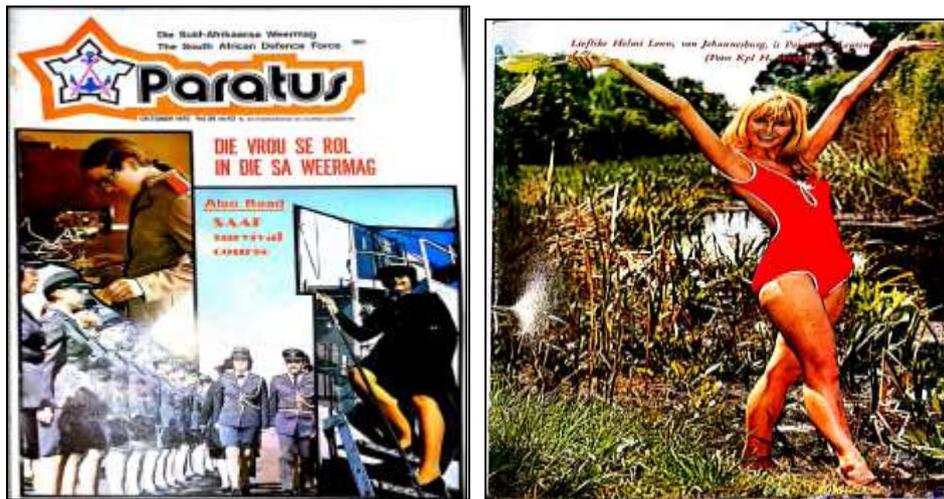
Figure 11: Two opposing perceptions of women that was created during the border war period as portrayed in the *Paratus* of the 1970s.[132]

During the period of *Paratus* in the 1970s to 1990 many differences can be seen in the images that were portrayed of women in the magazine. Eventually, the perceptions of women had been changed into that of a motherly figure under President P.W Botha's wife as the patron lady of the Southern Cross Fund that assisted in creating these traditional images of women.

Whereas the images and the perceptions of women might have changed from that as a sex symbol to that of a traditionally demure woman, the images of men have stayed the same over the period and continue to be the same to this day. The imagery of men was and still is that of a man ready to take up arms to protect his country, portraying the image of men acting without hesitation, but yet still a fatherly figure for the younger generations.

Other figures or imagery of women in uniform is portrayed numerous times by women soldiers in uniform in the South African Army Women's College at George.

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[132] Cover page, *Paratus*, October 1975 and Last page, *Paratus*, October 1975. One can also argue that at some point men start looking towards women in uniform in a similar manner to that of the more sensually portrayed women at the back of the magazine.
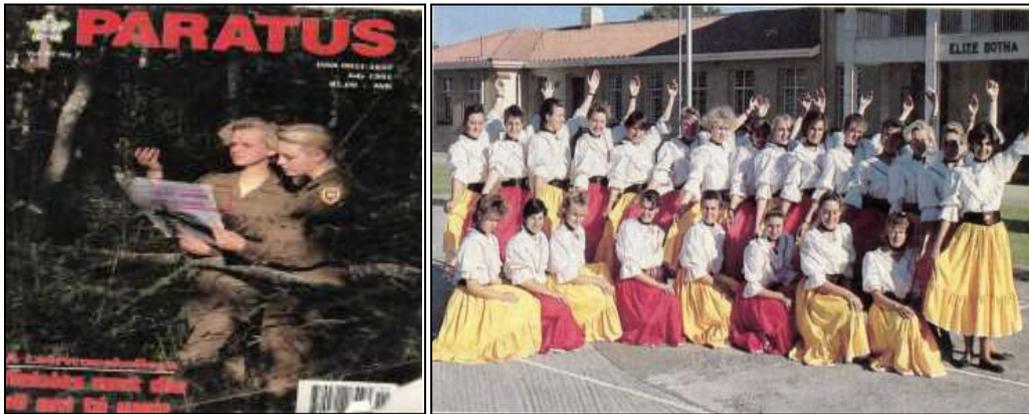
Figure 12: Women in training at South African Army Women's College in George.[133]

Figure 13: A cartoon regarding a women soldier which was considered a dumb blonde in the SADF – strange satire.[134]

Included were images such as the one portrayed above which was also printed in the *Paratus* magazine. These served as light entertainment for the soldiers at the front, appealing to their humoristic side.

As mentioned in the religious part of this chapter, images of women were not only those of lust, but also sought to inspire encouragement for the men at the warfront. A reminder of some sorts that their wives and sweethearts were waiting for them, so the

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[133] Beyers, E. (1991). Mooie Dames met die will om te wen. *Paratus*, July, p 16.
[134] Anon. (1976). Doppina, Introducing the SADF's lovable/adorable public hazard. *Paratus*, May, p 32.

sooner they finish their duties, the sooner they will be with them.

2.14 HUMOR

Humour, especially dark humour, forms part and parcel of war. In instances humour is used to uplift, a booster of moral. *Paratus* from early on, exploited the element of humour in both senses. Arguably the majority of cartoons focussed on the more positive. The more light hearted imagery of "Boetie gaan border toe" was in the light of the then context important as a message to the public, permanent force personnel and their (extended) families, conscripts and their families and friends, members of the commandos (territorial defence units) and citizen force units - even youth organisations that could be reached through *Paratus* such as school cadets. (South Africa had at the time an extended cadet system[135] used to prepare secondary school males for future service (*militêre diensplig* or national service).

Some examples can be seen here.
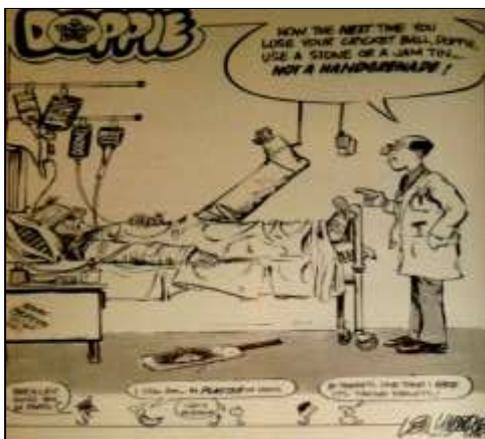
Figure, 14: One of many cartoons published monthly in the *Paratus*, to elaborate on a certain issue in a humoristic manner which would carry on in the *Salut* Magazine but to be removed from the *SA Soldier* in 2001 onwards.[136]

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[135] The commando or citizens in uniform units (territorial defence units) were extensive and organised on military lines countrywide. The School Cadet system was implemented in secondary schools all over the country as a system to prepare male students for military service. Female learners could participate on a voluntary basis and frequently did so. There were reportedly between 400 and 600 cadet units in South Africa at the time.
[136] Lindeque, L. (1978). Doppina Cartoon. *Paratus*, April, p 48.

Figure 15: Displaying a National Service Men, running with Miss SA of 1990 in mind.[137]

These types of cartoons featured prominently in the magazine during this period. At least one of these types of cartoons would be within the magazine at any given time period. It was also considered a collectible by many military affiliated persons.

2.15 THE TOTAL ONSLAUGHT AS PORTRAYED IN THE *PARATUS*

As the Total Onslaught and the atmosphere engendered by it was discussed earlier in more detail, a few remarks will suffice here.

The Total Onslaught was portrayed more often in the *Paratus* magazines during the pre-1990s period with two significant events taking place during that period. Coupled with the Soweto uprisings and the establishment of a state of emergency by President PW Botha in 1986, was the continued occupation of Namibia, the SADF's role as a frontier army including with ever growing involvement of the SADF in cross border operations into Angola to prevent the capitulation of South Africa to a perceived communist threat represented by SWAPO, MPLA, the Cuban military forces, Russian advisors in Angola and the armed wings of exiled South African movements such as MK and APLA.

Just a few years prior, in 1975, the SADF's rationale for being involved in Angola was the influx of Portuguese refugees following the withdrawal of Portuguese forces after

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[137] These type of cartoons were rife in the 1990 period of the *Paratus*. Not only did they relate to the feelings of NSM, but also portrayed important topics in a humoristic manner. Davidson, B. (1990). A display of strength. *Paratus*, July, p 46.

the coup in Lisbon (the so-called Carnation Revolution in which Caetano's authoritarian regime was ousted). Another reason proffered for the South African military presence in Angola was the protection of the hydro-electric installations in southern Angola adjacent to the Namibian border. The danger of a communist government coming to power in Luanda under the MPLA and the SWAPO threat was used to justify armed aggression to the north of Namibia in 1975/1976 as well as a decade later. Between 1975 and 1988 the numerous larger scale operations were justified as preventing the spread of a communist threat inspired by Moscow's influence. Along with that was also the instability that was caused by the liberation struggle and the perceived growth of communism within the region. After all, at the time the Cold War interpretation of conflict on the globe – including the African continent – dominated. The Total Onslaught as reigning political ideology closely corresponded with the Cold War interpretation of world politics. Many examples of this worldview featured in the *Paratus* magazine during the 1970s and 1980s.

Border security and the operational requirements to ensure state security were also strictly enforced during the period of South African involvement in what was then known as South West Africa (SWA). As such, it also received much attention in the *Paratus* of the time. The border war was a reality for South Africans and predicated on a strong and efficient military force and force projection on the "northern border" of SWA (later Namibia). The role of the apartheid army was not only necessary, but seen as a natural reaction, to a Total Onslaught from the north.


Figure.16: One of many photographic images of young soldiers along the RSA border. [138]

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[138] Kruger, F. (1976). Bewaking van 'n vergete Grens. *Paratus*, May, p 13.

Figure 17: These images were a common phenomenon, as the caption reads, "looks closely at the photo and think with deep gratefulness towards men like these that protects home and those he find dear".[139]

To understand, and get a feeling for the context and atmosphere for the world in which the media – specifically the military media – functioned it is important to take note that the language of the time was embedded around the Total Onslaught paradigm[140]. Numerous, if not hundreds of photographs featured during the pre-1990 period relating to the Total onslaught in the *Paratus* magazine. These photographs within this section illustrated the appeals made to the then South African public which had access to the *Paratus* magazine. It was made clear that the national servicemen, one may perhaps venture to say young soldier-boys, and the SADF at large, were keeping South Africa safe from a nearly unspeakable menace. The SADF was a bastion standing between a "normal" society and a ruthless communist alternative too ghastly to contemplate.

Things were to change. Following the battles around Cuito Cuanavale, the Lomba River and the Tumpo Triangle in Angola (1987/1988), the drawn out negotiations about South African and Cuban troop withdrawal, Namibia became independent in 1990 under United Nations Resolution 435. In Europe, the Berlin Wall fell and under pressure the South African government unbanned the ANC, SACP and the PAC. The possibility of a negotiated transition from an authoritarian state to a constitutional democracy opened up. The situation was now qualitatively different; the communist

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[139] Anon. (1977). *Paratus*, February, p 6.
[140] Compare Venter, A. (2009). Mededingende Politieke Paradigmas oor die Grens Oorlog 1966-1989. *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, 34(1), pp. 36-56.

threat diminished, the war in Namibia ended (thus putting an end to military adventures in Angola) and the whole scenario of a foreign threat was fundamentally changed.

Soon the defence budget was reduced and negotiations for a new democratic dispensation took centre stage. A time of war was to be turned into an era of peace-making.

2.16 DOWNSCALING OF THE DEFENCE FORCE AND THE QUESTION OF FUTURE ROLES

By the end of 1990 Stotts states that "the SADF consisted out of approximately 200 units which comprised of 75 479 full-time members, 21 695 civilians and a part-time component of 526 702 citizen-force personnel, as well as 76 476 commando members".[141]

Since the SADF ended its involvement in Angola after the 1988 battle stalemates and the independence of Namibia (Afrikaans parlance: *Suidwes-Afrika* or SWA) under Resolution 435 of the UN in March 1990, the situation changed dramatically.

Added to this was the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The now largely apparent transition left the SADF without hardly any direct enemies, and certainly no foreign threat. This resulted in a great many discussions - and speculation, needless to say - on the way forward for the SADF and what should happen with its manpower and equipment, defence posture and standing within South African society.

The end of war or violent conflict also implies the rationalisation of manpower or what is also known as demobilisation. Many factors entered the picture and there were perhaps more questions than answers. Yet, as military communication media, *Paratus* and its editors and co-workers had to continue its work of informing all the stakeholders about developments even within a fluid social context and expected changes in civil-

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[141]Stott, N. (2002). From the SADF to the SANDF: Safeguarding South Africa for a better life for all? *Violence and transition series*, Vol 7. *http://www.csvr.org.za/wits/papers/papvtp7.htm*. (Accessed 23 July 2013). The vast majority of their members were in the Army, the least was in the Navy and the Air Force.

military relations.

The SADF would be the topic of heated discussions in Parliament amongst which the rationale for downscaling and the future path would be discussed. Early in 1990, the minister of defence stipulated that the period of conscription would become shorter.

Lindy Heinecken remarks, in one of her many articles pertaining to defence related matters, that since the end of the Cold War the SADF had to not only redefine its role but also had to conform to societal challenges and an adapted security environment that had changed. In essence, the SADF had to adapt to the changes, not voluntarily but because they were being forced upon it.[142]

As the defence force was to be downscaled, the operational commitments, with a reduced budget and personnel, still had to continue uninterrupted.

2.17 SUMMARY

In the period between 1990 and 1994, many changes in the role of the SADF can be seen along with that of the South African society as portrayed in the *Paratus* magazine. Firstly, the post-1990 emphasis was placed on the SADF as a new agent fit for maintaining order and stability during a situation of changing politics. The quality at least in the military communication now shifted away from maintaining the old to facilitating the new developments in keeping possible violence and unrest under control on route to a new dispensation.

Secondly, the shared presidency between Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk prompted not only change within the nature of the military, but South African politics, from a one party minority ruled government to that of a multi-party state with democratic principles that included all people of South Africa, regardless of race. This was in stark contrast to that of the pre-1990 period in which only the white South Africans were allowed to have a genuine say in politics and the defence and security forces was rallied to protect the white minority state and its loyal subjects.

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[142] Heinecken, L. (1993). Social equality versus combat effectiveness: An Institutional challenge for the military. *African Security Review*, 7(6), p 3.

2.18 CONCLUSION

The SADF role during the 1990s until 1994 was redefined. The media communicating this redefinition was to follow suit.

Amongst others, the changes that would occur within the SADF were firstly, having changed its role from serving the apartheid state and thus serving a minority ruled political party, the drastic cutting of the defence budget. The reason was part and parcel of the apartheid states military disarmament and demobilisation after having been involved in operations against perceived threats from 1966 until 1989; threats that now ceased to exist. Not only was the defence budget cut, but the amount of manpower was also drastically cut as then minister of defence during the transitional period, Mr Roelf Meyer, clearly stipulates on more than one occasion in the *Paratus* magazine during his tenure in this position..

In the *Paratus* Magazine of September 1990, it was stated that the SADF would not be unnecessarily scaled down, however due to the political climate for change, Meyer stated that although the defence force was becoming smaller, it was a more cohesive fighting force than it was before the budget cuts.[143]

In April 1994 *Paratus* ceased to exist and was replaced by *Salut* as the official magazine of the now transforming SADF, soon to become the SANDF. In the next chapter *Salut*, which replaced *Paratus* will be dealt with.

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[143] Anon. (1991). Weermag kleiner maar meer gedug. *Paratus*, December, p 4.

CHAPTER 3: *SALUT (1994-2001)* A DEFENCE FORCE IN TRANSITION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

During its evolution, the *Paratus* magazine, long time magazine of the old South African Defence Force (SADF) with a presence in many South African homes - changed into the *SALUT* magazine during May 1994. The new objectives stated in refashioned magazine were to make a clear departure from the old towards the new. In essence, the magazine was to reflect changes that were taking place within the South African society, specifically relating to the defence sector and South African society.

Le Roux argues about changes in the then defence environment: "Defence transformation in South Africa in its broadest sense should be viewed against the background of the political transformation that occurred during the late 1980s and the first half of the 1990s".[144] The name of the magazine heralded a new era, namely a new and democratic South Africa and a changed military suited to defence in a democracy. The S*ALUT* magazine came into being in order to bring about changes and to adapt to the new SANDF that was established on 27 April 1994. The name S*ALUT* was chosen as it corresponds with the Latin word *Salute*, which is a form of greeting and military compliment demonstrated by *saluting*. Hence, the name held mutually supportive meanings, namely saluting a new political era (the democratic constitutional state in the making) and a new defence force for a new context fundamentally different from the old order.[145]

On 27 April 1994, the day of the first democratic election in South Africa, the SADF was renamed as the SANDF.[146] The decision to add the word National to the South African Defence Force stemmed from it being a more representative military that would

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[144] Le Roux, I. (2003). The South African National Defence Force and its involvement in the Defence Review Process. In: Williams, R. Cawthra, G. and Abrahams, D. (Eds). *Ourselves to know: Civil-military relations and defence transformation in Southern Africa*. Brooklyn: institute for Security Studies

[145] Van der Westhuizen, A. (1994). ditto *SALUT. Salut*, May, p 7.

