

STANDOFF ATTACKS BY PLAN ON SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCE BASES DURING THE SWA/NAMIBIAN “BUSH WAR” (1966 TO 1989)

Wikus Jansen van Rensburg¹

Abstract

After World War I (1920), South Africa (SA) was granted a Class C-mandate by the League of Nations to administer the affairs of South West Africa (SWA) (now Namibia). During the middle sixties (1966) and early seventies (1972), the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO), through its' armed military wing – the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), started resisting through military means by executing armed assaults on the South African Police (SAP) and civilians. This escalated to such an extent that the South African Defence Force (SADF) was tasked to take over the northern border protection during 1974. The armed resistance by PLAN was typical of guerilla warfare and included numerous standoff attacks on the SADF, the SAP and South West Africa Police (SWAPOL) bases.

Although numerous actions typical of guerilla warfare, like ambushes, hit-and-run attacks, land-mine incidents, acts of sabotage and intimidation of the local population were launched in SWA/Namibia during the Bush War, this article mainly focuses on standoff attacks by PLAN on SADF/SAP/SWAPOL bases and the kraals of tribal chiefs protected by local militia within SWA/Namibia. These types of attack were typical of guerilla warfare tactics. Other types of guerilla warfare tactics are briefly referred to.

More than 161 standoff attacks on the SADF/SAP/SWAPOL bases were launched by PLAN over the 23 year period of the Bush War. Measured against the “attack the rear areas of the enemy to exhaust and to demoralise them” tactic of guerilla warfare, one can hardly claim that PLAN were successful in doing so.

Keywords: Revolutionary warfare; guerilla warfare; South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO); People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN); South African Defence Force; standoff attacks; sabotage; ambushes.

Stelwoorde: Revolusionêre oorlogvoering; guerilla oorlogvoering; South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO); People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN); Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag; wegstaanbestokings; sabotasie; hinderlae.

1. INTRODUCTION

During the course of 1920, the League of Nations entrusted SWA to the Union of South Africa as a Class C mandate – to govern it as an integral part of the Union for the betterment of SWA's inhabitants.² During 1945, meetings in SWA indicated

1 Associate Professor, Department of Public and Development Management (Mil), Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University. E-pos: wikus@ma2.sun.ac.za

2 W Steenkamp, *Borderstrike: South Africa into Angola* (Pretoria, 1983), p. 2.

that most of the inhabitants were in favour of incorporation in the Union of South Africa, with the exception of the Owambo population of Owamboland, situated on the northern border of SWA. Their main reason was their social predicament regarding contract work (which Owambos perceived as very derogatory)³ and migratory labour in South Africa – whereby Owambos had to return home or face the threat of arrest by the SAP when their term of employment expired (not applicable to any other tribe). Their negative attitude towards the South African government originated as far back as 1917 with the demise of King Mandume in the conflict of February 1917 against the Portuguese colonists⁴ and deteriorated even further during December 1959 when the SAP opened fire on an Owambo's People Organisation (OPO) which orchestrated unrest in the Katatura township in Windhoek, killing 11 and wounding 54 protestors.⁵ At the national conference in Windhoek during 1961, SWAPO decided on the objective of undermining the administration of South Africa, to embark on revolutionary warfare and to take over the country by means of guerilla warfare. During 1962, SWAPO founded its military wing, PLAN, for this purpose and training commenced at the Kongwa military training camp about 380 km north of Dar-es-Salaam.⁶ Two years later, SWAPO had their headquarters in Lusaka, an armed wing (PLAN) and was ready to launch attacks against the South African security forces. Members also underwent armed guerilla training in Nigeria, Cuba and the Soviet Union.⁷

Parallel to military training SWAPO leadership also gained international sympathy for their cause, especially from the newly established United Nations (UN) who in the 1960s decided to acknowledge SWAPO as the only voice for the peoples of SWA and⁸ the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) who granted observer status to authentic liberation movements of Africa.

The first armed clash between PLAN and the SA security forces took place in 1966 at Ongulumbashe in SWA/Namibia, after the International Court of Justice in The Hague failed to reverse their 1962 decision (giving South Africa a C-mandate) during July 1966 when SWAPO officially declared war against the SA government.⁹ The declaration by the SA government in terms of the Odendal Commission for separate development in South West Africa, when six homelands were approved (Damaraland, Hereroland, Kaokoland, Okavangoland, East-Caprivi

3 S Nujoma, *Where others wavered: The autobiography of Sam Nujoma* (London, 2001), p. 54.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

5 P Stiff, *The covert war: Koevoet operations in Namibia 1979–1989* (Alberton, 2004), p. 16.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

7 D Williams, *Op die grens: Wit mans se militêre ervaring, 1965–1990* (Kaapstad 2008), p. 17.

8 Williams, p. 3 and Nujoma, p. 125.

9 Nujoma, p. 146. The C-mandate was eventually terminated by Resolution 2145 of the United Nations, 27 October 1966. South Africa rejected the Resolution.

and Ovamboland) during 1968,¹⁰ supplied SWAPO with even more reason and a low-intensity guerilla war commenced until 1975 when the situation in Angola became unstable, rendering SWAPO a safe sanctuary from which to launch infiltrations over Namibia's northern border. South Africa's friendly neighbour and buffer state was gone. The SADF launched Operation Savannah during 1975/76 after which the Bush War began in earnest.¹¹

This article will commence with a brief discussion on guerilla warfare theories, followed by the resemblance to this theory of PLAN actions, focusing on SWAPO's strategic objectives, PLAN's guerilla tactics and the various weapons used by PLAN in numerous guerilla incidents. A brief discussion on the types of guerilla actions will follow, and then a more specific focus on their standoff attacks will be done. This will be analysed in detail. The study is concluded by evaluating SWAPO's successes. The article is further supplemented with a map indicating the location of the South African security force bases and a list of all the standoff attacks on these bases by PLAN.