[146] On the integration process of the various non-statutory forces and the intricacies thereof, see Shaw, M. (1995). Negotiating Defence for South Africa, pp. 9-34; Reichardt, M. and Cilliers, J. (1995).The History of the Homeland Armies, pp 63-83; Motumi, T. (1995). The Spear of the Nation – The recent history of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), pp 84-104 and Lodge, T. (1995). Soldiers of a Storm: A Profile of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), pp. 105-117. In: Cilliers, J. and Reichardt, M. (Eds). *About Turn: The Transformation of South African Military and Intelligence*. Halfway House: Institute for Defence Policy (IDP).

safeguard all the people and the South African constitution.[147] Although the name had changed, transformation and integration still had to be undertaken to revamp the SANDF into a cohesive and functional fighting force if ever so needed, as well as a force for peace-time purposes and a security instrument under civil control to be utilised in its primary and secondary roles.[148] Part of the integration challenge originated with the necessary integration of former TBVC States into the SANDF simultaneously with the integration of members of the armed wings of previously banned liberation movements. In addition to this challenge, were the standard and the type of training along with the military culture which the non-statutory force members had received before and that was to be brought into the new defence environment.[149]

Between 1994 and 2001 the South African government, along with its defence force and civil society, was undergoing a period of transformation and change. What had made this period different from that of the 1990-1994 period (under the interim constitution) was that changes had already taken place in the Defence Force and it was clearly reflected in society, illustrated by the discourse of non-racial democracy and the Rainbow Nation.[150] South Africa also had its first democratically elected president. During the period under discussion here two presidential terms overlapped. Each of these presidential terms would have a specific focus during their terms, which influenced the changed style of writing in the *Salut* magazine along with the agenda setting.[151]

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[147] Wessels, A. (2010). The South African National Defence Force, 1994-2009: A Historical Perspective. *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiednis*, 15(2), p 132.

[148] Compare le Roux, L. (2003). The South African National Defence Force and its involvement in the Defence Review Process. In: Williams, R., Cawthra, G., and Abrahams, D. (Eds). *Ourselves to know: Civil-military relations and defence transformation in Southern Africa*. Brooklyn: institute for Security Studies. See also le Roux, L. 2005. The post-apartheid South African military: Transforming the nation. In: Rupiya, M. (Ed). *Evolutions and Revolutions: Contemporary History of Militaries in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies. On civil control, see Manganyi, C. (2013). Structures for Political Oversight over the Military: The post-1994 South African Experience'. In: Manganyi, C, Liebenberg, I and Potgieter, T. (Eds) *South Africa and Romania: Transition to Democracy and Changing Security Paradigms*. Durban: Just Done Publications, pp. 125, pp 171ff. See also Ferreira, R. (2013). South Africa: From an apartheid army to a post-apartheid defence force in the same work, pp.125ff, 128ff. Compare also Liebenberg, I. (2013). The Arms Industry, Reform and Civil-military relations in South Africa, pp.253-254, 256 – 258.

[149] Wessels, A. (2010). The South African National Defence Force, 1994-2009: A Historical Perspective. *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedinis*, 15(2), p 136. With these forces having received their training from Warschau backed countries, the drills, military doctrine, social memories and weapons trained on and used were different than that of the Western Militaries and hence South Africa's which closely followed the typical Western model and to an extent doctrines. Apart from this the SADF was "Afrikanerized" since 1948 as Van der Waag (2015) observed.

[150] Mandela, N. (1994). Statement of Nelson Mandela at his inauguration as President. 10 May 1994 (Accessed 09 June 2016). *www.anc.or.za/show.php?id=3132.*

[151] Whereas the *Paratus* Magazine had focused mainly on creating the perception of an effective combat force, the *Salut* magazine focused more towards transformation in both the Defence and the societal domains.

During the presidential term of Nelson Mandela, emphasis was placed on human rights and the creation of a cohesive society which is evident in his efforts to promote the Rainbow Nation campaign.[152] Whilst Thabo Mbeki's period as president, albeit not a very definite departure from Mandela, decided to take a more active role in demonstrating the stronger role South Africa could play on the African continent.[153] Mbeki term became associated with the notion of an African Renaissance.[154]

Some of these changes already became clear with the election of a new government and the changing of government officials to be more representative of the South African society.[155] The integration of the non-statutory forces into the new SANDF took place during this period. Numerous articles were written concerning discipline, training and the utilisation of members during integration and also touched on the foreseen transformative period. For instance, Rocky Williams wrote an article relating to the debate on whether the non-statutory forces should be integrated into the SANDF or whether the case should be seen as mere absorption.[156]

While the non-statutory forces were relatively small in number and one could perhaps talk about "absorption", the latter term was less acceptable and the accepted term became "integration".[157]

Not only were the elections of 27 April 1994 of a turning point for South Africa, but the 1996 Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) would presumably facilitate correcting wrongs of the past. [158]

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[152] Mandela, N. (1994). . Statement of Nelson Mandela at his inauguration as President, 10 May 1994 (Accessed 09 June 2016) *www.anc.or.za/show.php?id=3132*.

[153] Neethling, T. (2002). The emerging South African profile in Africa: Reflections on the significance of South Africa's entrance into peacekeeping. (Accessed 06 June 2014) *www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/the-emerging-south-african-profile-in-africa/.*

[154] See Liebenberg, I. (1998). The African Renaissance: Myth, Vital Lie or Mobilising Tool? *African Security Review*, 7(3), p 42.

[155] It has to be noted, that these changes did not just happen overnight, but was carefully considered.

[156] Williams, R. (2010). Integration or absorption? The creation of the South African National Defence Force 1993 to 1999. *African Security Review* 11(2), p 17-25.

[157] See le Roux, L. (2003). The South African National Defence Force and its involvement in the Defence Review Process. In: Williams, R., Cawthra G., and Abrahams, D. (Eds). *Ourselves to know: Civil-military relations and defence transformation in Southern Africa.* Brooklyn: institute for Security Studies: p.168. In the same work see Williams, R. Defence in a democracy: The South African Defence Review and the redefinition of the parameters of the national defence debate. See also le Roux, L. (2005). The post-apartheid South African military: Transforming the nation. In: Rupiya, M. (Ed). *Evolutions and Revolutions: Contemporary History of Militaries in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies (ISS): p.235.

[158] At the time the legislation was passed related to a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which was to investigate human rights transgressions by the apartheid state and the security forces serving the minority state. The TRC conceivably could have had an impact on the future role of the security forces. The issue will not be

The integration of the various non-statutory forces into the SANDF was no small feat, and arguably could not possibly have been undertaken without outside assistance, in this case the United Kingdom. The British Military Advisory Training Team (BMATT) played an instrumental role in the appointment of senior military officers in the four branches of the SANDF. The BMATT contingent also had to ensure that the criteria for selection to join the SANDF were of internationally required standards and fulfilled local needs.[159]

Along with the transformation and integration processes the reduction of personnel and finances allocated to the SANDF became an issue. There was no longer an enemy with which to engage, and great social and developmental challenges loomed. These challenges were to be addressed by the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) programme led by Nelson Mandela as president. Defence expenditure was severely cut. It was argued in *Salut* that the SANDF, with the budget and the personnel cuts, was still able to conduct its primary missions, to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of South Africa, the constitution and the citizens,.[160]

Among the questions that were raised by ministers, parliamentarians and anti-military lobbyists was the relevancy of the defence budget and whether the budget was proportional to what needs to be achieved. Marius Oelshig remarked in the *Salut* , that although South Africa was at peace it had to always maintain its ability to be ready for war.[161] Oelshig's argument emanates from the rise in international intra state conflicts since the end of the Cold War in 1989. The SANDF was not only for maintaining peace within the borders of South Africa, but also to serve the country's national interest. Hence, in order to fulfil all that is required of the SANDF, it was to consist of a small, well-armed conventional military force supported by reserves.[162] Needless to say, such a change in structure included the reduction of force levels (demobilisation and rationalisation) whilst some members of the liberation forces had to be integrated into the new military.

discussed here.
[159] Thiart, G. (1994). The British are coming. *Salut*, June, p 38.
[160] Thiart, G. (1994). Budget must enforce democracy. *Salut*, September, pp 10-11.
[161] Oelshchig, M. (1994). Why a strong defence force?. *Salut*, September, pp 21-23.
[162] *ibid*

Lindy Heinecken argues that albeit the transformation process was bringing about changes in the social order in the South African society and the military itself, it was mainly a balancing act between achieving a combat effective force and a fully representative force in terms of gender and race.[163]

Simultaneously, the Defence Review Process which included a fair amount of public participation, was undertaken. In fact, the process, as argued by Len le Roux and Rocky Williams was an extensive consultative process. Le Roux ventures: "The South African Department of Defence (DoD) and the South African National Defence Force have been (*or rather was still being – my insertion*) substantially transformed from the defence organisation of the apartheid military era. This transformation focussed (inter alia) on …. The integration of former combatant forces into one national force and making the DoD representative of the people of South Africa … aligning defence policy with the Constitution, international law and national culture" [164]

3.2 STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTER

The chapter will focus on the dominant themes as they manifested during the 1994-2001 period.

3.3 SELECTION OF THEMES

This chapter, the emerging themes manifested in the *Salut* magazine during the 1994-2001 period will be examined. The criteria for the inclusion of themes in the chapter are the following:[165]

    a. feature at least more than once in any given month of the magazine;

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[163] Heinecken, L. (1998). Social equality versus combat effectiveness: An Institutional challenge for the military. *African Security Review*, 7(6).

[164] Le Roux, L. (2005). The post-apartheid South African military: Transforming the nation. In: Rupiya, M. (Ed). '*Evolutions and Revolutions: Contemporary History of Militaries in Southern Africa*'. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies (ISS): p.235

[165] The reader will notice that these themes in order to retain the golden thread was selected on the same basis as that of *Paratus (Chapter 2)*, albeit the themes were to be different for obvious reasons.

b. were mainly articles written by journalists as opposed to letters to the editor and more personal correspondence;

c. themes should be related to the immediate context of integration and transformation.

These themes touched upon in *Salut* all had to be considered due to relevance and context of the message during the period in order to observe the evolution of the changes that took place or were expected to take place.

3.4 DOMINANT THEMES

According to the above, these dominant themes, as they manifested in the *SALUT* magazine over the 1994-2001 period were the following:

- Transformation, integration, gender equality and the language policy.

- Disabilities, including treatment, care and general knowledge of living with disabilities and etiquette.

- Humanitarian aid relief not only relating to outside operations undertaken, but also domestic operations.

- Environmental conservation and the management of SANDF training areas.

3.5 TRANSFORMATION

From 1994 onwards, many changes had taken place within the SANDF alongside that of the South African society.[166] The integration of the non-statutory forces into one

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[166] Rocky Williams referred at the time to "the redefinition of the parameters of the defence debate". See Williams, R. (2003). Defence in a democracy: The South African Defence Review and the redefinition of the parameters of

combined force (from the SADF to the SANDF), provided a platform to bring about changes in the SANDF on all levels. Fanie Uys wrote in an article entitled *the SANDF transformation process,* that the changes that the process was to address emanated largely from changes in the South African environment.[167] Amongst these changes that were to take place was the following:

- A requirement for new mission roles and capabilities.

- The requirements for vast improvement in terms of cost effectiveness.

- The requirement to embrace the principle of defence in a democracy.

- The requirement to align more appropriately with new social norms.

- The need to fulfil a required alignment towards the new public management approach.[168]

Roland de Vries argues that resistance to changes will always exist. The important thing, he remarks, is that the reasons therefore must be clearly stated and must be managed correctly to remain sensitive to those affected.[169] The result of the transformation process was however, seen as successful, and the SANDF was created to be a National Defence Force, which could be said to mirror South African society.[170]

The Minister of defence, Joe Modise, remarked during the New Year's message of January 1996 that the SANDF would consist of both a full time and a part time component. These two elements will need to be correctly structured and organised in order to fulfil its constitutional mandate.[171] Although integration and transformation had

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the national defence debate In: Williams, R. Cawthra, G., and Abrahams, D. (Eds). (2003). *Ourselves to know: Civil-military relations and defence transformation in Southern Africa.* Brooklyn: Institute for Security Studies: p.205

[167] Uys, F. (1997). The SANDF transformation process. *African Security Review*, 6(1), p 58.

[168] *Ibid.,* pp. 58-59.

[169] de Vries, R. (2006). Defence Transformation in South Africa: Sharing the experience with the Forces Armees de la Republique Democratique du Congo. *African Security Review*, 15(4), p 81.

[170] South African Department of Defence Bulletin No 52/09. Termination of integration process in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), 17 September 2009. (Accessed 09 June 2016). *www.dcc.,il.za.bulletins.files*.

[171] Modise, J. (1996). We have come a long way. *Salut*, January, p 15.

taken place during the period, the vision and the mission along with the mandate were still essentially to be maintained in that it was to retain a defensive stature and protect the constitution and citizens of South Africa.[172] Not only were changes or transformation taking place within the structure of the SANDF, but also amongst its people and the South African society in the way in which South Africans viewed each other.

The South African Constitution of 1996, the White Paper on defence and the Defence Review of 1998 would be instrumental in creating a unified South African National Defence Force. Firstly, in the constitution the role and the character of the SANDF is defined as a well-structured and disciplined force, and, secondly, that its primary object will be to protect the territorial sovereignty, integrity and the rights of people, in accordance with the constitution. Hence, the defence force was subordinate to the constitution which elaborated on the emphasis of civil control.[173] The White Paper on Defence had as a theme *Defence in a Democracy*, which emphasised civil control; civil meaning in this case that elected representatives would control the defence force instead of appointed members.[174]

In the defence review broad defence policies were changed to adapt the newly formed SANDF into a defensive posture in contrast to that of its prior posture.[175] Part and parcel of the White Paper on defence was also preventing similar cases as those that had happened prior to 1990 where soldiers obeyed obviously illegal orders.[176] It was stipulated that it is within every soldier's or policeman's right, in accordance with the constitution, to disobey an obviously illegal order.[177]

The Defence Review, the Constitution and the White Paper on Defence's role during the integration and transformation period of the SADF to the SANDF were to ensure civil control and to prevent any militants from the side of the security sector from attempting to overthrow the government.[178] The annual reports of the SANDF during

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[172] Anon. (1996). SANDF guidelines. *Salut*, March, p 24.

[173] Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993, Clause 226 (5)

[174] Uys, F. (1997). The SANDF transformation process. *African Security Review*, 6(1), p 58

[175] Nathan, L. (1998). The 1996 Defence White Paper: An Agenda for State Demilitarisation?; In: From *Defence to Development: Redirecting Military Resources in South Africa*, Cape Town: David Philip.

[176] Cock, J. (1988). A High Price for Freedom: Militarisation and White South Africa. *Work in Progress* No. 53.

[177] South African Constitution, 1996, Article 199 (6)

[178] Cilliers, J. (2001). Push for Appropriate Rural Defence. *Mail & Guardian*, 18 May.

the period of 1994 to 1999 showed a gradual evolution of an increased awareness of gender equity and, amongst others, the fast tracking of personnel to achieve a representative military. *Salut* as the new magazine was to function against the above background.

Transformation as a theme in the *Salut* magazine featured most dominantly at the time. Although it can be broadly called transformation as an umbrella term, it further included integration, gender equality and the language policy. The reasoning behind this inclusion rests in the fact that these either were part of the changes, such as the language policy, or were changes that had already earlier been implemented in some form.

In terms of dominant themes the following are relevant.

3.5.1 INTEGRATION

One of the first priorities of the government was to task the new defence force with the integration of previously liberation forces (the armed wings of the ANC and PAC) and the so-called "independent homeland" forces, with the core force consisting of the previous defence force (SADF). This was to have an impact as time progressed. As tensions existed between the old and the new ideas relating to the SANDF, a Ministerial Integration Oversight Committee was established to manage tensions. The second function for this committee was to ensure adherence to policies and to monitor the integration process.[179] The Committee was comprised of members of the SANDF, the Defence Secretariat and the Joint Standing Committee on Defence.[180] In addition to these members to the committee, a British Military Advisory Task Team (BMATT) was also requested to be part in order to ensure and enhance fairness to the process.[181]

Regarding the debate if either absorption or integration of the non-statutory forces took

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[179] Le Roux, L. The Post-Apartheid South African military: Transforming with the nation. (Accessed 11 June 2016) *https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/EVOLUTCHAP9.PDF*, p 253.
[180] *ibid.,* pp 253-254.
[181] *ibid.,* p 254.

place, it could be argued it was a process of both integration and absorption, while in general it was referred to as integration. Rocky Williams argues that since the former SADF structures were used for the integration process, a process of absorption of all other non-statutory forces took place within the SANDF. The reason for this decision was because of the disparity of forces that had to be 'integrated' into the SANDF, the bulk of which were former SADF members.[182] Whilst Len Le Roux argues that the integration process, in addition to the SADF being renamed to the SANDF, started effectively directly after the first democratic elections in 1994.[183] Len Le Roux also states that it was a matter of both integration and absorption as the bulk of the force were former SADF members. The MK had the political leverage whilst BMATT ensured fairness during the integration process.[184]

	%	Number
Statutory Forces		
SADF	68	68,663
TDF	4	3,868
BDF	4	3,713
VDF	1	1,264
CDF	2	1,716
SANDF	6	5,838
Non Statutory Forces		
MK	12	11,826
APLA	4	3,735
KZN Self Protection Force	0	441
Grand Total	**101**	**101,064**

Table 1: Figures that portray the amount of personnel that had to be integrated into the newly fledged SANDF during 1997.[185]

Noel Stotts remarks that between January and August 1995, around 500 instructors, who were to present bridging training to non-statutory members joining the SANDF, resigned. He stated the reasoning behind this as being the fundamental differences in

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182 Williams, R. (2010) Integration or absorption? The creation of the South African National Defence Force 1993 to 1999. *African Security Review* 11(2), p 24.

183 Le Roux, L. The Post-Apartheid South African military: Transforming with the nation. (Accessed 11 June 2016) *https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/EVOLUTCHAP9.PDF*, p 253.

184 Le Roux, L. The Post Apartheid South African military: Transforming with the nation. (Accessed 11 June 2016) *https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/EVOLUTCHAP9.PDF*, p 254.

185 Heinecken, L. (1998). The challenges of transformation: SANDF Officer's attitudes towards integration, Affirmative Action, Women in Combat and Language usage. *Scientia Militaria*, 28(2), p 223.

culture and level of training between the SADF MK and other forces.[186]

During the course of March 1995, the first group of integrated women soldiers completed their bridging training at Wonderboom. This was considered instrumental in changing men's perception regarding women in uniform, according to Brigadier Gen Sedibe. These female soldiers were to be the first women to attend a passing out parade armed with R4 rifles rather than handbags.[187] Thus, the reporting in *Salut* illustrated the changes that were taking place not only regarding gender equality, but also within the broader integration process.

The third intake of integrated non-statutory forces into the newly fledged SANDF took place during 22 February 1996. From then onwards, the members were to be placed out into the broader SANDF into various corps.[188]
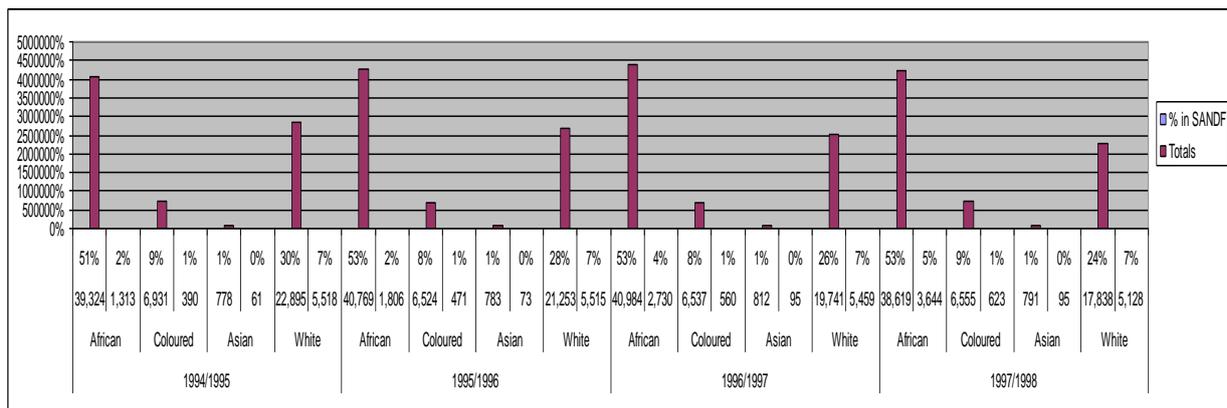
Chart 1: Illustrating the demographical balancing within the SANDF during the transitional period from 1994-1999.[189]

In the Integration phase of non-statutory forces into the SANDF, the majority initially was the white population grouping that had not really needed to be integrated. The reason for the decline of the white population group during 1994/1995 was that an influx of non-statutory forces was already underway. Gender imbalances were also

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[186] Stott, N. (2002). From the SADF to the SANDF: Safeguarding South Africa for a better life for all? *Violence and transition series*, Vol 7. *http://www.csvr.org.za/wits/papers/papvtp7.htm.* (Accessed 23 July 2013)

[187] Viljoen, C. (1995). Armed with R4 Rifles. *Salut*, May, p 15.

[188] Kemp, M. (1995). 3de inname gereed. *Salut*, April, p 29.

[189] Compiled from the SADF Annual reports from 1993 until 1998.

seen to be addressed during the integration time period.

The amount of white men was reduced during the period, whilst the number of white women stayed the same. African women's numbers increased to become more representative of the South African society. The Integration process, although having had a hard time at the start, could be seen to have been successfully completed.[190] Therefore, the integration process can be seen to have had a dominant contentious theme during the whole period of the *Salut* magazine.

3.5.2 GENDER EQUALITY

South Africa, unlike some other countries, was pursuing and is still at present pursuing equity of gender within the SANDF according to the Constitution and relevant legislation. In other militaries such as in the United Kingdom the reasons are not solely legislative in nature but also due to manpower considerations, as it was in the former SADF.[191] Cheryl Hendricks argues that even though through the legislation women have been placed as equal to men, this in itself does not necessarily equates gender equality.[192] A Gender sub Directorate was subsequently established (1996) in order to monitor progress relating to the inclusion of gender equality in the SANDF. The sub Directorate was established within the Equal Opportunities Chief Directorate.[193]

Gender equality was one of the challenges that needed to be overcome during the transitional phase from apartheid to a democratic state. Dineo Monethi argues in her study entitled, *Transformation in the South African National Defence Force with specific reference to gender equity,* that initially the transformation process focussed more on addressing racial representation rather than that of gender equity. This development set the scene for much discussion on gender representation.[194] Much

[190] South African Department of Defence Bulletin No 52/09. Termination of integration process in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). (Accessed 09 June 2016). *www.dcc.,il.za.bulletins.files*.

[191] Monethi, D. C. (2013). Transformation in the South African National Defence Force: With specific reference to Gender Equity. (Published Masters thesis, Stellenbosh University).

[192] Hendricks, C. (2012). Transformation of Gender Relations in the South African National Defence Force: Real of Presumed? *Gender and Peace Building in Africa 4 in a Series of Occasional Papers*. pp 6-7.

[193] Motumi, N. (1999). Gender Equality: A Challenge for the Department of Defence. *African Security Review*. 8 (3), *http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA424664*. (accessed 08 August 2016)

[194] Monethi, D. C. (2013). Transformation in the South African National Defence Force: With specific reference to Gender Equity. (Masters thesis, Stellenbosh University).

debate took place during transformation in order to enhance and ensure gender representation on all levels of the SANDF. The required changes could not be realistically directly implemented overnight. The first debate was whether women should be employed in combat roles or not. Should women be deployed in such a role *per se* or only when they volunteer for such a role? A survey conducted by Lindy Heinecken in 1998 relating to attitudes concerning women in combat usage reflected the following:

	Agree		Unsure		Disagree	
Arm of Service	%	n	%	n	%	n
SA Army	37	63	8	14	55	95
SAAF	44	30	16	11	40	27
SAN	56	22	13	5	31	12
SAMHS	35	16	15	7	50	23
Total	**40**	**131**	**12**	**37**	**48**	**157**
Race						
Black	42	23	22	12	36	20
White	39	104	9	25	52	137
Total	**30**	**127**	**12**	**37**	**48**	**157**
Gender						
Male	38	107	11	32	51	144
Female	57	24	12	5	31	12
Total	**40**	**131**	**12**	**37**	**48**	**157**

Table 2: Attitudes regarding women in the military in the combat role.[195]

The findings as reported on by Lindy Heinecken, were that over half of the white officers felt that women should not be allowed in combat roles. More African females felt that they should be allowed in combat roles. One of the reasons that Heinecken attributes to the findings was that, in the "old" SADF, women were used in a supportive role, not as active combatants. In the non-statutory forces (especially the liberation movements), women were mainly combatants or were actively taking part in the conflict[196] Heinecken also states that in 1989 only a mere 10 percent of the SADF was staffed by women in contrast to 13 percent in 2000.[197] Hence, while gender

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[195] Heinecken, L. (1998). The challenges of transformation: SANDF Officer's attitudes towards integration, Affirmative Action, Women in Combat and Language usage. *Scientia Militaria*, 28(2), p 228.

[196] *Ibid.,* p 227.

[197] Henecken, L. (2002). Affirming Gender Equality: The Challenges facing the South African Armed Forces. *Current Sociology*, 50(5), September, p 719

representation was pursued it seemed to be a rather sensitive subject. As can be expected, *Salut* reported on the increasing role of women and the need for gender representation but refrained from opening a debate on the sensitivities.

The second debate pertained to the capabilities or abilities of women in the military. Linette Kapp elaborates on this in her thesis entitled *Employment equity in the SANDF: Practical implications and challenges*. Firstly, a letter was prominently referred to in her study that mentioned problems that a female soldier had experiencing at her unit. Difficulties, such as being a single parent and having to stand duty, emerged. Other difficulties the female soldier explained in her letter were the question of whether women were now equal to men in all respects. She reasoned that the unit was still male dominated and that they (men) had no respect for women even if in their new status they were now equal to men.[198] Debates such as these were not uncommon during the integration process.[199]

Instances of a different approach to women and men drilling was a common topic for discussion. The women had a set standard different to that of the men for drilling. Due to their skeletal structures women were considered more prone to groin injuries than men, especially since their strides were much smaller than that of men.[200] Erika Gibson wrote an article in the *Beeld* newspaper relating to female soldiers being injured during leadership training at SA Army Gymnasium in Heidelberg. The reasoning behind this she stated, was the physical difference between men and women in terms of muscular structures and ability to carry weight and keep up with the men during training.[201] Such instances, it has to be added, were only reported upon after the integration process has taken place. Again, issues such as these were not addressed in *Salut* in view of the perceived sensitivities around it.

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[198] Kapp, L. (2002). Employment equity in the SANDF: Practical implications and challenges. (*Masters thesis, Potchefstroom University, Vaal Triangle Campus),* pp 93-94.

[199] A couple of articles deals with various facets of tensions between men and women regarding the standard of training. Examples on this is : White, D. (1994). Peace to this force. *Salut*, July. p 16. It is remarked in this article also that any new integration suffers from teething problems at first. Afterwards everything falls in place. It just takes time. A letter written by Mdutyana, N. (1994). Pleased with the SANDF. *Salut*, August, p 7. To the then editor of the *Salut* magazine remarked that she was pleased to see that women are not only in the kitchen in the SANDF, but also working alongside men. However, felt some concern that women still need to be afforded protection by men. As women cannot fight like the men can fight.

[200] Heinecken, L. (1998). Social Equality versus Combat Effectiveness: An Institutional Challenge for the Military. *African Security Review*. 7(6), p 8.

[201] Gibson, E. (2002). Leer word wys uit sy fout met vroue. *Beeld*, 21 February.

Except for all these debates, questions also arose around combat effectiveness if gender equity was enforced. Underneath are the findings as received from a sample of the South African Society.[202]

	No		Unsure		Yes	
Gender	%	n	%	n	%	n
Male	36	1,256	4	156	60	2,107
Female	34	303	6	56	60	529
Total	35	1,559	5	212	60	2,636
Language	%	n	%	n	%	n
Afrikaans	43	802	5	92	52	954
English	39	258	5	34	56	372
African	26	509	5	88	69	1,327
Total	36	1,569	5	214	59	2,553

Table 3: Is it possible to apply gender equality without compromising combat effectiveness? [203]

The majority of the respondents from the sample grouping of the study by Heinecken stated that it was possible to have gender equality without compromising combat effectiveness. The findings, she argued, had little or no variation across either linguistic or racial lines.[204]

Further work done by Mankayi elaborates on a parliamentary inquiry relating to whether women would be able to execute the same physical tasks as their male counterparts. Therefore, he argued, for this reason, women were prevented from being specifically used in combat roles until after 1996. Provisions were already in existence in the constitution, and were seen as discrimination from the SANDF's side if women were not presented with the opportunity to go further along their own paths in the military, including combat service.[205]

From June 1994 onwards, for the first time in the history of the SA Navy, women were

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[202] Heinecken, L. (1998). Social Equality versus Combat Effectiveness: An Institutional Challenge for the Military. *African Security Review*, 7(6), p 8.

[203] *Ibid.*

[204] *Ibid.*

[205] Mankayi, N. (2006). Male constructions and resistance to women in the military. *Scientia Militaria*, 34(2), p 48. Another article that dealt with the legality of if women should be allowed to partake in operations otherwise it is discrimation can be found in: Le Crerar, W.J and Rolt, J. (1994). In letter and Spirit. *Salut*, September, p 20. In this article it is stated that denying any women to join an infantry unit or a submarine would be considered discrimination and contrary to the constitution.

allowed to go on extended sea voyages. The specific ship where this change in gender relations took place, was the SAS Drakensberg. The article reported that the SAS Drakensberg was able to accommodate female sailors.[206]

During 1995, the issue of gender equality became more prominent. Hence it became more important for the SANDF to promote gender equality. An example of changes that took place was the first female naval staff member obtaining her bridge watch keeping qualification [207] in the SA Navy; Ensign Myers was allowed to take her watch rounds in the control room of the SAS Drakensberg.[208] This instance is but one of many similar instances that had occurred and reported upon.

One of the most apparent changes in the SANDF ,as an integrated and transforming institution, departing from the old way of doing things, was the changed utilisation of women in uniform. Thus, training for women were brought up to par with that of the men, and certain guidelines were put in place to facilitate this. During this time, leadership development training for women still took place at the SA Army Women's College (SAVCOL) in George.[209]

Pertaining to principles for the ideal usage of women in the SANDF, the Defence Command Council (DCC) decided that training standards would be bought up to par, yet remain sensitive to gender. Women were therefore allowed to join combat corps such as infantry and may not be discriminated against due to gender. [210] The first time that women actually became a permanent part of the SANDF was in 1994. The new Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) and the Bill of Rights was abundantly clear on the issue that no discrimination was allowed on a gender basis.

Hence, for the first time in the history of the South African military women did side by side training with men at Army Gymnasium Heidelberg in 1998 after the SA Army

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[206] Louw, M. (1994). Sea challenge for Swans. *Salut*, June, p 51.
[207] The Bridge Watch certification or proficiency badge in the SA Navy implies that a member has been found competent in keeping watch upon the ship. Certain criteria has to be met, the member must be conversant with the ships navigation and radar detection systems amongst other requirements such as leadership and command skills. Junior Officers need to be qualified as Combat Officers before they are eligible to receive the badge.
[208] White, D. (1995). Women on the bridge. *Salut*, January, p 34.
[209] Viljoen, C. (1995). Sy aan sy in die loopgrawe. *Salut*, February, p 52.
[210] Zietsman, C. (1995). Men only. *Salut*, March, p 27.

Women's College closed down.[211] Compared to the apartheid defence force where women had been used in a supportive role (administration, signallers, clerks), with some in uniform while others were civilian women in service of the SADF.

Although the SANDF had made remarkable strides towards the promotion of equal opportunities in the SANDF relating to gender specifically, it was not welcomed by some elements within the SANDF and the South African society. Some of the concerns that were expressed were that women were now exposed to dangerous situations at roadblocks and areas generally previously only considered safe for men.[212] A study was conducted in 1997 regarding attitudes towards women in the military and language usage.[213] The study was based upon surveys that were representative of the South African population. The study found the following regarding attitudes towards women in uniform. [214]

Firstly, that in terms of political party affiliations, the Freedom Front (a mostly white political party that participated in parliamentary politics) was most supportive of women volunteering for combat roles. Secondly, along the lines of race, the white population group was actually most supportive of women volunteering to be in uniform. It is also stated that it was surprising to the author that the African racial group is less supportive of women in uniform, in spite of the important role women had played in *uMkhonto we Sizwe*, the armed wing of the ANC. Thirdly, in terms of preferences by the participants in the survey women, were slightly more supportive than men and 65% indicated that they were in favour of women allowed combat status in the new defence force. The study concluded by stating that the grouping less in support of having women in a combat front line role was the African population group, including research participants that had indicated their affiliation with the ANC. The study cautioned that the new South African government should be sensitive to the objections regarding the public attitude

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[211] Cilliers, J. Heinecken, L. Liebenberg, I. and Sass, B. (1997). Public attitudes regarding women in the security forces and language usage in the SANDF. *African Security Review*, 6(3), pp. 3-14.