Popular literature on the Bush War/Border War, mainly from the South African perspective, was used, and also limited literature from SWAPO's perspective. The majority of the data was however captured at the SANDF's Archives by means of incident reports. In this article reference is made to SWA and Namibia – as **SWA** when incidents occurred before 1968 and to **Namibia** when incidents occurred after 1968. This is in line with the UN's decision on 17 June 1968 to refer to SWA as Namibia from this date on. SWAPO's armed force is also referred to as PLAN **insurgents**, because they mostly operated from bases across the Namibian border, initially from bases in Zambia and eventually from bases in Southern Angola. Casualties will be mentioned from a SADF perspective and, when possible, from a SWAPO perspective. No opinion will be expressed on the validity of the casualty claims.

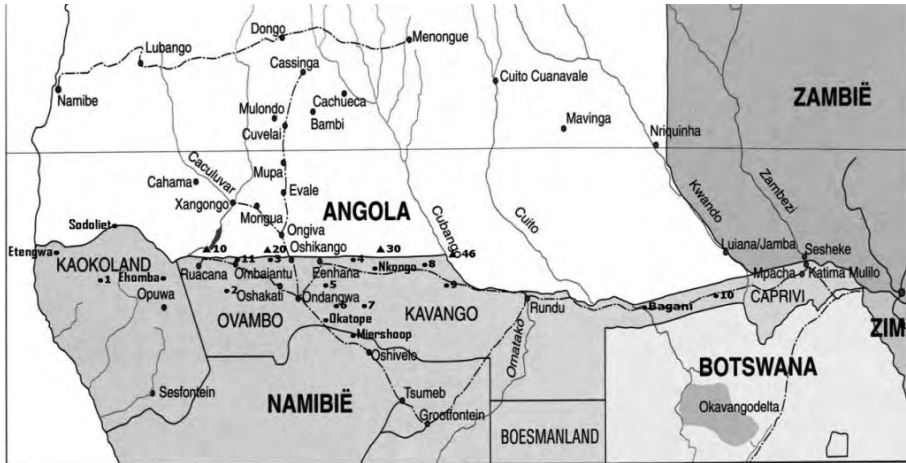
2. THE BUSH WAR OPERATIONAL AREA – LOCATION OF SA SECURITY FORCE BASES (SADF/SAP/SWAPOL)

The so-called operational area inside SWA/Namibia covered the entire northern border with the "Red-line" (the southern border of the foot and mouth disease boundary) as the southern border. Most of the "white farming area" was south of the Red-line in the so-called Tsumeb-Grootfontein-Otavi triangle. The operational area was from west to east divided into Kaokoland in the west (bordering the Atlantic Ocean), and Ovamboland (the biggest area where most of the incidents occurred) with Kavango and the Caprivi to the east.

10 JPJ Coetzer, *Gister se dade vandag se oordele* (Pretoria, 2000), p. 215.

11 Steenkamp, p. 4.

In the Kaokoland the following SADF/SWAPOL bases were erected: Opuwa, Okangwati, Omapembe, Ondurrorundu, Ehombe and Sodoliet.



Legend

- 1. Okangwati 2. Ogandjera 3. Oshikango 4. Elundu 5. Etale (new)
- 6. Oshigambo 7. Okankolo 8. Omauni 9. Nepara 10. Omega
- 11. Mahanene

In Owamboland the area was divided into 51, 52, 53, 54 and much later 55 Battalions with 51 Battalion headquarters at Ruacana, 52 Battalion at Ogongo, 53 Battalion at Ondangwa, 54 Battalion at Eenhana and 55 Battalion at Nepara. These battalions were commanded from Sector 10 headquarters at Oshakati. The following SADF/SWAPOL bases were erected in the 51 Battalion area: Ruacana, SWAWEK, Hurricane, Concor, Mahanene, Ogandjera, Tsandi and Ombalantu. The following SADF/SWAPOL bases were erected in the 52 Battalion area: Ogongo and Okankolo. The following SADF/SAP bases were erected in the 53 Battalion area: Ondangwa, Okatope, Etale, Alpha Tower, Okalongo, Oshigambo and Miershoop. The following SADF/SWAPOL bases were erected in the 54 Battalion area: Eenhana, Oshikango, Elundu, Nkongo and Omauni. Later on 55 Battalion was established from existing bases of Kavango which include SADF/SAP bases like Nepara and the “Fox” bases south of the Chandelier road.

In Kavango the following SADF/SWAPOL bases were erected: Sector 20 headquarters at Rundu, Nepara, Nkurenkuru, Bagani, Buffalo and Omega. In the

Caprivi the following SADF/SWAPOL bases were erected: the headquarters at Katima Mulilo, Mpacha, Kwando, Wenela Island and Mpelela Island.¹²

3. REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE'S MILITARY DIMENSION – GUERRILLA WARFARE: A BRIEF THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Revolutionary wars in (its political and military dimension guerilla warfare) can be regarded as being fought since biblical times and predates regular warfare. It has always been fought by weaker groups against an invading army or against oppressive landowners of governments.¹³ It can also be regarded as the “small war”, the “people’s war”, an “armed struggle by the masses” or a “war by partisans”. The word “guerilla” literally means “little war” with its origin in the Peninsula War of 1805 to 1814 when the Spanish national struggle against the French occupying forces took place. Over this lengthy period little has changed regarding this type of warfare. Noteworthy contributions to the art of guerilla warfare were from TE Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) in the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Turkey (1916-1917), Mao Tse-tung during the Chinese Civil War (1926-1949) and Che Guevara in Cuba during the revolt against the Batista government (1956-1959).¹⁴ In Villegas’ foreword to Guevara’s *Guerilla warfare*, he points out that the role of a guerilla fighter should be to accelerate the conditions of struggle amongst the masses and to facilitate the conditions that lead to the collapse of the oppressor.¹⁵ This type of warfare is usually characterised by a lengthy time period.