[212]Institute for Defence Policy. (1995). Women in the front line. *Salut*, October, p 24.

[213] It is interesting that both public perceptions on women in the security forces and public attitudes towards language usage was addressed in the same article in the *African Security Review*. See Cilliers, J., Heinecken, L. Liebenberg, I. and Sass, B. (1997). Public attitudes regarding women in the security forces and language usage in the SANDF.*African Security Review*, 6(3), pp. 3-14. Presumably it was because both gender and language was seen to be sensitive issues during the transition from the "old" SADF to the SANDF.

[214] Cilliers, J. Heinecken, L. Liebenberg, I. and Sass, B. (1997). Public attitudes regarding women in the security forces and language usage in the SANDF. *African Security Review*, 6(3), pp. 3-14.

towards women in combat roles.[215]

Salut remarked in 1996 that the first female ship's provost was yet another stepping-stone for gender equality in the SANDF.[216]

Figure 18: a. The promotion of gender equality in the SANDF was not always received with open arms.[217] b. Gender Mainstreaming was seen almost in the same light than affirmative action but in a gender sense.[218]

Gender transformation made a turn for the better during the period of *Salut,* as gender equality was enforced when promotions and posts were taken into consideration. The above cartoons clearly hint tongue-in-the-cheek at some of the changes that has taken place during the period.

Gender Equality (GE) remained a contentious debate during the transitional period. GE was included under the umbrella term of integration, as women were also part of the non-statutory forces when they were integrated. Hence, changes within the structure of the SANDF and the utilisation of women had changed in essence. Overall, most of the articles that were covered during the period of *Salut* had a neutral undertone regarding the role of women in the SANDF. It seemed, at least in the view of the researcher, that social tensions existed amongst women in army command positions regarding the advocacy of equal rights and opportunities. Some were positive while seemingly others did not want to be involved with such spurious activities. Clearly, however, GE can be seen as a dominant theme in its own right.

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[215]Cilliers, J. Heinecken, L. Liebenberg, I. and Sass, B. (1997). Public attitudes regarding women in the security forces and language usage in the SANDF. *African Security Review*, 6(3), pp. 3-14.

[216]SA Navy News, (1996). Eerste vrou as skeeps provoos. *Salut*, March, p 49.

[217] Viljoen, C. (1995). Armed with R4 Rifles. *Salut*, May, p 15.

[218] Anon. (1994). *Salut,* November.

The evolving situation in view of official reporting:

Salut addressed GE and issues related to redress in this field. Integration meant looking at the term as a broad concept and included GE.

In reflecting on the theme of GE, SANDF Annual Reports in the period 1994 to 1999 point out the following trends relating to gender equality.

Firstly, in the personnel section within these annual reports, these sections not only categorised the manpower component of the SANDF according to race, but also started doing so according to gender, race and arm of service. Secondly, if one looks at the annual reports from a gender and racial viewpoint the following trend can be seen over the 1994-1998 time period regarding integration and gender equalisation.

Women were, in stark contrast, a much lower figure than that of the men. Initially, the men were a very large group, and gradually the SANDF started to address the imbalances. The amount of men was reduced, and the number of women increased. However, the ideal of 50 % women and men as an idealistic figure within the military setup presented a huge challenge.

3.5.3 LANGUAGE

As pointed out by observers and researchers the use of language as medium of instruction was to be one of the challenges in the changing defence environment. One of the themes that manifested during the 1994-1995 period was the language question. The issue was addressed in *Salut.* As 11 official languages were recognised in South Africa, it was decided that translators from Directorate Languages should assist in the translation of non-English documents to a language that the recipient of the document could understand.[219]

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[219] Van der Westhuizen, A. (1995). Which Language? *Salut*, January, pp 32-33.
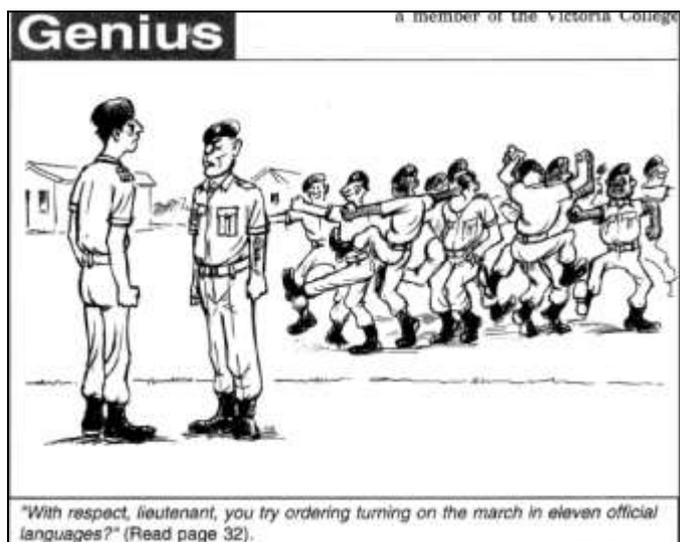
Figure 19: The language question and the SANDF.[220]

The cartoon above illustrates the difficulties in communication during the initial years of the SANDF. With the changes that took place, the main language and medium of all correspondence would change to English as the norm. Only a few articles actually dealt with the language policy in the newly created SANDF, but it was still an important theme as it transformed the SANDF into a dominantly English entity as opposed to the previous bilingual use of Afrikaans and English.[221] In total, four articles dealt with the language policy. One of which stated the reason why English was used it was a common understandable language for everyone to use as a means of communication.[222]

In contrast to the cartoon in *Salut* depicting the humour of language confusion, the situation in reality was more complex, although, given the history of language usage and the role of apartheid in the then SADF.

A study conducted in 1997 which in part looked at the language question found the following in its research.

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[220] Anon, (1995). *Salut*, January, p 64.
[221] In some SADF units before 1990 the majority of permanent force staff and conscripts were Afrikaans-speaking. This meant in practice that Afrikaans frequently dominated as language of instruction despite the fact that there were English speaking members.
[222] Among the articles that dealt with the language policy in the transition period in the *Salut* magazine was: White, D. (1994). SAS Saldanha strikes gold, *Salut,* July, pp. 38-39.

Firstly, there was opposition from the African racial grouping regarding having Afrikaans as a second language in the SANDF. Partly, it was seen as the language of the oppressor. Secondly, along the lines of political parties, it was believed by the New National Party (NNP), successor to the National Party, that only one language should be used for command. However, as the article stipulated, it was important in any military to have a unified language for command and control during operations.[223] As the article was published in 1997, it only dealt with the language question at that point in time. After the decision to use English as the main language of communication in the SANDF, the issue did not receive much further attention.

3.6 DISABILITIES

The improvement of the living standard of those affected with disabilities was considered a priority for the SANDF. The participation of disabled persons in sport is one of the means of developing those affected. This is done to either enhance the social skills or the physical skills of those affected. Sporting opportunities existed in sports such as basketball, rugby and soccer.[224]

Sporting events supported by the SANDF went underway with the launch of Project HOPES (Help Our People Enjoy Sports). The project was aimed at improving the lives disabled children through participation in sport. [225]

Rehabilitation of disabled persons was conducted throughout the period and still continues at present. This was done by various means. Firstly, horse riding was introduced as it increases the balance and concentration of the rider. In addition, it leads to increased self-confidence, patience and endurance in the person. An assortment of sport types was and is, available within the SANDF to caters for disabled members.[226]

Bush camps were often used to expose citizens of South Africa to a glimpse of

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[223] Cilliers, J. Heinecken, L. Liebenberg, I. and Sass, B. (1997). Public attitudes regarding women in the security forces and language usage in the SANDF. *African Security Review*, 6(3), pp. 3-14.
[224] Clark, J. (1994). Defence supports Development sport. *Salut*, May, p 60.
[225]Viljoen, C. (1994). We are the World. *Salut*, October, p 45.
[226] Hermann, I. (1995). Om steeds 'n vollewete kan lei. *Salut*, October, p 54.

soldiering. Amongst some of these camps were mentally disabled children and adults.[227]

During the period, many articles were written concerning disabilities and members that were disabled. The articles written can be categorised into those of a community interaction nature, and those that took a closer look towards the rights and the lifestyle of those affected with disability. In total, 12 articles were written relating to disabilities, although a large number were actually either orientated towards sporting events or in letters, and so fell outside the scope of the thesis.

Disabilities also came to the fore as an area where the SANDF needed to be made more accessible to those affected by disabilities. The layout of various military bases still lack this, mainly owing to the fact that one of the requirements to join the SANDF is to be medically fit and have not disability.[228]

3.7 HUMANITARIAN AID

Much humanitarian aid/relief had been provided by the SANDF in the case of natural disasters. Amongst these were various instances, floods in Mozambique amongst others. Predominantly, it was the SA Air Force involved with these operations.

The agricultural department building caught fire in July 1994, and the SA Air Force took part in evacuating the members inside the building and fought the fire. 17 Squadron was tasked to assist. 17 Squadron was usually the primary squadron in relief operations as it operates helicopters, a much needed platform in such operations.[229]

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[227]Viljoen, C. (1995). Kinderskuier in 'n bos. *Salut*, November, p 61.
[228] Articles that dealt with disabilities is the following: Roux, C. (1996). Gestremdes. *Salut*. May, p 43. In this article CURAMUS an association for those that were wounded during duty was looking for volunteers to join the association.
[229] Clark, J. (1994). Help at hand. *Salut*, July, p 25.

Figure 20: A Puma helicopter from 17 Squadron assisting the humanitarian aid operation in Pretoria.[230]

Air Force Base (AFB) Ysterplaat was another example. The base received various commendations. During January 1995, it received the award for the most sustained assistance in rescue operations and humanitarian relief.[231]

In addition to rescue operations, the SANDF has also been involved with community interaction and projects relating to the development of communities. AFB Ysterplaat won the Sword of Peace award for the sixth time during 1995, for their extraordinary contribution to humanitarian relief in the form of rescue operations. [232]

Except for the publication of humanitarian aid relief in the *Salut* magazine, it actually featured mostly in the Air Force specific magazine, Mil Med and the SA Navy News.

3.8 ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATON

The impact of desertification, anti-rhino poaching activities and the conservation of military training areas is relevant as an array of environmental topics that manifested in the *Salut* magazine during the period.

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[230] Clark, J. (1994). Help at hand. *Salut*, July, p 25
[231] White, D. (1995). Five times awarded: Excelling in the humanitarian field. *Salut*, January, p 50.
[232] Mare, L. (1996). All in a Day's work. *Salut*, February, p 31.

Figure 21: A humoristic peep at environmental issues. [233]

The impact of desertification upon human lives was not to be neglected. Water intervention schemes to assist local communities with the provision of water had been established in early 1994. The provision of water is considered a priority in raising the living standards of the local populace who do not have basic services.[234] *Salut* pointed out the SANDF's role in this regard.[235]

The destruction of ammunition and its impact of the environment had also in various instances been reported in the magazine. Two articles in the period mentioned this.

The SANDF had various occasions given units awards for having environmental awareness. The purpose was to spread awareness and create a competitive spirit. The awareness of the environment arose because the areas under SANDF control needed to be correctly managed in order to reduce the impact upon the environment during training and other activities. Therefore, in order to manage the training areas and bases correctly, the SANDF had an Environmental Service within its structure.[236]

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[233] Anon. (1994). Genius cartoon on environmental issues pertaining to cacti. *Salut, May, p 63.*
[234] Pienaar, N (1995). The "thirst" Quencher. *Salut*, April, p 38.
[235] *Ibid.*
[236] Harmse, M. (1995). Grond is goudwerd. *Salut*, August, p 29.

3.9 SUMMARY

Salut was a magazine for the SANDF during the transition period. *Paratus* had to change from the old to the new during its transition to an announcer of a new era. In a manner of speech, *Salut,* in turn, was a guardian magazine heralding in a new era and drawing focus towards issues of transformation. It could be expected that it was to deal - as the post-1990 *Paratus* had to - with new issues that cropped up during the transition period. The term transformation soon eclipsed transition as well as related terms such as integration, demobilisation and rationalisation. In the broadest terms, transformation referred to the redress of the defence environment in terms of both race and gender as implied in the new Constitution and the Bill of Rights. As a Chapter 11 institution, protector of the territorial integrity of South Africa and a symbol of power of the new democratic state [237], the DoD and SANDF were central bodies to be transformed to reflect a post-apartheid constitutional state in which non-racialism, the redress of racial imbalances and gender equity were emphasised at the time.

As pointed out by Ferreira: "Within a short period from 1990 to 1994, the mission of the SANDF changed from countering a communist threat to that of a military in search of a mission …The SANDF had to be restructured to accommodate new societal demands. The post-apartheid SANDF became multi-purpose in mission, fully integrated women in a smaller volunteer professional force under civil control …"[238] Ferreira then expanded on changes that followed between 1994 and 2012 and their implications.[239]

The themes that emerged in *Salut,* as discussed in this chapter, reflect this era of transition, a term increasingly replaced by the more encompassing concept of

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[237] As a Chapter 11 institution together with SAPS and other security forces the DoD and SANDF were seen as central tenets of the new state. The 1996 Constitution stipulated that the primary function of the SANDF is to defend and protect the Republic of South Africa against external aggression, its territorial integrity and its people (Chapter 11, Art 200(2)).

[238] Ferreira, R. (2013). South Africa: From an apartheid army to a post-aparheid defence force. In: Manganyi, C, Liebenberg, I and Potgieter, T., (Eds). *South Africa and Romania: Transition to Democracy and Changing Security Paradigms.* Durban: Just done Publications, pp. 125.

[239] *Ibid.*

transformation. As a voice of the military as institution and the military in turn being a micro-cosmos of broader South African society, this military magazine (had to) reflect both real and anticipated changes in a transformative society.

3.10 CONCLUSION

During the final stages of the *Salut* magazine in April 2000, a readership survey was included in the December 1999 edition. The reason for this in particular was to obtain more insight regarding the readership and to improve the magazine. In terms of the general observations made in the feedback on the survey (published in the September 2000 edition of *Salut*) the following can be observed.

Firstly, the highest response rate was low ranking members which one can argue had ready access to the magazine. Secondly, the priority topic that the readers wanted to see more of in the magazine was related to operations (76 %). Interestingly, 31.6 % of the respondents stated their preference for motoring news! The readership survey in no small measure contributed to a revised magazine, to be called *SA Soldier* from May 2000 onwards. The *SA Soldier* is the current magazine for the whole SANDF and will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: *SA SOLDIER* (2001-2010) - PROMINENT THEMES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

From 2001 onwards the *Salut* magazine, as it was then known, transformed into the *SA Soldier* magazine and its objectives were laid out in the first edition of May 2001. The new objectives stated that the *SA Soldier* would be the government's communication instrument for the South African National Defence Force, its defence industries, including other stakeholders and the South African public at large. Thus, reporting on the relevant developments that occurred not only within the SANDF, but also in South Africa itself, became part of the broader mandate. The *SA Soldier* would be a mirror reflecting South African governmental policies. At the same time, the SANDF and Defence Corporate Communication as well as the editorial board, state in the magazine's editorial and inner cover page that the magazine did not necessary reflect the official standpoint of the SANDF. Arguably, this statement might pertain to letters as well as articles written by members to the editor of the magazine for publication.[240]

From the *SALUT* to the *SA Soldier,* many changes can be seen in the layout as well as the general size and composition of readership. The *SA Soldier* was also a result not only of one of many surveys that had been sent out to the readers, but also reflective of changes in the South African government and society at large. This can clearly be seen in the way the layout had changed as well as the reporting style aimed at making the magazine more appealing to the new intended readership.

During the 2001-2012 period, many changes had taken place in South African society, while some aspects remained significant challenges. Among these challenges was the HIV/AIDS dilemma facing the South African government and the rest of the African continent. Another key challenge that Africa also faced was poverty and inequality, more so in South Africa as a consequence of a skewed political system under apartheid. The persistence of crime on various levels and the rising phenomenon of service delivery protests could also be counted among these challenges.

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[240] Thiart, G. (2011). Your new Publication. *SA Soldier*, May, p 4.

Issues around transformation of state and society became part of the socio-political and economic discourse in post-apartheid South AfricaThese issues touched on the SANDF and its stakeholder communities.

Within the political realm, two important developments took place. Two changes in the presidency took place. Although the two presidential incumbents represented the same political party, different approaches were followed in order to deal with challenges that remained or emerged. During the era of President Thabo Mbeki, the African Renaissance was seen as paramount in order to advance not only South Africa, but the rest of Africa to the next stage of development.[241] South Africa, championing the cause of human rights in Africa, was to be the pioneer that would try to establish a more peaceful and progressive stage in African development. Part of this was to be achieved by making use of the African Peer Review Mechanism in order to lessen conflict on the African continent. With Thabo Mbeki as president, the approach changed so that the SANDF was increasingly deployed in Peace Support Operations from 2001 onwards.[242] According to Sidiropoulos the creation of the White Paper on South African involvement in International Peace Support Operations of 1999 could be considered to be a break away from the Mandela administration's fear of being seen in the same light as a regional destabiliser like the old apartheid government.[243] Given the nature of Mandela's leadership, South Africa's role on the continent and elsewhere, as demonstrated by its foreign policy, was driven on the level of a "moral high ground". South Africa's foreign policy under leadership of Mandela strongly focussed on negotiated solutions to conflict, spreading peace and the preference for conflict prevention and in cases advocating truth and reconciliation processes.

During the time of Nelson Mandela as president, the basic foundations had to be created in order to adopt international Peace Support Operations. Such a framework did not exist initially due to, firstly, the SANDF still undergoing a transformational stage and, secondly, the SANDF's budget had reduced and the equipment was outdated

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[241] Liebenberg, I. (1998). The African renaissance: Myth, Vital Lie or Mobilising Tool. *African Security Review*, 7(3): 42ff.
[242] Sidiropoulos, E. (2007). South Africa's regional engagement for peace and security. *FRIDE comment*, October, p 7.
[243] *Ibid,* p 9.

and in some instance inadequate for a conventional warfare role and to an extent also sub-optimum for peace operation deployment.[244] Thus, Nelson Mandela led with his personality and believed that as South Africa had gone through a peaceful negotiated settlement with CODESSA it could be possible to assist others on the African continent to do the same.[245]

With Thabo Mbeki taking office, the foundation for involvement in Peace Support Operations had practically been laid. It was also during this time that the ANC government advocated that all states in Africa were inexorably linked economically and politically. Hence, it was of utmost importance to maintain peace and stability on the African continent. Whilst Nelson Mandela only allowed military observers (which were but a few) to be deployed to assist in PSO's, Mbeki actually deployed the SANDF in various capacities.[246] At the time, the SANDF was still undergoing major internal changes along the lines of the first defence review and the Army Strategy 2010.[247]

4.2 STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter will draw upon an array of topics in the magazine in order to examine the frequency of appearance. Firstly, the selection of the themes to be discussed in the chapter is outlined. Here the requirements for inclusion in the chapter are explained. Secondly, the researcher analyses and examines in depth the themes as they were covered with reference to examples that can be considered as representative of the theme. In order to achieve this, figures will be used to illustrate the dominance of certain themes above others. The last section of the chapter will deal with the findings that will be drawn upon from the earlier parts of the chapter, in essence being a summary.

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[244] Nibishaka, E. (2011). South Africa's Peacekeeping role in Africa: Motives and Challenges of Peacekeeping. *International Politics*, no 2, p 3.
[245] *Ibid.,*, pp 3-4.
[246] Barber, J. (2005). The new South Africa's foreign policy: principles and practice. *International Affairs*, 81(5), p 1085.
[247] Nibishaka, E. (2011). South Africa's Peacekeeping role in Africa: Motives and challenges of Peacekeeping. *International Politics,* 2, pp 4-5.

4.3 SELECTION OF THEMES

Themes that have been selected for this chapter had to have featured prominently in the magazine over the period 2001-2010. The requirements that needed to be fulfilled in order to be selected for inclusion in the chapter were the articles or contributions that:

a. featured more than once over the chosen time period;

b. featured in the magazine not as letters but articles written by correspondents or independent correspondents who contributed to the journal; and

c. articles that appeared over the selected period and related to a specific theme.

Some of the themes that have surfaced might not at first appear to be a dominant theme in the magazine itself. Following closer examination, it was discovered that certain themes appeared more readily in the magazine then others over different time periods, e.g. South African soldiers being deployed to Burundi during 2001 would feature more dominantly as it was the SANDF's first deployment there.

Although many letters were submitted to the editor during the 2001-2010 period, it was decided to omit the letters because they were personal viewpoints rather than that of the SANDF or the DOD itself. Letters to the editor, however relevant and informative, were subjective viewpoints and contained certain biases by the authors. The editorial committee had certain objectives to accomplish while individual contributions reflected personal views or emotions, it was argued.[248]

4.4 DOMINANT THEMES

The dominant themes that emerged through the period of analysis in the *SA Soldier*

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[248] There is space for some future research here. Letters to the editor of a magazine provide valuable qualitative insights into the readership of such a magazine and the world of socialisation and value systems of such readership. As such, it provides "a slice of life" of the attitude, belief, morals of individual members of a society/country/community of citizens. Hopefully future studies around this issue will emerge in due time.

were the following:

- the HIV/AIDS pandemic, prevention, treatment and the *Phidisa*, *Masimbamisane* campaigns;

- Peace Support Operations across the African continent;

- Humanitarian Aid relief towards other states on the African continent;

- social welfare, relating to family values, moral values and information relating to health issues;

- transformation, which included equal opportunities, affirmative action, gender equality and gender mainstreaming;

- disabilities - how disabled members lifestyles were affected and how they overcame obstacles, including treating the disabled in terms of constitutional obligations, and social etiquette in a democratic dispensation;

- environmental issues, pertaining to rhino poaching, how the military training areas were to be handled in order to leave the smallest possible environmental footprint on nature;

- The Reserve Force, its expansion during the time of increased involvement in PSO's, where the Reserve Force fitted in as well as the accomplishments through the year/period;

- Operational readiness/preparedness for both war combat and war prevention, including peace keeping and peace enforcement operations on the African continent generally judged by annual interstate field exercises.

4.4.1 THE HIV/AIDS PANDEMIC

Although HIV/AIDS did not feature in all the editions, it was, nevertheless, a dominant theme considering the widespread coverage it received during the period. The two most widespread written issues revolving around HIV/AIDS were the three campaigns raised by the government to increase awareness among the SANDF members as well as their families. These campaigns were the Masimbanesane moral values campaign, the "Fighting HIV/AIDS" and the Phidisa campaign. Each of these campaigns had different aims, gradually feeding into the next until the common aim of HIV/Aids prevention and awareness could be reached.

Masibambisane was launched on 1 August 2001 with the purpose of preventing the spread of HIV/Aids within the SANDF as well as to inform the public about the management and the measures that had been put in place to spread awareness. The initiative was aimed to educate, inform and raise consciousness about AIDS and its social consequences. Instead of merely informing and increasing knowledge about HIV/AIDS and its prevention, the campaign went further by attempting to affect behavioural changes in a person's lifestyle. The message was that the HIV/ Aids pandemic was of such a nature that it could not only cripple a military, but also a whole nation and future generations if not dealt with timeously.[249] The campaign featured in many advertisements in the back of the magazine as well as elsewhere. From June 2001, the campaign was introduced with the Masimbambisane adverts, alerting the reader that something larger was coming in the future. In the July 2001 edition, on the last page of the magazine, the reader was made aware of the SANDF's campaign against HIV/Aids for the first time. Not only was the public and the SANDF made aware of the campaign via the magazine, Defence Corporate Communication also had an influence in both the new Code of Conduct [250] and the Masimbambisane campaign.[251] In addition to this, Occupational Health and Safety Coordinators (OHS) had to attend Masimbanesane coaching sessions. These sessions dealt with the awareness of

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[249] Nomonde, V. (2001). Masibambisane. *SA Soldier*, September, p 12.
[250] It is remarked by Stott that on 15 February 2001 that a code of conduct was introduced that had to be signed by all members of the SANDF obligating them to abide by certain principles. Firstly, accepting personal responsibility for own actions. Secondly, respecting democratic civil control of the military. Thirdly, refusing to obey an obviously illegal order. Lastly, treating all people fairly in accordance with the constitution. Stott, N. (2002). From the SADF to the SANDF: Safeguarding South Africa for a better life for all? *Violence and transition series*, Vol 7. *http://www.csvr.org.za/wits/papers/papvtp7.htm*. (accessed 23 July 2013)
[251] SANDF, 2001. Annual Report p 59.

HIV/AIDS and where it originates, to how to use both male and female condoms and how to prevent contracting the disease. These work sessions also were to enable the OHS coordinators to facilitate discussions with other members within the unit.[252] The beyond awareness campaign, was also monitored every six months regarding the knowledge, attitudes and practice surveys.[253] Dennis Ndaba also relayed a message in the SA Soldier in which HIV/Aids was to be combated by spiritual and ethical behaviour. The campaign was established to appeal to people's ethical and moral values and belief system in order to reduce the amount of new infections and at the same time spread the awareness.[254] Role play was also frequently used in the campaign in order to make people aware that even though HIV/AIDS was infectious, people could carry on with their normal everyday lives as per normal, as long as a few precautions were taken.[255]

HIV/AIDS not only had an impact upon the public, but also on the economy as well as the operational capabilities of the SANDF and its capacity to fulfil its mandate of defending the constitution, the people and the country. The annual report of 2001 stated that the HIV/AIDS and its alleviation was of strategic importance to the SANDF and to South Africa.[256] At the start of 2002, many healthcare workers as well as educators and facilitators, had been trained to present the campaigns at unit level. In addition, a national coordinator was appointed who would be in charge of the campaign and its awareness. It was at this time during mid-2002, that it was planned to evaluate the campaign to establish how many of its aims had been accomplished.[257] The planning and execution of such an exercise, as with the policy making process, was important. However, to ensure that such campaigns achieved the set objectives some feedback was needed. *SA Soldier* provided the magazine's perspective on this.

Following this campaign, numerous members of the SANDF and its PSAP members had been tested for HIV/ AIDS in order to break the silence and the stigma that followed this deadly disease. However, the total number of those that were tested

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[252]HIV Training files for OHS Coordinators, Masimbanesane SAMHS 2002, from the personal collection of the researcher.

[253]Sagala, J. K. (2008). HIV/AIDS Prevention Strategies in the Armed Forces in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Critical Review. *Armed Forces and Society*, 34(2) p 298.

[254] Ndaba, D. (2003). Combat HIV/ Aids. SA Soldier,January, p 18.

[255] Vuthela, N. (2003). Create a cadre of trainers. *SA Soldier*, June. p 12.

[256] SANDF. 2001. Annual Report, p 7.

[257] SANDF. 2002. Annual Report, p x.

remains classified along with those that were tested positive. [258] In terms of access to information, this report was more available for public consumption than what one would have expected. It was unlikely that the earlier *Paratus* would have reported on such thorny challenges. However, the classification of specific data also points towards the sensitivity of the issue in terms of operation and deployment challenges and requirements; especially where deployment on peace keeping operations were at stake.
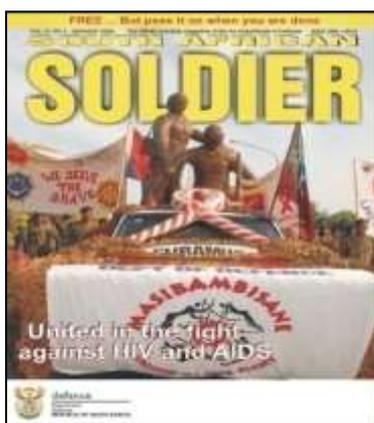
Figure 22: Masibambisane Campaign, Cover page of *SA Soldier*.[259]

"Fighting HIV/AIDS through value-based spiritual and ethical conduct", was launched by Chaplain General (Rev) Maj Gen Gqiba on 27 November 2002. This campaign went about ensuring that it appealed to six common values that were assumed to be part of everyone's daily lives. The chaplains of the various units within the SANDF presented the campaign alongside the Masimbanesane campaign to their unit members. By informing the members in the SANDF and with their families, through both campaigns it was hoped that victimisation would also decrease and that those affected would stand together instead of shying away from those members who were HIV positives. At the end of the workshop run by the unit chaplains, the attendees received a certificate for their attendance and thus, made not only a promise to themselves but to their peers to fight the HIV enemy/onslaught.[260]

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[258] Bux, I. (2003). Break the stubborn silences that pervade the epidemic. *SA Soldier*, August, p 28.
[259] Front page of *SA Soldier* January 2008.
[260] Ndaba, D, (2003). Combat Aids through spiritual and ethical conduct. *SA Soldier*, January, p 18.

Figure 23: Certificate handed out to the participants of the Six Moral Values campaign.[261]
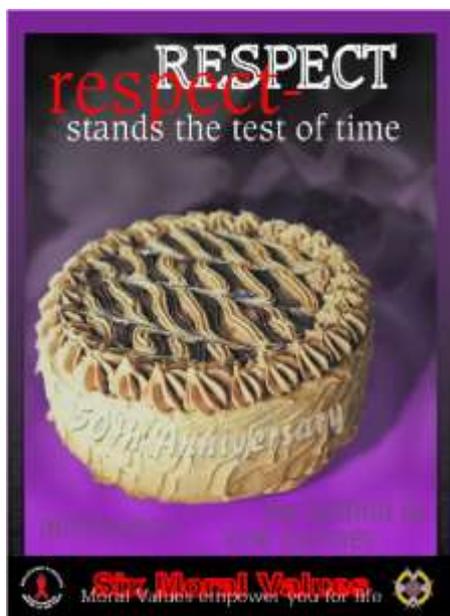
Figure 24: Chaplain General's attempt at HIV/AIDS prevention

The third campaign, named Phidisa was rolled out during January 2004. The campaign had led to the establishment of six HIV/Aids research sites across South Africa in which potential cures for the pandemic were studied. In addition, this campaign also considered a larger focus on either directly or indirectly affected members, by attempting to remove the stigma around infected persons. The campaign further debunked myths by making use of up to date research on how the disease was spread and took the groundwork laid by the Masimbamisane campaign further by

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[261] From the personal collection of the writer.

effectively seeking treatment for the affected members and their families.[262] In the November 2004 edition, Brigadier-General Motumi remarked that if the SANDF was to directly engage with media on this issue, it might be sensationalised by the media. Thus, it was decided to allow information to be made available to the media, but the official figures of those infected members were to remain secret.[263] This decision was taken, one may assume, based on the role the media plays (or may be assumed to play) in the creation of perceptions as well as in agenda setting to the general public.

Agenda setting and the creation of perceptions by the media is internationally seen as important to the military. After the USA experienced a loss of media advantage during the Vietnam war due to political reasons, the media was prohibited on reporting on affairs that happened during the first Gulf War, except the information that had been provided to them (in this case reference is made to so-called embedded journalists). Biernatzki argues that the two wars fought by the US in Grenada 1983 and the Gulf War 1990, set about numerous media controversies. These controversies arose after the US Military limited the sharing of information to the media. This was considered to be as a result of the "Vietnam Effect".[264] After the need was recognised to have the media involved, the Sidle Commission was created in order to inform the media better about the events that unfolded in the 1990 Gulf War.[265] It was only recently during the 2001 attack on Iraq that the media was again allowed relative freedom to report, but with a preference for embedded journalists. The latter phenomenon can be seen as an attempt to set or control the media agenda in reporting on war situations.

The media can make or break a public image and this can affect the way the civil populace within a country views its government. As it is frequently said; media spawns perceptions and perceptions influence policies and politics. As such, the media can mobilise people to maintain or change a system and is able to affect the very legitimacy of a government or the policies advanced by the government[266]. An example of this

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[262]Matanga, S. (2004). Effective HIV/AIDS management is vital: Launch of Project Phidisa. *SA Soldier*, January, p 20.

[263] Motumi, N. E. (2004). The Success of Project Phidisa lies in communication. *SA Soldier* November, p 32.

[264] Biernatzki, W. (2003). War and Media. *Communication Research Trends*, 22(3), pp 6-7.

[265] *Ibid.,* p 10.

[266]Compare Giddens, A. (1993). *Sociology* (2nd Edition). Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 446ff, 453ff; See also Kotze, H J and Van Wyk, J J. (1986). *Politieke Konsepte* (Johannesburg: Lex patria, pp. 90ff, 97, 132ff, 145 on mass media and mobilisation, political socialisation and propaganda. See also Parsons, W. 1999. *Public Policy*. (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp.107-109, 204ff.

is seen in when the Executive National Security Programme (ENSP) went to visit the USA during October 2005. The perceptions that were created by the media, had created an unfavourable image of the SANDF in the USA. Afterwards discussions this was rectified.[267]

In between the campaigns described above, as reported on in *SA Soldier* various further efforts were made by the HIV/Aids Advisory Group as well as other governmental organisations alongside the SANDF, to alleviate the effect HIV/AIDS had on the soldiers and their families and, presumably, the broader public. The DOD Workplace programme was launched in conjunction with the launch of the Department of Public Service and Administration release of the Managing HIV/AIDS in the workplace guide on 21 June 2002.[268] Not surprisingly, many NGOs are interested in making money available for HIV/AIDS research in Africa. Hence, these projects were partly funded (especially the laboratory and research site side) from outside investments to the projects and or the South African government.