According to Baylis, revolutionary theorists are of the opinion that the protracted war is usually split into three distinctive phases. The *conspiracy phase* is characterised by the insurgent building its political infrastructure and popular support; the *equilibrium phase* where the insurgent, via guerrilla warfare, wears down the enemy and redress the balance of forces; and the *strategic counter-offensive phase* where the insurgent’s operations change to mobile warfare and conventional battles.¹⁶

Lessons learnt by Guevara during the Cuban people’s revolt and victory against the oppressive Batista government, indicated to three fundamental lessons in guerilla warfare: *firstly*, popular forces can win a war against an army [regular]; *secondly*, it is not always necessary to wait for revolutionary conditions to exist –

12 Author’s own recollection from experience working in Chief Army’s operational room during 1984 and numerous operational deployments to Sector 10 and Sector 20, 1978–1988.

13 W Laqueur, *The guerilla reader: A historical anthology* (New York, 1977), p. 1 and J Baylis, in J Baylis et al., *Contemporary strategy; theories and concepts* (London, 1987), p. 209.

14 IFW Beckett, *Encyclopaedia of guerilla warfare* (Oxford ABC-CLIO, 1999), p. xi.

15 Villegas in EC Guevara, *Guerilla warfare* (London, 2006), p. 4.

16 Baylis, p. 218.

subjective conditions can be developed by the guerilla and *lastly* in underdeveloped America, the countryside was the fundamental arena for the armed struggle.¹⁷

Who are the combatants in a guerilla war? Guerilla warfare is a war of the masses, a war of the people, and a war by the majority against the regular forces of the oppressor. The guerilla usually has the support of the local people and is regarded as the combative vanguard of the people.¹⁸

Why does a guerilla fighter fight? A guerilla is a social reformer who takes up arms as the embodiment of the angry protest of the people against the oppressors. A guerilla fights to bring about social reform of the systems that bring about misery.¹⁹

Strategy of a guerilla fighter: A guerilla fighter, like a regular force fighter, usually only has one strategy – the complete destruction of the opposing force. A guerilla fighter analyses the resources of the opposing force and develops his own strategy based on defeating the enemy. The war should preferably be waged with the same weapons as the enemy but ammunitions are usually scarce and attacks on the enemy should usually be carried out with the objective of capturing weapons and ammunitions (for this a fallen guerilla and his arms should not be left behind). Attacks on the enemy should be continuous and his outposts should be attacked and destroyed systematically. A very important part of the strategy of guerilla warfare is the work undertaken amongst the local people to explain the motives and goals of the revolution. Acts of sabotage against infrastructure should also be carried out together with indoctrination of the people.²⁰

Tactics of a guerilla fighter: Guerillas usually have a good knowledge of the surrounding countryside; the paths of entry and escape; the possibilities of rapid manoeuvre; good hiding places and should be able to count on the support of the people. This indicates to the war being fought in semi-populated areas.²¹

Some of the general tactics ought to be that: no battle or skirmish should be fought unless it can be won; skirmishes should be of a “hit and run” type giving the enemy no rest and through regular growth in total acquires the characteristics of a regular army.²² Long before Guevara’s insights, Clausewitz suggested that in small wars fought by partisans care should be taken to avoid danger in battles with superior forces. Partisans should hide in the forests by day and march/attack by night.

Specific assignments should include: collect intelligence; arrest enemy couriers; kidnap enemy generals; destroy arms stores and bridges; make roads

17 Guevara, p. 13.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

impassable and seize enemy funds and supplies.²³ Levy, with his vast experience in partaking and teaching of guerilla warfare shares the above views on tactics but elaborate even further by emphasizing the importance of cutting down enemy communication lines and “... in general creating a considerable amount of hell and wearing him [the enemy] down...”.²⁴ Guerilla operations should be adjusted to the enemy’s actions. The main characteristic of a guerilla is that of mobility. Guerilla groups will usually encircle the enemy position and hit it continuously. The attacks will always be carried out with maximum surprise and the shots should always be sporadic and accurate. A guerilla should be flexible and able to adapt to any circumstance – invent unique battle tactics for the situation. Acts of sabotage need to be undertaken but with care, so that they do not destroy the lives of innocent people valuable to the revolution. Roads and rail transport, frequently used by the enemy, should be focused upon. Ambushes along the roads in order to explode mines to annihilate survivors are regarded as profitable for obtaining arms and ammunition. Terrorism should also be considered to kill leaders of the oppressing forces or sympathisers of the oppressor.

The civilian population in the combat zone should be treated with great respect regarding their customs and traditions.²⁵ Lawrence also emphasized speed and endurance, independent of lines of supplies and support of the local population as essential to the cause of guerilla warfare.²⁶ Mao Tse-tung emphasized the absence of rear areas in guerilla warfare as a potential problem, however, this usually means that guerillas act in small groups difficult to detect. Due to this, a guerilla can gain the initiative with strikes in the enemy’s rear areas and also gain the support of the masses because of a foreign occupying force. Mao further emphasized the guerillas’ ability to “run away” and the ability to shift their position – dispersion, concentration and shifting of forces are the three ways of flexibility.²⁷

4. THE ACTIONS OF SWAPO AND PLAN AS AN EXAMPLE OF TYPICAL GUERRILLA WARFARE

SWAPO embarked on the typical revolutionary warfare strategy of protracted warfare. The typical *conspiracy phase* was evident when PLAN insurgents were building its political infrastructure and popular support amongst the international community and the SWA people; the typical *equilibrium phase* was also evident when PLAN executed guerrilla warfare in order to wear down the SA security

23 Laqueur, p. 110.

24 B Levy, *Guerilla warfare* (Boulder Colorado, 1964), p. 17.

25 Guevara, pp. 29-31.

26 Laqueur, p. 169.

27 Lawrence and Wishart, *The selected works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. 2 (London, 1958), pp. 83-85.

forces. The full blown *strategic counter-offensive phase*, however, never materialised and although PLAN operations changed to mobile warfare, PLAN never initiated conventional battles.²⁸

SWAPO's "armed struggle" via its armed wing, PLAN, is typical of a war fought by weaker groups (non-regular force) against illegal occupiers of land by a foreign government's forces (regular force). In a sense it can also be regarded as the "people's war", or an "armed struggle by the masses", in this case the Owambo people. The war that PLAN conducted was typical of guerilla warfare, where emphasis was placed on mobility in order "to hit continuously" with the ability to shift positions. Acts of sabotage were executed with specific focus on infrastructure used by the SA security forces, especially railway lines and bridges. Dirt and tar roads were extensively land-mined. Strikes against the South African security forces were mainly conducted at night and during the rainy seasons in order to acquire maximum surprise and camouflage. Pro-SA government members of the local population and SWA ministers were through acts of armed propaganda intimidated and killed.

5. SWAPO'S STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

The strategic objectives of SWAPO were comparable to typical guerilla warfare: *firstly*, the complete destruction of the opposing force; *secondly*, continuous attacks and *thirdly*, indoctrination of the local population. Four major incidents contributed to the Owambo revolt and the eventual declaration of war against the SA government. The King Mandume Revolt in 1917 initiated the feelings against South Africa and the killing of 11 and wounding of 54 OPO orchestrated protestors in the Katatura township during December 1959, where the objective of undermining the administration and taking over the country by means of guerilla warfare, resulted. The rejection by the International Court of Justice of the complaints by Ethiopia and Liberia against South Africa, in which they alleged that SA had breached its duties as the mandatory power to South West Africa, led to SWAPO's ambitious blueprint for war, in which various targets in the central, western, southern and southeastern areas of SWA were identified for acts of sabotage and the murder of policemen.²⁹ The recommendations of the Odendal Commission for separate development in South West Africa in 1968 also need to be mentioned.³⁰

28 Baylis, p. 209.

29 Nujoma, p. 54 and Stiff, p. 21. In addition, EI Udogu, "South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia as a non-state actor in the Namibian issue" (PhD, Graduate School, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 1980), p. 128.

30 Coetzer, p. 215.

The three strategic objectives were embedded in their vision and way of conducting their operations. SWAPO's main focus and PLAN's actions were mainly focused on:

- annual infiltrations to the “white farming areas” south of the Red-line in order to execute acts of sabotage and murders;³¹
- the overrunning and overpowering of a SA security force base;
- ambushes/skirmishes;
- capturing of a white SADF conscript;
- capturing of a SADF/SWAPOL Casspir;
- intimidation of pro-SA government members of the local population, and
- sabotage and land-mining of infrastructure used by SA security forces.

6. PLAN'S GUERRILLA TACTICS AND SUCCESSES

In order to ensure success for these operations (the total destruction of the opposing force), their almost annual infiltrations since 1977, were executed during the rainy season of February to May, when drinking water was in abundance, the vegetation presented improved cover and follow-up became more difficult for the SA security forces as the almost daily rainstorms wiped out spoor.³² The terrain was thus utilised to great effect in order to carry out their hit-and-run operations, typical of that of a mobile force. After the Portuguese withdrawal from Angola during 1975, SWAPO were allowed to set up bases in Southern Angola, creating a safe haven for PLAN insurgents. After operations they simply withdrew to the safety of Southern Angola.³³ A lesser safe option was to simply mix with the local Owambo population, but the chance was always there that somebody would inform the SA security forces. Most of the operations were executed under cover of darkness, in order to allow time for their escape to the north and it included:

* *Firstly*, the killing of white farmers south of the Red-line. Some of the major PLAN infiltrations occurred during 1966, 1976, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984 and 1987. During December 1966 a white farmer, Mr Breedt, was wounded in the leg in the Grootfontein district. During February 1976 Ms Shirley Merle and Mr Bertus Louw were killed in the Grootfontein district and Gerd and Elke Walters were killed in the Okahandja district. During May 1979 a

31 OO Namakalu, *Armed liberation struggle: Some accounts of PLAN's operations* (Windhoek, 2004), p. 49.

32 “Spoor” is military jargon meaning tracks or footprints.

33 J Geldenhuys, *Ons was daar: Weners van die oorlog om Suider-Afrika* (Pretoria, 2011), p. 48.

farmhouse was set alight in the Tsintsabis district on Stilhoek and in June 1979 a white family was murdered in the Tsintsabis district.

During February 1980 two whites were killed in the Tsumeb-Grootfontein-Otavi-triangle, whilst a farmstead was attacked near Grootfontein and a Mr Dressler was killed in the Grootfontein district.³⁴

During April 1981 PLAN insurgents opened fire on a vehicle travelling on the Tsumeb-Oshivello road and later that month a civilian vehicle detonated a landmine near Oshivello. Even later a SADF vehicle detonated a landmine northwest of Tsumeb. At the end of April 1981 PLAN insurgents attacked the farm Sachsen near Tsumeb.

During April 1982 PLAN insurgents attacked a farm in the Otavi district, wounding the white farmer. On 16 April 1982 PLAN insurgents murdered a black farm worker on the farm Misgun 371. On 18 April 1982 a white farmer, Mr Erasmus, was killed on his farm, Vaalwater 875, when his vehicle detonated a landmine.³⁵ Later during April 1982 an insurance broker, Mr Potgieter was ambushed and killed by PLAN insurgents on the road to Rundu, after ignoring instructions to drive under Army escort. On 7 May 1982 Mr Fourie and an SADF guard were attacked and killed.