Other efforts were also made by the Service Corps during 2003. This took the form of an awareness campaign in conjunction with that of the Masimbambisane and Phidisa campaigns. The campaign was considered a success and was to be implemented with further intakes in the Service Corps of Port Elizabeth. This was only one of the many campaigns launched at unit level.[269]

Another event that was conducted at unit level to promote awareness took place during March 2003. In a conference, the attendees were reminded that those that has the disease were being ridiculed and that it was time that those affected asserted themselves by being open about their status and speaking out even if others

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[267] Reynolds, T. (2006). Study tour to America. SA *Soldier, April, p 31. Other instances of perceptions and perception management exist in the SA Soldier magazine.* Siyongwana, F. 2003. Align Human resources with Affirmative Action. *SA Soldier*, September, *p 21*. In which it is argued that people has to forget the negative perceptions regarding affirmative action. It is not about race and gender, but about putting the right person in the right place taking into cognasance demographical balances that needs to be maintained. Thlou, B. L. (2003). Affirmative Action can succeed. *SA Soldier*, October, p 36. goes into depth pertaining to perceptions of Affirmative Action and how it has to be set aside. In essence changing peoples' perceptions about Affirmative Action. These are only a few of many articles dealing with perceptions and their management.

[268] Grant, B. K, Strode, A. and Smart, R. n.d. Managing Hiv/Aids in the workplace: A guide for Government Departments*. http://www.justice.gov.za/vg/hiv/docs/2002_gov-manual-hiv-guide.pdf*. (Accessed 15 January 2014).

[269] Van Staden, M. (2003). Fighting HIV/AIDS together. *SA Soldier*, January, p 17.

stigmatised them .[270]

HIV/Aids does not affect women only, but both male and female equally. Thus, General Siphiwe Nyanda also launched the DOD Gender Training Programme on April 2003. Although it broadly followed the lines of the Masimbambisane campaign, this training was specifically focussed on the role men play in the prevention of the spreading of the pandemic. As the SANDF was still seen as a male dominated organisation, it was seen as an opportunity to change their attitudes and behaviour towards women. Organisations conducting research on the pandemic should also consider the role men play in its prevention. Along with this the role poverty and education played in AIDS prevention was highlighted.[271]

The awareness of HIV/Aids was also spread through sporting events at the time. Amongst these events was the World Vision cycle ride during 2003 against Aids. In this case cyclists from across the globe came together to promote awareness about HIV/ Aids. The actual aim of this cycling event was to promote awareness and mobilise a political and a public movement to deal with the disease.[272]

Substance abuse also leads to the spread of HIV/Aids. As far back as 1987 it was known that intravenous drug users could spread the disease by using the same needles.[273] In the *SA Soldier* many articles dealt with substance abuse. These articles did not only focus upon intravenous drug abusers, but also that abuse of alcohol or drugs impaired one's judgement. The excessive usage of alcohol also leads to the decreased effectiveness of the immune system that can lead to increased vulnerability of diseases. Alcoholism is however, a more easily treated social problem then HIV/ Aids.[274]

Events held by the SANDF in terms of its spreading of its awareness campaign, not only ensured that all members in the SANDF were aware and should actively partake in preventing the disease from spreading, but also showed the greater South African

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[270] Ndaba, D. (2003). Increase awareness of HIV/AIDS *SA Soldier*, June, p 11.
[271] Nomonde, V. (2003). Create a cadre of trainers. *SA Soldier*, June, p 12.
[272] Grobler, J. J. (2003). World vision cycle ride against AIDS. *SA Soldier*, January, p 41.
[273] Nieuwoudt, N.J, SAMS Order 3/21/85, 'Aids and Service in the SADF' 32185, Box 6, SANDF Documentation Service, Appendix A.
[274] DOD Bulletin, (2003). Alcohol abuse could spread HIV/AIDS. *SA Soldier*, August, p 15.

public that the SANDF was taking the issue seriously. These events included conferences, sporting events and marches organised for members of the SANDF.[275]

During 2001-2010 the HIV/AIDS campaigns were a latent theme emerging from the *SA Soldier* that increased in the frequency to become one of the main themes. Out of a total of 2608[276] articles written during the time of varying sizes and length, 38 dealt with either HIV/AIDS the campaign themselves or with its cure and prevention.[277] The statistics of HIV/AIDS coverage in the *SA Soldier* magazine over the time period translates as follows:

Articles HIV/AIDS 2001-2010

	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
■ HIV/AIDS	8	11	4	7	2	2	4	4	2
■ total articles	209	362	438	428	441	392	338	334	335
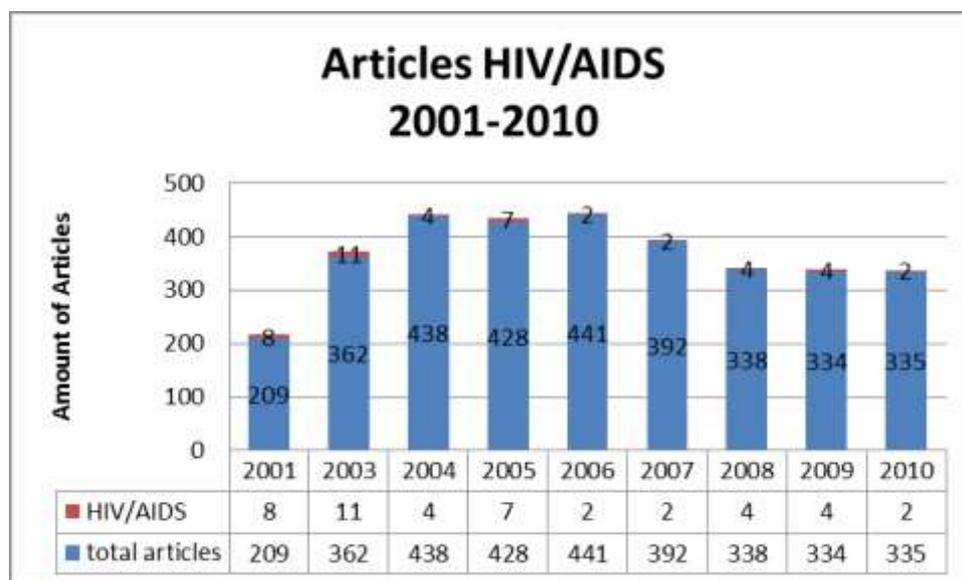
Chart 2: Illustrating the coverage of HIV/AIDS during 2001-2010 period.

Most articles on this theme were written during the course of 2003. Incidentally, 2003 coincided with the launch of Phidisa, that followed by the Masimbimisane campaign. left December 2002.

Hence the total amount of articles pertaining to HIV/AIDS was 40 out of 3327, about 1.20%. However, although the actual amount of articles written were low, it can be seen as a re-emerging theme in the magazine over the time period. The importance

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[275] Lebohang, L. (2003). The Health Walk. *SA Soldier*, January, p 46.
[276] The campaign adverts within the magazine itself has been excluded for statistical purposes. The researcher felt that this would inflate the amount of articles, as adverts themselves do not constitute an article.
[277]The majority of the articles that dealt with HIV/Aids or the campaigns were between two and four pages in length. Very few were less than a page long.

of its coverage can also be seen in the SANDF's threat perception in the annual reports from 2001 to 2010 and onwards.

Not only did the SANDF educate its own members regarding the pandemic, but also on numerous occasions educated the greater South African public regarding its fight against HIV/AIDS. This is evidently seen in the amount of events, sport events and conferences held by the SANDF.

4.4.2 PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS

Peace Support Operations are clearly defined in the White Paper on South African involvement in International Peace Support Operations to be an umbrella term encompassing post conflict reconstruction, peace enforcement and traditional peacekeeping, amongst other forms. The White Paper on Peace Missions (1999) was also a valuable framework in order to establish the criteria for which type of mission and what was required in order to attain the necessary outcome.

As Peace Support Operations had spanned over the entire period of the magazine from the first edition onwards, this received ample attention. Before 2001, South Africa had not yet engaged in Peace Support Operations (PSO). Only after the white paper had been finalised did South Africa's involvement begin. Various PSO operations were portrayed in the *SA Soldier*, although they might not have had the same amount of coverage or size of articles. These differences were indicative of the diversity of the operations themselves, as the situations in the affected countries were vastly different; differences that impacted on the nature and style of deployment.

Another significant fact to consider was that although some operations may have received less coverage than others, a hypothesis can be made that those operations in which the most personnel and material were used, had the most coverage. These reasons are to be found in the South African public's inherent interest in the SANDF being utilised by the government as an instrument of foreign policy, and that the SANDF could not be involved without the consent from Parliament. Another case in point is the more personnel involved with a specific deployment, the more letters and

correspondence would be, hence more information would be provided and made available. Small scale involvements had also taken place of which the public or members inside the SANDF might not even be aware of. An example of this was the deployment of 25 military observers to Ethiopia and Eritrea during the course of 2001-2003, under the United Nations Security Council. Others who perhaps did not readily know the roles that the SANDF had to fulfil during its small scale deployments were VIP protection elements, in order to ensure security for key governmental officials in Haiti and other countries, in its involvements. The peacekeeping operations South Africa was involved in various capacities, between 2001 and 2010, are the following:

Operation MONUC II (MISTRAL). South Africa became involved in the DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) during the late 1990's. South Africa was tasked by the United Nations (UN) to deploy specialised units of the SANDF to assist in the peace efforts in the DRC. These deployed specialised units included eight air cargo handling teams, two air crash rescue and fire teams, one aero medical evacuation team and necessary support team members to maintain the equipment. Initially the SANDF only had one military liaison officer deployed in the DRC. Two contingents were dispatched, one on 6 April the other on 14 April 2001. [278] Although South Africa did not initially contribute many troops to the mission, in 2003, 1000 members of the SANDF were deployed. Amongst those deployed was an aviation regiment, infantry battalion group, 48 military police members to assist in the creation of a military police force for the DRC, as well as drilling units along with other engineering elements. During the course of 2005, however, when MONUC created the Eastern Division, the contribution was reduced.[279]

Operation ESPRESSO was the South African assistance in Ethiopia and Eritrea. South African involvement, although in a limited capacity, stemmed from the ceasefire between Ethiopia and Eritrea during June 2000. The mission, named UNMEE, was led by the UN DPKO (United Nations Department of Peace Keeping Operations) that had requested South Africans as a troop from contributing countries to dispatch two military observers to support the mission. In addition, a plan Officer and an engineer

[278] Anon. (2001). Editorial Team, Go and make peace. *SA Soldier*, June, pp. 12-13.
[279] Sisulu, L. Operation Mistral: Democratic Republic of Congo, *http://www.dod.mil.za/operations/international/Mistral.htm*. (Accessed 11 February 2014).

cell warrant officer were also deployed. As such, South Africa was involved in a limited capacity under the mandate of the UN DPKO. Unfortunately, the mission was seen to failed to cease hostilities between these two countries which led to a reduction of the contingent during July 2008. The mission ended the following month (August 2008).[280]

Operation FIBRE was seen as a bilateral mission led initially by the African Union (AU) during October 2003, named AMIB. South Africa was tasked to contribute troops in support of the Arusha Peace Agreement. This time, the SANDF was only involved in VIP protection of delegates of the Burundi transitional government. As this was the first large scale PSO deployment the SANDF had seen thus far, the UN was asked to assist in the undertaking. The AMIB was effectively created during May 2003. South Africa was not the only contributor to the mission's efforts as Mozambique and Ethiopia also contributed some troops. During June 2004, the mission was renamed ONUB as it fell under the control of the UN. The last South African forces at the time to withdraw were the VIP protection element during December 2006.[281]

Operation TRITON, another AU led mission, was to assist with maintaining order and stability in the Comoros during 2001 to 2007.

Operation AMPHIBIAN was a short lasting operation that assisted in the removal of all foreign forces that had to withdraw from the DRC. As a Secretariat had been established for this goal, it was later changed into a Third Party Verification Mechanism of which South Africa was one of constituents. This operation ended during June 2004. Thus, it lasted from 2002 until 2004.[282]

Operation SUNRAY, was an emergency operation that resulted in the deployment of a multinational task force in order to bring stability to the situation in one of the towns in DRC's, Bunia. South Africa was requested to deploy helicopters in order to assist in efforts to maintain order and stability. Initially it was named Operation ARTEMIS, but during December 2003, the Operation was renamed SUNRAY.[283]

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[280]Ross, C. (2009). Peace support operations. *SA Soldier*, September, p 11.
[281]*Ibid.*
[282]*Ibid.*, p 13.
[283]*Ibid.*

Operation MONTEGO, entailed the deployment of SANDF personnel to Libya in support of the UN DPKO's efforts for UNMIL (United Nations Mission in Liberia). This operation was from October 2003 ending in January 2005. Throughout this deployment only three military staff officers were deployed.[284]

Operation CORDITE, was the South African involvement in Sudan from July 2004 onwards. It entailed the deployment of both staff officers and MILOBS to Sudan in support of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AUMIS). The mission was ended during December 2007 and underwent a flag change from an AU mission to a hybrid mission between the AU and the UN. Thus, it became known as UNAMID. The South African contingent under CORDITE remained for the hybrid mission until its completion.[285]

Operation TEUTONIC, which was launched during January 2005 marked the South African involvement with the DRC in which integration and training assistance was provided to the FARDC. It was undertaken after a signed agreement between the governments of Belgium, South Africa and the DRC. During 2005 the operation was expanded to operation Teutonic II which included the upgrading of training centres along with the FARDC hospitals which was completed during 2006. During 2006, the support to DRC furthermore expanded as a project officer was allocated. In 2007, the personnel were withdrawn and replaced.[286]

Operation PRISTINE was launched in the Ivory Coast in accordance with a bilateral agreement signed in Pretoria between the Ivory Coast and the Nouvelle Forces. However, due to the South African commitments elsewhere on the African continent, the operation ended during December 2006.[287]

Operation CURRICULUM, provided assistance to the AU special protection element in Burundi from January 2007 to 2009. The operation was scaled down in December 2006 in order to withdraw foreign soldiers. However, the SANDF was requested to remain behind in order to ensure the safety of leaders during the negotiations that were underway in Burundi at the time. The group deployed by the SANDF was named

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[284]Ross, C. (2009). Peace support operations. *SA Soldier*, September,p 13.
[285]*Ibid,.* p 14.
[286]*Ibid.*
[287]*Ibid,* pp 14-15.

the AU Special Task Force and comprised of a headquarters, maintenance platoon and VIP Protection element, amongst others.[288]

Operation INDULIi, involved the SANDF's assistance to the UN Political Mission to Nepal during April 2007 to 31July 2009. It was a political mission of nature, although military observers from the SANDF were used. Not much was written regarding this operation.
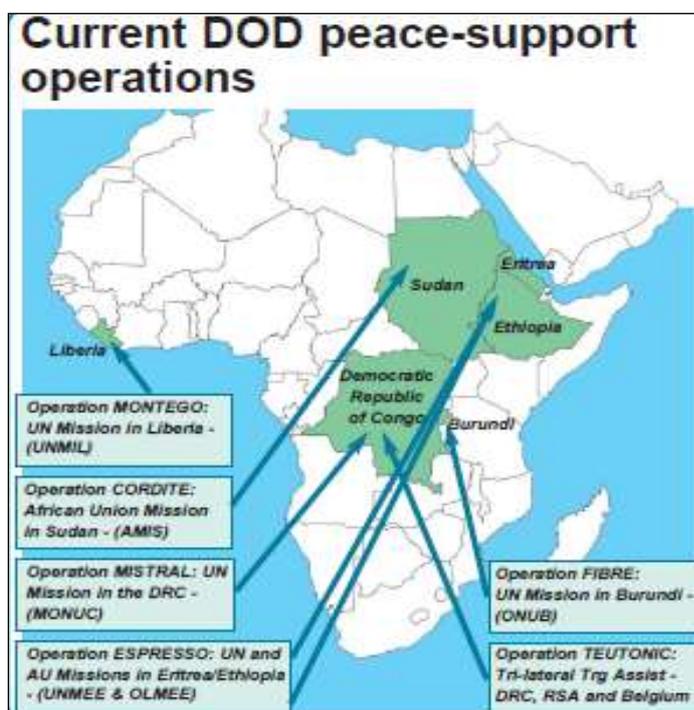
Figure 25: SANDF deployments during 2001-2005 period with dates of deployments and readapted from *SA Soldier* April 2005.[289]

Thus, over the ten-year period in which the *SA Soldier* reported on the SANDF's PSO's, it was involved with fourteen operations or missions in total. In each of these operations of ONUB, challenges were encountered and lessons learnt with regard to future deployments.

In terms of coverage on the operations and the associated missions themselves, the most attention was directed towards the larger scale deployments. These deployments

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[288] Ross, C. (2009). Peace support operations. *SA Soldier*, September, pp. 14-15.
[289] Ndaba. D. (2005). Our Army Defence Reserves deployed in the DRC. *SA Soldier*, April, p 25.

were to the DRC, Sudan and Burundi respectively. On the other operations reports were also written although less in number. The rationale for this difference was because where most of the soldiers are deployed more reports would follow as it needed more funding to maintain such a force, so parliament and other stakeholders, including SANDF personnel, wanted regular updates.

Peace Support Operations coverage (1999-2010)
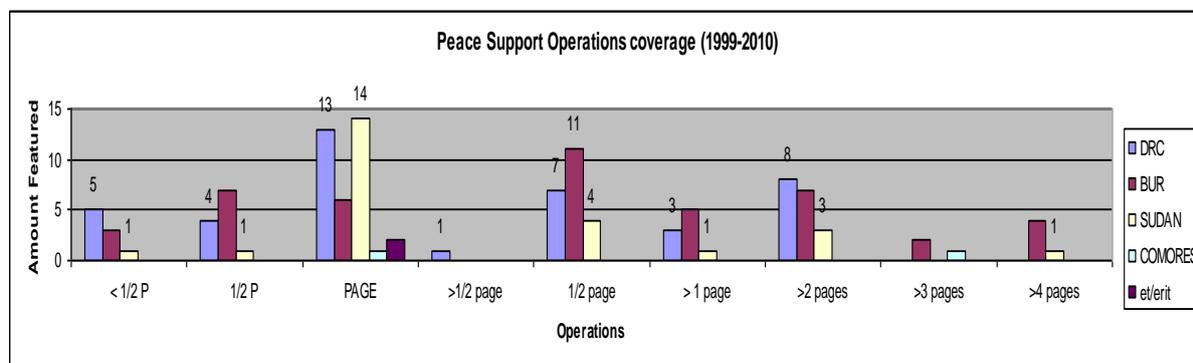
Chart 3: Publicity in terms of coverage in amount of pages of the various Peace Support Operations.[290]

The half a page articles and smaller, dealt with personal experiences during deployments rather than official viewpoints on the operations themselves. However, some articles did explain why personnel had been deployed in that operation.

The full page and page and a half articles, dealt with more detailed examination of the operations. These articles sought to provide information regarding the status of the operations as well as the experiences and the difficulties encountered.

The more than one page articles dealt either with one specific operation or with all operations simultaneously in the discussion. For example, articles would focus on the progress made in Burundi, Sudan and the DRC.

The last category concerning coverage of the operations are the articles taking up more than two to three pages. These articles would either be academic written pieces that were generic to the operations, providing general information of the PSO's or they would provide a backdrop to the operation. In essence, these would provide historic and contemporary background to the operation. One example can be seen in the

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[290] These statistics has been compiled by counting the columns spacing in terms of the page sizes that these Operations received in the various issues of the *SA Soldier* during the 2001-2010 period.

September 2009 edition of the *SA Soldier* that marked the first decade of peacekeeping since 1999 when SANDF members were sent as military observers to the Eritrea Ethiopian conflict.
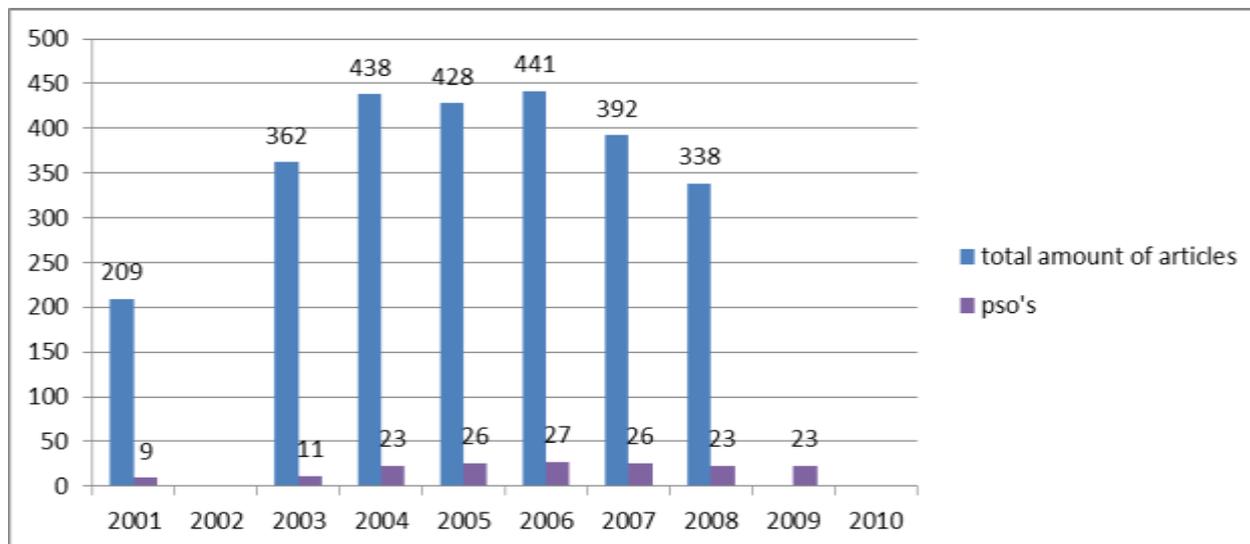
Chart 4: Total amount of articles written during 2001- 2010 versus those written pertaining to PSO's.

The above graph illustrate that out of the total of 2608 articles, 168 articles dealt with peace support operations.

The most reported on operations and dates associated with them as they appeared in the *SA Solder* included when in May 2001, South Africa dispatches its first batch of peace keepers to Burundi that marked the initial involvement alongside the AU with PSO endeavours on the African Continent.

Another operation reported on was when in 2006, the SANDF was deployed to Sudan to assist in maintaining stability in the Darfur region of Sudan that had been plagued with rivalry between North and South Sudan.

The 2009 period marked the first decade of the SANDF's involvement in PSO's, hence the amount of articles that were published on this issue in the *SA Soldier* during that time. Most of the articles covered two or more pages.
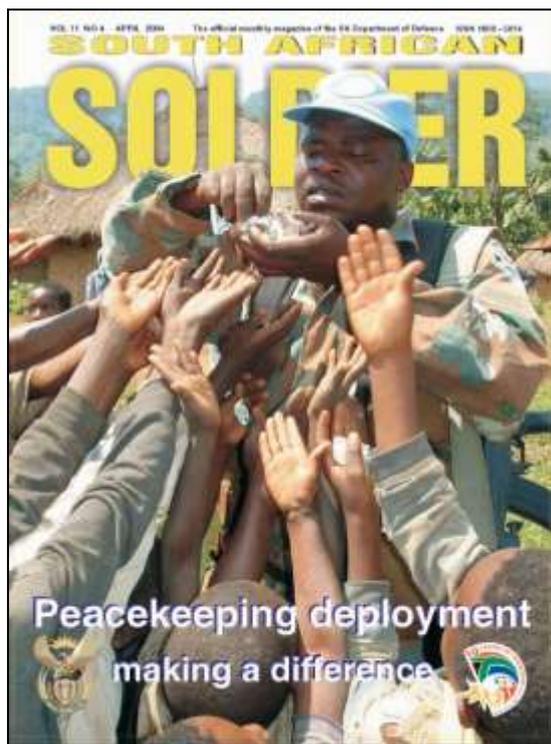
Figure 26: One of the many cover pages of the *SA Soldier*, illustrating South African forces involvement on the African Continent.

The *SA Soldier* not only provided information regarding the various operations that South Africa was involved in, but also a historical evolution of the path of its growing involvement on the African continent. Academia had also contributed to the debate on the nature as well as the challenges of PSO's for South Africa, by such authors as Theo Neethling, amongst others. Neethling's article pertained to the practicalities of PSOs. Included in this was the capacity needed along with the mandate needed to be fulfilled.[291]

4.4.3 SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH RELATED MATTERS

During the period, the *SA Soldier* covered many diseases in its editions, making the reader aware how to prevent these diseases and what caused them. Not only have diseases played a role during the time period, but also the social (physical, religious and mental) welfare of the soldiers as well as their families.

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[291] Neethling, T. (2001). South African engagement in peace missions. *SA Soldier*, August, pp 20-21.

Therefore the diseases that were covered by the *SA Soldier* is actually a broad spectrum ranging from malaria to HIV/AIDS. However, in this section the main emphasis will be laid on social welfare and not HIV/AIDS as that has been addressed in a previous section.

As most of the SANDF's deployments took place on the African continent, malaria was seen as a cause of concern. Most African countries, it is stated, lack the necessary infrastructure or resources to counter this threat effectively. This is further exacerbated by countries affected by civil wars, in which the government is unable to provide some of the basic needs to its people. Combatting malaria in such failed or near-failed states was hampered by the implosion of infrastructure, communication networks and the administrative apparatus. Malaria had also been linked with poverty as those affected families were not able to afford the same necessary medical care and attention as healthy families.[292]

Family values and the promotion thereof was also considered important by the SANDF in order to promote the wellbeing of families on the home front during operational deployments. This programme was specifically aimed at wives of soldiers deployed abroad in order to make them self-reliant in terms of general household maintenance etc. The Director Social Work had raised this as an initiative and received support for the programme from various entities.[293] In another related edition, the whole issue of resilience was discussed relating to families that underwent various categories of stress. Within the SANDF it was important that families become resilient to deployment stress in order to maintain mission readiness and operation ability. This brought about the creation of a Resilience Advisory Committee (RAC) during July 2002 that had as its aim assisting to alleviate stress, more especially deployment stress with internal and external soldiers and their families in order to still maintain an excellent readiness level. This committee was also chaired by the Director Social Work.[294]

During this time, 56 articles were written relation to social welfare. These articles were

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[292]Sandis, C. A. (2003). Beware of the silent killer. *SA Soldier*, June, p 34.
[293]Motumi, N. (2003). Happy families make happy soldiers. *SA Soldier*, March, p 26.
[294]Motumi, N .(2003). Bend without breaking. *SA Soldier*, April, p 42.

evenly spread out over the time period. Out of the 2608, social welfare comprised 2.1% of the total amount of articles written.

4.4 4 TRANSFORMATION, GENDER EQUALITY AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION CAMPAIGNS

It is a general held view that South Africa overnight changed its general staff in the SANDF after the integration of the non-statutory forces during 1998 after apartheid. However, the reality was that it was a slower paced process so as to prevent members from joining the general staff that had not done their necessary courses and training. Thus, the transformational process led by Nelson Mandela and F. W de Klerk during 1990, would eventually lay a basic foundation for the transformation within the SANDF itself as well. Not only does the *SA Soldier* have numerous articles pertaining to the 10 and 20 year anniversary of a democracy, but doing so demonstrated an effort to provide a fresh look to the serving personnel as well as to the general public. Hence the shift from the *SALUT* to *the SA Soldier* was, or can be seen as, part of the transformational process.

In terms of gender equity, many articles have been written on the issues surrounding it. The magazine also showcased the achievements of some of the female members of the SANDF's achievements throughout the year; amongst them would be the first "black" female to become and admiral, a pilot, navy diver etc.
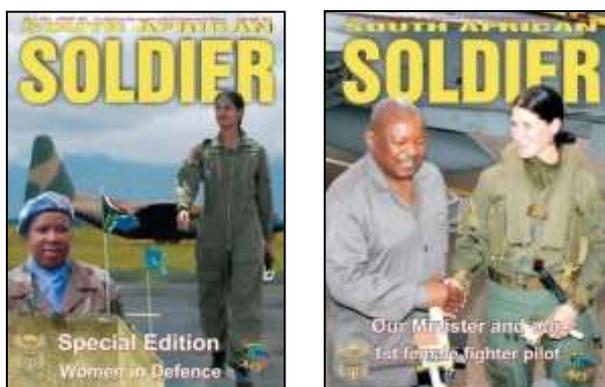
Figure 27: First Indian female pilot in the SAAF and the first White female Grippen pilot in the world.[295]

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[295]These two images are illustrative of the transformational process in the SANDF regarding gender equity. They appeared on the cover pages of the *SA Soldier* editions during August and September 2004.

Affirmative action was implemented in the SANDF as is stipulated by the 1996 Constitution of South Africa. During 2001, a fast tracking policy was promulgated which the SANDF had to implement along with all governmental sectors. Fast tracking is stated to be an opportunity to "level the playing fields", in order to correct discrimination against those who were historically disadvantaged by apartheid.[296] The SANDF's Equal Opportunities Chief Directorate (EOCD) had been established as the overseer for the implementation of the policy.[297] During September 2003, a seminar was arranged by the EOCD in order to create unison in the HR processes and the implementation thereof in the SANDF. What was considered important in this seminar was that the policy should be representative of the South African demographics as well as those who had been previously disadvantaged. Dineo Monthei elaborated on how important it was not just to spread awareness of affirmative action, but also that it was, in fact, linked with HR policies and strategies in order to assist with its implementation. It was also seen as imperative that as South Africa was involved with PSO's that the force that those sent were also representative.[298]

Transformation in the SA Navy had an entire three pages of coverage in the *SA Soldier* in July 2004. In the article, it is stated that the SA Navy, along with all other branches of the SANDF had to undergo two main changes. Firstly, the demographics in terms of representation within the forces had to change in order to more appropriately reflect South African Society. Secondly, too many high ranking officers were serving in the SANDF, thus the structure had been top heavy, especially during the apartheid era, in the SADF. The article goes on to outline how each of these changes was to take place and how they were to be achieved.[299]

Racial equity and gender equity also played a big role during the appointment of the SANDF's first representative senior officers. The first African female admiral was appointed during January 2004. As Director Fleet Human Resources she would in addition to improving service delivery, further facilitate the path to open the gates for

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[296]Monethi, D. (2003). Levelling the playing fields. *SA Soldier*, May, p 20.
[297]*Ibid,* p 21.
[298]*Ibid,* p 21.
[299]Bennett, C. (2004). Transforming the Navy. *SA Soldier,* July, p 30.

further representation in the SA Navy.[300] The first black male commander of a ship was Bubele Kitie, who took over command of SAS Kapa, a minesweeper, on 23 July 2003.[301] The first black female regimental sergeant major in the South African Military Health Service was yet another path-breaking change that was reported in the *SA Soldier*.[302]

Other firsts for the SANDF in terms of transformation can be seen where it was reported when a coloured and an African female passed their military motor cycle licences in October 2003. Reporting on this pointed out that the way was open to female soldiers just as much as it was for men.[303]

Along with these changes, the SANDF also celebrated its first female student who was trained as a fighter pilot in October 2004. [304]

Women's Day was on numerous occasions celebrated abroad during deployments. During 2003, Women's Day was celebrated by women on deployment in Burundi and the Congo. Coupled with this were keynote speakers for the day gave motivational talks to the women regarding their role in the deployments.[305] These events received ample coverage. Previously it has been noted, women were not allowed to be deployed outside of the borders of South Africa as they were never actively partook in hostilities but were only in auxiliary roles. This, however, changed in the SANDF as women were also to form part of combat corps. Clearly the issue of gender equality and with it, the transformation of the SANDF, was on the agenda as well as the *SA Soldier*'s media agenda.

Changing in military discipline code and the change in the symbol of the SANDF and its arms of service were other changes that received attention in the reporting. The military discipline code was changed to adapt to the new South African constitution in terms of punishment for offences taking into account human rights.[306] The military

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[300]Navy News. (2004). Focus on the first South African female Admiral. *SA Soldier,* August, p 31.

[301] Prince, T. (2003). Meet the first black commander of our warship. *SA Soldier*, October, p 23.

[302] Coetzee, R. (2003). Meet the first black female RSM in the SAMHS. *SA Soldier*, November, p 21.

[303] Matshidiso, P. (2003). Motor bikes are not only for men. *SA Soldier*, December, p 38.

[304] Anon. (2004). First female student trained as a fighter pilot. *SA Soldier*, October, p 14.

[305] Rademeyer, A. (2003). Women's Day celebrated in Bujumbura. *SA Soldier*, October, p 28.