During February to April 1983 the SADF pre-empted the annual infiltration and launched Operation Phoenix, in which PLAN lost 309 insurgents.

During February to March 1984 PLAN infiltrated three separate groups via Botswana in order to execute armed propaganda in East Hereroland south of the Red-line.

During March 1987 the tracks of PLAN insurgents were picked up on the farm Vergenoeg east of the Etosha Pan. A PLAN insurgent managed to shoot down a SAAF Alouette III helicopter (624) with his AK47. The SAAF flight engineer was killed and a Koevoet member seriously wounded. The PLAN insurgent was eventually killed by Koevoet.

- * *Secondly*, the overrunning and overpowering of a SA security force base took place. According to SWAPO this was accomplished twice when PLAN insurgents overran Epinga during 1975 and Elundu during 1978. At 23h00 on 10 September 1975 PLAN insurgents launched an attack on the SADF

34 Department of Defence Archives (hereafter referred to as DOD Archive), Chief of Staff Operations (hereafter referred to as CS Ops), Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 1, Skending van landsgrens: Bestokings, 17 September 1979–26 July 1982.

35 Stiff, p. 160.

position at Epinga, where the guards of an Okalongo headman were sleeping and overrun. All the guards were killed.³⁶

SWAPO also claims that PLAN insurgents managed to overrun the SADF base at Elundu on 18 and 19 February 1978 and kill 15 SADF soldiers. One SADF soldier, sappeur Van der Mescht was captured. A SADF water supply installation was also destroyed.³⁷ The SADF version is that PLAN insurgents attacked a SADF section guarding a waterhole 1,5 km east of Elundu at 04h00, killing three men, wounding six and taking one SADF member prisoner.

- * *Thirdly*, a white conscript was captured. Over the whole period of the Border War, PLAN only managed to capture one white SADF conscript, sappeur Van der Mescht, at the Elundu waterhole on 18 and 19 March 1978. Another white SADF conscript, Rifleman Papenfus, was also captured during May 1988 by Cuban forces and not by PLAN.³⁸
- * *Fourthly*, a Casspir armoured vehicle was captured. Although SWAPO claims to have captured two SA security force Casspir vehicles, the SADF only acknowledged one. During August 1988 a SWAPOL Koevoet member broke into a canteen at Oshakati, stole money and liquor, a command Casspir and weapons and defected to SWAPO. The secrets of the Casspir were thus handed over to Soviet and East German advisors.³⁹
- * *Fifthly*, intimidation of the local population took place. PLAN insurgents launched definite actions against pro-SA government chiefs and SWA/Namibian ministers. Some of their major actions occurred during November 1966, when chiefs Valambola and Villa were assaulted and robbed of their personal weapons.⁴⁰ During December 1966, chief Ashipala was attacked, his body guard was killed and his village burnt down.⁴¹

During January 1978 four Owambo civilians were killed and eight injured when their vehicle detonated a landmine planted by PLAN insurgents.⁴²A

36 Namakalu, p. 49. SWAPO's Department of Information refer to a similar incident occurring on 4 September 1976. There is no SADF records of such an attack.

37 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 2, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 3, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 8 November 1977–17 April 1978 and Namakalu, p.70 and K Dierks, "Chronology of Namibian history: From Pre-colonial times to independent Namibia (December 2000)", <<http://www.klausdierks.com/Chronology/120.htm>>, accessed 4 November 2011 and LJ Bothma, *Die buffel struikel: 'n Storie van 32 Bataljon en sy mense* (Bloemfontein, 2008), p. 211.

38 Geldenhuis, p. 429.

39 Stiff, p. 314.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

41 *Ibid.*

42 Steenkamp, p. 7. Confirmed by Department of Defence Archives, Chief of Staff Operations, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 2, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 8 November 1977–17 April 1978.

month later Toivo Shiyagaya, the Minister of Health and Welfare in the Owambo tribal government, was assassinated by PLAN after a political meeting.⁴³ In April 1978 the anti-SWAPO leader, Tara Imbili, Owambo's Minister of Justice, escaped death when a PLAN insurgent tried to plant a landmine in the road leading to his kraal.⁴⁴ On 27 March 1978 Chief Clemens Kapuuo, leader of the Herero tribe and chairperson of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, was murdered by PLAN insurgents.⁴⁵ By the end of April 1978 PLAN insurgents failed to assassinate Owambo leaders when they blew up the legislative assembly buildings at Ongwediva.⁴⁶

During March 1978 the kraals of pro-government chiefs were attacked by PLAN insurgents. Chief Katima's kraal, a few kilometres southwest of Oshikango, was attacked by mortars and machine-guns but no one was injured and the kraal of chief Gotlieb was also attacked with mortars and machine-guns but no one was injured.⁴⁷

- * *Sixthly*, acts of sabotage were conducted. PLAN insurgents were highly successful with acts of sabotage south of the Red-line in urban areas. These acts were mainly executed under the cover of darkness. Some of their major successes were: During April to June 1978 the Guruchab Bridge on the highway between Keetmanshoop and Grünau was twice damaged by an explosion, as well as the railway bridge between Karibib and Usakos. The Karibib/Usakos railway line was damaged by an explosion, causing a train to derail. During December 1978 the Odeon Theatre in Strudel Street (Windhoek) was impaired as well as the Nictus Building in Kaizer Street. Fourteen civilians were injured. In Central Windhoek an explosive device with the safety pin still intact, was defused. In Swakopmund an explosion at the Putensen Bakery occurred, injuring 50 civilians.