[306] Fundile, s. (2003). Striving to achieve representation. *SA Soldier*, p 13.

symbols in turn were to serve as a unifying symbol of South African unity within the SANDF and its society.[307] Respect for racial, gender and cultural diversity was stressed as part of these changes. These facets would lay the foundations upon which the SANDF's code of conduct would be developed.[308]

The reserve force was also to be transformed in this time period. During January and February 2003, the Chief of the SA Army met with the leadership groups of the various reserve force units in a project that would be called Project Phoenix. The main aim behind this project was to improve the state of the reserve force in the SA Army in the short term. It would take place in two phases. The first phase would increase the conventional capabilities of the reserve forces, whilst the second focused on gradually withdrawing from internal stability assistance with the SAPS as the SAPS grew its own capacity. Thus, the SAPS would eventually completely take over the role of internal stability, but would still be supported by the reserves if the need arose.[309]

In terms of the amount of articles written on transformational subjects during the time period under review, the following illustration can be made followed by observations in terms of its general trend:

Transformation articles (2001-2010)

	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
■ total articles	209	362	438	428	441	392	338	334	335
■ transformation	6	7	7	3	8	18	13	2	13
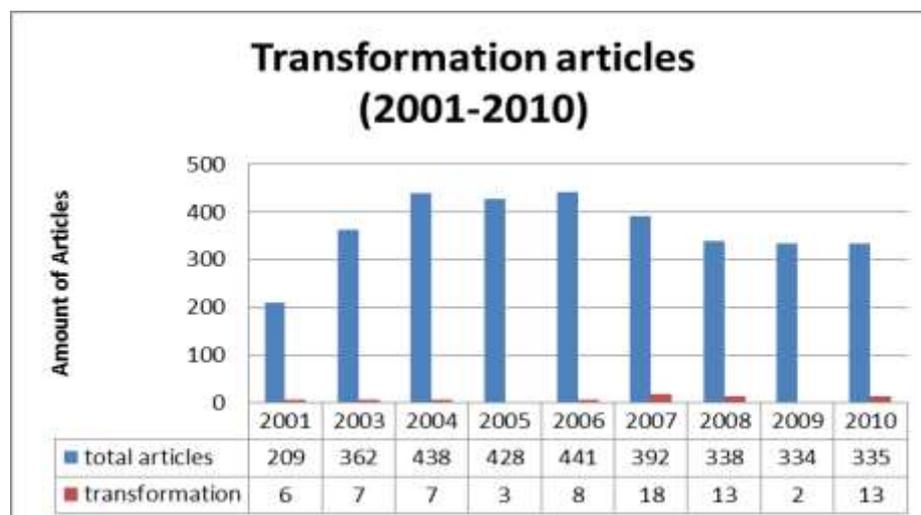
Chart 5: Illustrating the amount of articles written having a transformational undertone.

[307] Hurribunce, A. (2003). Creating a defence force with a high morale. *SA Soldier*, January, pp 26-27.
[308] *Ibid,* p 28.
[309] Schobesberger, H. (2003). Commit to transformation. *SA Soldier*, April, p 17.

The following trends can be considered with reference to the figure above:

During 2007 the greatest number and least number of articles written on the subject.

The break down in terms of the transformational subject material as it was processed, was comprised out of the following headings and or themes:

Integration seemed to be the most dominant manifested theme. Affirmative action and gender equality can be said to have fallen under this umbrella. Transformation itself was comprised of all these themes. The issues of gender and language were considered inseparable from this umbrella term, transformation.

Out of all these articles, it is evident that there is not an equal focus of attention on all the sub themes. Sub themes that were identified as dominant were racial representation, gender equality, affirmative action and cultural diversity.

The sub theme that enjoyed the most focus during this period was that of racial representation. Second was gender equality and lastly affirmative action.

The focus of racial representation can be seen as similar to that of affirmative action in that they both aim towards rectifying the racial imbalance that existed in the SANDF. However, most of the articles were aimed specifically at racial representation and the number of published photographs reflected this. In line with this, are the SANDF's firsts where a number of first Indian and Africans appointments or promotions were identified as milestones for the organisation.

In terms of gender representation, the *SA Soldier* every month of August celebrated women's month with a special issue relating only to female soldiers and their accomplishments. Thus, the greatest focus of the transformational sub theme during the period was directed at racial representation, while the second focus was on gender representation. In essence, the message to the reader was to reflect the whole South African society, not only part thereof, and the changes therein.

4.4.5 ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

During the 2001-2010 period, many environmental issues featured in the *SA Soldier* magazine. These articles ranged from waste management to the impact of global warming.

During the course of May 2003, an environmental seminar was held hosted by the Chief of Joint Support at the Bluff Military Base. This seminar served as a platform for the SANDF, relevant stakeholders and the public sector to voice their concerns about environmental issues. It served also as a platform in order to outline the SANDF's Environmental Implementation Plan.[310]

The planning of operational exercises and the environmental management thereof was of crucial importance to the SANDF. The environmental footprint left after military live firing exercises was evident in the *veldfires* and the subsequent pollution. Therefore, in order to limit the impact on the environment these activities needed to be thoroughly planned during the operational planning phase. Among the concerns and questions raised was not only would the pollution effects have an impact upon the environment itself, in terms of wildlife and plant life, but also on the soldiers busy with military training. Among these pollutants were UXO's (Unexploded Ordnance), which ranged from pistol ammunition, to artillery projectiles that did not detonate properly. These pollutants might not have had an immediate effect on personnel or the environment. What was important in the management and planning of the environment during such exercises was that military doctrine, policies and procedures needed to be amended in order take the environmental impact more into consideration.[311]

The capture and relocation of game was also discussed during 2003. The main reasoning behind the relocation of game in the Roodewal Bombing range was the excess of game that would bring about the deterioration of the veldt. The relocation of the game was based upon Integrated Environmental Management underpinned by, firstly, the ecological management and, secondly, the legal compliance with national and DOD environmental policies. Due to the South African Air Force not having the

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[310]Gounden, M. (2003). Manage the environment with care. *SA Soldier*, August, p 34.

[311] Liebenberg, A. (2004). Paving the way to greener operational deployments. *SA Soldier*, January, p 37.

relevant funds allocated for the operation, it was run by the South African Army. Thus, not only did the SANDF itself have an impact upon the environment, but the ecological system and its balance was also of utmost importance in order for the SANDF to carry on with training in the military training areas.[312]

In the July 2003 edition of the *SA Soldier*, the SANDF's Military Integrated Environmental Management (MIEM) programme policy was discussed in further detail.[313] In terms of the South African military and its origins of environmental awareness the articles states that it could be back dated to 1979. Thus, the MIEM consisted of all military activities and the impact they had on all spheres of the environment in order to establish environmental sustainability. The first MIEM plan for the SANDF was established during the course of February 2001. It was in December 2000, that foundations had been laid for an Environmental Management System (EMS) inside the SANDF. However, after its implementation and the pilot studies, only a few units were used as samples and the policy was not implemented broadly enough.[314]

4.4.6 DISABILITIES

The SANDF was committed to promoting equal opportunities for the disabled in all of its facets. Structural changes to bases and other military facilities to make them more accessible and user-friendly are evident.[315]

What one had to consider in a disabled person's life was the difficulties they faced in conducting either mental or physical normal daily tasks. In some cases, attitudes towards even those working with disabled persons, also played a role in this regard. It was for this very reason that the SANDF celebrates the International Day of Disabled Persons.[316] The SANDF had on numerous occasions continued to spread the awareness that those living with disabilities were human beings deserving full dignity. The race-match on crutches in order to promote awareness of disabilities on 5

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[312] Le Roux, K.H. (2003). Capture and relocate game. *SA Soldier,* June, pp 28-30.
[313]Ndaba, D. (2003). Ensure that military activities do not harm the environment. *SA Soldier*, October, p 42.
[314] van Blerk, E. (2003). Coping with environmental management. *SA Soldier*, July, pp32-33.
[315] Ndaba, D. (2003). Who is a disabled person? *SA Soldier*, September, p 14.
[316]Ndaba, D. (2003). SANDF celebrates International Day of Disabled Persons. *SA Soldier*, March, p 38.

September 2003 at Nelspruit was only one of many such events that were conducted.[317]

The SANDF also occasionally obtained hearing devices for persons with hearing disabilities. Curamus, as the association is known, was created for the specific purpose of supporting those that had become disabled in the execution of their tasks. This association was not only for the SANDF, but has also the SAPS.[318]

Inspirational stories of individuals having faced challenges regarding their disabilities were also published in the *SA Soldier*. One of these stories was that of Major Stolk who was left blind after a brain tumour, but still completed the Junior Staff and Command duties course.[319] Although he was blind, he continues with his work despite facing challenges. Another inspirational story was that of Cpl Zwane who, in spite of being confined to a wheelchair, continued his work in infantry units.[320] These two stories were only two of many published in the time period in the *SA Soldier* that sought to inform everyone that, despite disability, disabled persons were still a valuable asset to the SANDF and South Africa as a whole.

In the SANDF at present many members have become disabled for various reasons. However, in the *SA Soldier* not much has been written, although it is seen as a remerging theme in itself. The SANDF has various policies relating to disabled persons in the workplace as it needs to follow public service policies and protocols relating to working environment.

4.7 SUMMARY

With the change in political leaderships from Nelson Mandela to Thabo Mbeki and then lastly to Jacob Zuma, a clear change can be seen relating to the importance of South Africa as a role player on the African continent. In this chapter, during the time period of the *SA Soldier* magazine, much attention has been paid to the South African

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[317]Van der Westhuizen, J. (2003). Racing on Crutches. *SA Soldier*, November, p 29.
[318]Matanga, S. (2003). Obtaining devices for people with disabilities. *SA Soldier*, November, p 29.
[319]Meyer, M. (2005). A Blind officer who sees. *SA Soldier*, January, p 34.
[320] Zwane, Z.L. (2005). Transformation is indeed alive for people with disabilities. *SA Soldier*, May, p 42.

involvement regarding Peace Support Operations and the impact of HIV Aids upon not only the SANDF, but South African society. Thus, the prevalence of a pandemic such as HIV/Aids can be seen as a matter related to national security.

Humanitarian Aid, environmental conservation and disabilities are amongst the themes that still dominated the agenda during the period.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The first edition of the SA Soldier featured in 2001. The readership survey contained in the last edition of the *Salut* magazine no doubt set the ball rolling for a revamped magazine.

From 1999 onwards the SANDF had been involved with Peace Support Operations, not only on the African continent but also abroad. This stemmed from the growing involvement of South Africa as a champion for human rights and good governance on the African continent. Championing the cause of the south, one may add, formed part of the subtext.

A clear change can be observed between the *Salut* magazine and the *SA Soldier*. The agendas had many similarities but broadened on them. Transition was eclipsed by transformation on racial and gender grounds. Changes in reporting style and the length and amount of articles were pertinent.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to identify the editorial voices and evolving themes and discern the extent to which these were reflected in content conveyed to the readership of the *Paratus, Salut* and *SA Soldier* magazines between 1990 and 2010. The research approach made use of a broad functionalist, paradigm using a qualitative methodology in analysing the magazines between 1990 and 2010. Throughout the interdependence between government policies and institutions such as the SADF/SANDF, the military as institution and more specifically the media used by the South African military were kept in mind. The research questions posed in the beginning of the study were addressed and are reported on in this chapter.

The aim was accomplished by, firstly, considering the magazines' most dominant themes during the relevant period by the selection of the themes as they manifested themselves to the researcher. Apart from scanning the selected editions and taking note of the prevalence of articles related to a theme, the more dominant one themes were discussed. Themes that were more dominant than others were identified and elaborated upon, as well as the reasons for their prominence. As can be seen in the preceding chapters, the context and setting of the time (including policy considerations) received attention to provide an understanding and "feeling" of the time and context of such reporting. Here the researcher argues that the presidential terms, and domestic political factors had a great impact upon the information shared with the readers and influenced the emerging themes. The extent to which issues dominated were related to the agenda set by the evolving socio-political environment and its influence on the South African military. The editorial choices (agenda setting) were influenced by the perceived challenges and policy concerns (including directives).and, as such, deserved more attention.

Challenges to this study related among others to the availability of sources, as these printed sources obtained were in a very fragile state. Due to the large amount of data, a *capital selecta* approach was decided on. The *capital selecta* enabled the researcher to give a reasonably representative account of the period in terms of thematic research. Doing so allowed for exploring the background and immediate context in which these themes surfaced and to and why they surfaced. The greatest advantage

of such content exploration within a functionalist paradigm rests within the fact, that there was initially a broad research plan but no rigid recipe at the outset. The setting and context during each period played a role. The researcher, as one of the tools within the research process had to "feel" his way into the world of reporting by the military magazines as they evolved between 1990 and 2010. The researcher to immersed himself into the data on various levels; firstly the contents of the magazines, and secondly the changing socio-political environment and how it impacted on the military as an institution and the staff working for the SANDF as well as the image projected to other stakeholders such as the defence community, the arms production environment and to an extent civil society. The content also availed itself to the researcher during the process of immersion - the term used in qualitative research for exposing oneself and delving deeper into the data during the evolving research process. Therefore, the more the researcher got involved with the reading material and the data, patterns gradually evolved and insights were gained that provided a fuller understanding of the roles of these magazines within a changing socio-political and policy context.

Many changes were observed during the selected period namely 1990 to 2010, Among these changes were the importance of racial and gender equality within the SANDF and of civil control over the military and later on the peace-keeping environment. Challenges that emanated were that of budget cuts and a change in utilisation of a peace time military force after the 1990's. A changed security landscape in Africa along with the end of the Cold War practically forced these changes upon the SANDF.

The editorial voice of the *Paratus, Salut* and the *SA Soldier* magazine was seen to portray that of the middleman between the foot soldier and the media itself. This was achieved by agenda setting. The latter was not always planned or intentional but sometimes imposed by changing context and circumstances over the time. Not only did the socio-political environment change, but also government policies and these impacted the SANDF. Moreover, the preferences and needs of the readership following transition changed as was demonstrated through the readership surveys included in the last editions of the *Paratus* and the *Salut* magazine. In turn, the magazines, in their evolution, had to change to accommodate the new readers, their needs and preferences while accommodating policy changes.

The significance of this study rests with the contribution it makes to broaden the understanding of media reporting within the SANDF over a certain period. It also in essence contributes to broader academic studies by providing a basic foundation for more in-depth research undertakings. The undertaking of such research provided challenges but also a worthwhile experience for the researcher. Moreover this initial exploration of the military media in South Africa over twenty years provides an important platform for future researchers in the field. The issues investigated opened pathways for future qualitative research, case and comparative studies or studies of a historical nature.

Future areas for possible studies include that of looking in more detail at the imagery or perceptions of men and women in uniform. How they relate and perceive each other will make for fascinating research. So will an exploration of the choices made by the editorship of the magazines over time in order to meet policy requirements or the transformational context of the South African military. Here, the issues of decision making processes and determining the agenda of magazines are relevant.

Other areas include that of the land question; how many land claims were launched against the SANDF and how many succeeded or failed. Another potential area for research is that of comparing the *Kommando* magazine in the early years of apartheid to the *Paratus* magazine. Lastly, the impact upon HIV Aids upon the military, even though well-known researchers like Prof Lindy Heinecken undertook such research earlier on, may add further value to the existing knowledge base. Undoubtedly changes will be clearly visible in the style of reporting along with agenda as the defence and security debates evolve over time.

Another possible area for research is an analysis of letters to the editor to discern whether the world presented to the reader is actually supported or negatively experienced by the readership collectively or the individual. By doing so one may be able to discern a lot about the preferences, world views – even the socialisation – of the readership.

Paratus was the bridge between the old and the new and provided one with a feeling

of what was to come. Between transition and social pressures and not-so-small measures of pragmatism, *Paratus* was to adopt to an order fundamentally different from the apartheid state and defence.

Salut was to be what one may describe as a guardian and announcer of increased change at the stage of transition to a new society and a new military. During the course of the life of *Salut* ,transition morphed into transformation and a growing involvement of the SANDF, a military set in peacetime, yet becoming more involved on the continent as part of South Africa's stated obligations to Africa.

SA Soldier followed, now fully woven into the debates and the practicalities of transformation on various levels. Simultaneously South Africa's commitment to Africa manifested in deployment of members for peace-keeping operations. Some themes were shared by all three magazines, i.e. nature conservation, albeit with a different slant. In *Salut* and *SA Soldier* some themes overlapped – or provided a golden thread, if you wish. Examples are the awakening to social challenges such as development, poverty, disabilities and health challenges, and prevalent HIV/Aids.

Not only are there numerous developments in South Africa's politics and the economic challenges that face the country, but pressures remain to provide more manpower for peace-keeping and even peace enforcement. The defence diplomacy from Mandela to Zuma saw some change and, in some cases, invited criticism. The latter opens up potential new research areas for the future.

It would be interesting to see how the *SA Soldier* and its readership will engage with these new developments. Likewise, it would be interesting to see how the magazine's agenda will change or rather, evolve (the vision, pressures from the readership and social environment, policy demands, [small]group decision-making within the editorial team and the interface between military command structures and the editors) and what new themes emerge. The close interaction and interdependence between government policies, the military as an institution and reporting in military magazines also allows for a plethora of opportunities for future research. But that would be a research field for other researchers.

6. APPENDICES

6.1 PHOTOGRAPHIC APPENDIX: IMAGES: PAST, PRESENT

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