During April 1981 further acts of sabotage were conducted when the railway line near Tsumeb was damaged by two explosions and in February 1984 was blown up at four places. During April 1984 a bomb was detonated at the ENOK filling station in Oshakati, destroying a petrol pump and two cars, killing three and injuring four civilians.⁴⁸ In 1984 a bomb exploded at

43 Steenkamp, p. 8. Confirmed by DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 2, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 8 November 1977–17 April 1978.

44 Steenkamp, p. 10.

45 Geldenhuys, p. 63.

46 *Ibid.* and Department of Defence Archives, Chief of Staff Operations, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 3, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 17 April 1978–7 September 1978.

47 Stiff, p. 17.

48 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 5, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 23 June 1983–27 July 1984.

Hepworths in Kaizer Street, Windhoek, causing damage to nearby buildings and injuring two civilians. During January 1985 a bomb exploded in the black township of Tsumeb at the Roman Catholic Church, injuring one civilian and in August 1986 an explosive device at the Atlantic Meat Market in Walvis Bay killed five civilians and wounded a further 23. Another explosive device caused havoc in Walvis Bay at the Post Office in November 1986. A further explosive device was also detonated at the municipal offices at the Kuiseb River Mouth. Finally, during July 1987 a car bomb was set off at the Kalahari Sands Hotel in Windhoek, causing considerable damage (48 cars were destroyed).

During February 1988 a bomb planted by PLAN insurgents exploded in the First National Bank in Oshakati, killing 29 people and wounding 70. The SADF and SWAPO blamed each other for the atrocity, and a member of SWAPO was eventually convicted.⁴⁹

- * *Seventhly*, landmines and anti-personnel mines were used. PLAN was also highly successful in their landmine campaign, causing considerable damage to SA security force vehicles, but there was not that many injuries to SA security force personnel. Their anti-personnel tactics, covering their tracks, were, however, far more successful. Some of their main successes using these weapons occurred when the first PLAN landmines were detonated during 1971 to 1972 killing five policemen of the SAP.⁵⁰ Another PLAN landmine was detonated on 22 May 1971 when a police vehicle detonated a landmine near Katima Mulilo, killing two and wounding nine policemen and two trackers.⁵¹ Further incidents occurred on 4 October 1971, also near Katima Mulilo, when another SAP vehicle detonated a landmine in which four constables were seriously injured. A police captain tripped an anti-personnel mine whilst investigating this incident and was killed.⁵² During May 1976 a SADF patrol, in two unprotected Unimogs, detonated a landmine in thick bush in the Caprivi. This initiated a SWAPO ambush in which the security forces suffered heavy casualties, which included three members and a handler with his dog.⁵³

In respect of anti-personnel mines, PLAN applied these weapons very effectively during follow-up operations by the SA security forces. An incident indicative of this occurred during February 1988 near Ogandjera when

49 Dierks. In addition, Nujoma, p. 380 and Geldenhuys, p. 187.

50 Williams, p. 17.

51 *Ibid.*

52 *Ibid.*

53 P Stiff, *The silent war: South African recce operations 1969–1994* (Albertyn, 2006), p. 229.

SWAPOL's Koevoet followed up the tracks of PLAN insurgents. A Casspir eventually detonated a landmine and two policemen were wounded. After the casavac, the follow-up continued, but a PomZ anti-personnel mine was tripped, seriously wounding seven policemen. The follow-up continued yet again, but another PomZ was detonated, wounding seven more policemen.⁵⁴

7. ARMS USED BY PLAN IN ATTACKS AGAINST THE SA SECURITY FORCES

PLAN insurgents mostly made use of small arms such as RPG7, SKS rifle-grenades and mortars for their normal operations and Grad-P, B10 recoilless guns and 82mm mortars for standoff attacks. During the latter part of the Border War there were incidents when SA7 anti-aircraft missiles were also carried in order to shoot down a SAAF aircraft.

It was however small arms fire that mostly hit SAAF aircrafts, for example on 7 February 1979, near Beacon 10, a SAAF small aircraft was fired at by PLAN insurgents with small arms fire and hit 12 times, but managed to land safely at Ondangwa. On 8 February 1979, southwest of Eenhana, a SAAF transport aircraft was fired at by two PLAN insurgents and hit by two shots but also managed to land safely in Ondangwa. On 14 February 1979, near Nkongo base, a SAAF light aircraft was hit five times. The aircraft was not damaged and able to land safely.⁵⁵ PLAN insurgents fired tracer bullets at a SAAF Kudu aircraft whilst landing at 20h00. The aircraft was not hit and managed to land safely on 15 May 1979 at the SADF Ondangwa Air Force Base.⁵⁶ On 29 April 1980 a SAAF C-160 aircraft, *en route* between Eenhana and Ondangwa and carrying SADF paratroopers, was shot and hit by PLAN insurgents. The back wheels of the C-160 caught fire during the landing but it managed to land safely.⁵⁷ On 1 May 1986 PLAN insurgents fired two SA-7 missiles at a SAAF DC 3 aircraft *en route* between Ondangwa and Ruacana.⁵⁸

On 5 January 1982 a SAAF PUMA helicopter (168) was shot down by PLAN AK47 fire⁵⁹, killing the SAAF crew and 13 paratroopers. The Puma was on

54 Stiff, *The covert war*, p. 298.

55 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 6, 326/1/1/3, vol. 2, Skending van Landsgrense: Magte van ander lande, 2 October 1978–2 March 1979.

56 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 5, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 7 February 1979–16 July 1979.

57 Bothma, p. 269.

58 DOD Archives, South West Africa Territory Force (hereafter referred to as SWATF) SWS 2 Inl, 205/1 (Sek 10), vol. 13, Inrap Sektor 10, 16 February 1986–2 April 1986.

59 Geldenhuys, p. 244.

a trooping mission from Namibia to a forward offensive position inside Angola.⁶⁰ During March 1987 PLAN insurgents armed with small arms fire managed to shoot down a SAAF Alouette III (624) at the farm Vergenoeg east of the Etosha Pan. The pilot was injured but the flight engineer was killed.

8. PLAN'S STANDOFF ATTACKS ON SADF/SAP/SWAPOL BASES AND LOCAL POPULATION KRAALS

During the Bush War PLAN insurgents executed numerous standoff attacks on SA security force bases and kraals of pro-SA government chiefs. A typical standoff attack was usually executed under cover of darkness in order to allow sufficient time for withdrawal and with weapons able to deliver indirect fire. These weapons included B10 recoilless guns, the 122mm Grad-P missiles, 82mm mortars, 60mm mortars, RPG7's, SKS rifle-grenades and various small arms including the AK47 assault rifle and the RPD machine-gun. A standoff attack was usually launched from a distance of anything between 500 and 1 000 meters and could last for a few seconds or up to an hour or more.

From research at the SADF Archives and from reputable authors presenting statistics from a SADF and SWAPO perspective, 161 such standoff attacks were identified over the 23 years span of the Bush War (Appendix A). The first standoff attack claimed by SWAPO in which 20 SADF soldiers were killed occurred on 13 October 1968 when the SADF base at Mpacha was attacked. The final standoff attack occurred on 5 September 1988 and was launched at the SADF's Elundu base.

Some of the major standoff attacks launched by PLAN occurred on 23 August 1978 when SWAPO's Operation Revenge was executed on the SADF's Sector 70 HQ at Katima Mulilo at 01h15 in retaliation of the attack by the SADF on Cassinga on 4 May 1978. The standoff attack was launched from Zambia with 122mm missiles, 82mm and 60mm mortars. One of the 122mm missiles hit a dormitory of the SADF troops killing ten and wounding a further ten.⁶¹ The SWAPO version is that the SADF suffered between 80 and 100 killed or injured, including 11 officers.⁶²

On 13 February 1979 the SADF base at Nkongo was attacked by a group of 150 PLAN infiltrators at 21h35, slightly wounding seven SADF soldiers. The

60 AA Turton, *South African diary: Contested identity, my family - our story, Part F: 1975–2007*, <http://www.anthonyturton.com/admin/my_documents/my_files/57A_History_1975_2007_Website_Ready.pdf>. This incident is confirmed by Lord, p. 497, but he makes no mention of the 13 parabats – only that the Puma was busy with a trooping mission.

61 In: Geldenhuys, p. 44 date is wrong – he claims the date as 18 August 1978. DOD Archives, Chief of Staff Operations, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 1, Skending van landsgrense: Bestokings, 25 August 77–16 October 1978 and Namakalu, p. 78.

62 Namakalu, p. 78.

SADF launched a follow-up the next morning. This attack caused the peace talks initiated by the UN to be abandoned.⁶³ In another attack on 4 May 1980 the SADF Air Force base at Ondangwa was attacked by PLAN insurgents at 01h55 with 60mm mortars and small arms fire. One Puma helicopter and one Impala aircraft were slightly damaged. PLAN withdrew after four minutes. SWAPO claimed that PLAN executed a major strike at the SAAF Ondangwa base and that many SAAF planes were destroyed or damaged.

On 31 January 1981 PLAN insurgents launched a standoff attack on the Sector 10 HQ at Oshakati with 122mm rockets. Four rockets hit the town but caused no casualties.⁶⁴ The SWAPO version was that the town and military base were attacked by PLAN insurgents at midnight.

On 11 May 1985 PLAN executed one of their most successful standoff attacks when the SADF base at Ogandjera was attacked at 00h25 using 82mm mortars. Eleven SADF members were wounded.⁶⁵ On 28 July 1985 the SADF's Sector 10 HQ at Oshakati was attacked by PLAN insurgents at 01h40 firing 19 x B10 bombs and 15 x 82mm mortars. Slight damage was caused to cars and caravans and two SADF members were slightly wounded.⁶⁶

During March 1987 PLAN insurgents launched a standoff bombing campaign on security force bases and kraals of pro-government chiefs. Fourteen such attacks were launched during March 1987 alone. These bases included Okatope, Eenhana, Okongo, Onesi and Okalongo. Although Geldenhuys claims that no further attacks took place after the attack on the Calueque Dam on 27 June 1988, numerous further attacks by PLAN insurgents took place and in the latter half of 1988 the SADF and SWATF bases at Mahanene, Okankolo, Nkongo and the SWAPOL base at Ogongo were attacked by PLAN. SWAPO also claims that a SADF base at Onavivi (west of Oshakati) was attacked and destroyed, killing 19 and probably as many as 40 soldiers of the SADF.⁶⁷

63 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 6, 326/1/1/3, vol. 2, Skending van landsgrense: Magte van ander lande, 2 October 1978–2 March 1979. Udogu, p.133 confirms this incident as well as DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 7, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 19 December 1979–6 November 1980.

64 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 3, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 2 January 1981–18 February 1981 and the Catholic Institute for International Relations, *Namibia in the 1980s* (London, 1986), p. 27.

65 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 8, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 27 February 1985–24 May 1985.

66 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 9, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 29 May 1985–15 August 1985.

67 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 283 and Dierks. Nujoma, p. 379 also refers to these attacks during February and March of 1988 claiming that the SADF suffered 159 casualties during these two months. There are no records of these attacks in the SADF Archives.

When the standoff attacks on SA security force bases were intensified two eras are evident. A marked increase occurred during the period 1977 to 1980 when these type of attacks increased from eight to 18. The attacks increased from one during 1983 to 12 attacks in 1984. These attacks reached a peak during 1987 when more than 20 standoff attacks occurred. A probable reason for the decrease in standoff attacks after 1980 is the execution of the first cross-border pre-emptive strike by the SADF, codenamed Operation Smokeshell, in which most of PLAN's forward control bases were neutralised. A definite reason for the increase in standoff attacks during 1984 was the failure of the Joint Monitoring Commission which was implemented after the SADF's Operation Askari.

As much as 80% of the standoff attacks occurred during the rainy season when PLAN insurgents relied on the cover of vegetation and the rain to wipe out their tracks. During 1977 a total of 14 of the 18 standoff attacks occurred during the rainy season and during 1987 as much as 16 out of 20. During 1988 the total was ten out of 15. In all incidents where it was possible to ascertain the time of the attacks, they were carried out during the night, from as early as 20h00 in the case of bases located far south of the border, to as late as 04h00 in the case of bases close to the border with Angola – Oshakati and Ogandjera being examples of the former case and Ruacana an example of the latter case, when it was attacked three times around 03h00 in the morning.

The preferred weapon of choice for these attacks was the 82mm mortars or 60 mm mortars, which were easily cached in remote areas. On rare occasions and when maximum damage was foreseen, B10 and 122mm missiles were used. There was also a tendency to use these weapons against the SADF's Headquarters. Oshakati was attacked on three occasions with 122mm and/or B10's and Katima Mulilo twice.

Research indicated that the relatively isolated base of Nkongo, located in far eastern Owamboland and close to the Angolan border, was attacked 11 times during the Border War. Ruacana, Ogandjera, Eenhana and Elundu were all attacked nine times and Oshakati eight times. A prime military target like the SADF's Ondangwa Air Force Base, where most of the SAAF aircraft were located, was only attacked on six occasions by PLAN.

PLAN's standoff attack campaign during the Bush War can be regarded as unsuccessful and at the most be regarded as having a "nuisance value/effect" on the SA security forces. In the 161 attacks only 21 SA security force members were killed inside the bases and a further 124 security force members wounded. One soldier was killed in the Etale attack on 15 December 1976, ten soldiers in the attack on Katima Mulilo on 23 August 1978, four soldiers in the attack 17km northwest of Nkongo on 18 May 1980, two soldiers in the attack on Elundu on 8

March 1987, one SWAPOL member in the attack on Ohangwena on 12 March 1987 and one soldier in the attack on Okatope on 25 March 1988.

SWAPO claims, however, amounted to much more. They claimed to have killed more than 419 security force members over the period. Twenty SADF soldiers were killed in the attack on Mpacha on 13 October 1968, 160 soldiers in the attack on Kamenga during 1973, substantial losses suffered in the attack on Singalamwe during April 1974, heavy losses during the attack on Singalamwe during January to February 1977, 28 soldiers in the attack on Omafu on 14 February 1978, between 80 and 100 killed or injured, including 11 officers during the attack on Katima Mulilo on 23 August 1978, 17 during the attack on Concor base on 13 July 1985 and 40 in the attack on Onavivi in 1988.

9. PLAN SUCCESSES DURING GUERILLA WARFARE ACTIONS

By mid May 1971 SWAPO announced that they had killed or wounded 37 SADF members between 1 January 1971 and 21 April 1971. In April alone, they claimed to have launched seven successful operations, mainly by means of landmines, and by 1972 five policemen had been killed and 35 wounded in landmine explosions. Prior to 1973, when the SADF took over the responsibilities, 23 SAP policemen were killed, either operationally or accidentally.⁶⁸

During 1979 PLAN insurgents were involved in 253 mine incidents (117 mines were detonated and 136 mines were deactivated by the SADF), 329 contacts with the SADF, 203 cases of intimidation against the local population, 18 cases where SAAF aircraft were fired at, 61 cases of sabotage and five cases where PLAN caches were lifted.⁶⁹ During the first three months, PLAN insurgents murdered more than 400 civilians (350 by landmines) and abducted approximately 1 600.⁷⁰

During 1980 the SADF lost 100 men (not to be surpassed during the war) and PLAN more than 1 400.⁷¹ During 1981 to 1982 a total of 80 SADF members and 1 300 PLAN insurgents were killed.⁷² During 1984 a total of 40 SADF members and 600 PLAN insurgents were killed.⁷³

The SADF and PLAN were involved in the following incidents inside Namibia during 1985: 52 contacts; 590 PLAN insurgents killed; 56 civilians killed; 179 civilians abducted; 170 anti-tank mines detonated; 147 anti-tank mines defused and recovered; 284 anti-personnel mines defused and recovered; 514 rifles captured; 1 006 rifle grenades captured; 512 hand grenades captured; 1 966 mortar

68 Blake, p. 25 and Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 31, who is questioning these figures.

69 DOD Archives, SWA HQ Int, 309/1, vol. 5, Veiligheidssoorsig, 31 January 1980.

70 Blake, p. 43.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

bombs captured and 88 SADF members killed.⁷⁴ A total of 30 SADF members and 650 PLAN insurgents were killed.⁷⁵ During 1988 a total of 40 SADF members and 260 PLAN insurgents were killed.⁷⁶

10. CONCLUSION

Although 161 standoff attacks on SA security force bases by PLAN are mentioned, this cannot be regarded as a claim to be a complete list. The material in the SANDF Archives (especially those of SWA/Namibia) is limited and by no means comprehensive. Available SADF incident reports of the time were consulted. The SWAPO claims of attacks and SADF casualties mainly came from their Departments of Information and Publicity responsible for polishing the image of SWAPO who made exorbitant claims regarding their successes. In most cases no detail regarding PLAN attacks are given and in most cases it could not be verified by means of SADF incidents reports of that time. The validity of these claims can thus be questioned.

Using only standoff attacks as an assessing method, one can claim that 161 PLAN standoff attacks over a period of 23 years, which caused the deaths of only 21 SA security force members and 124 wounded, hardly came close to Guevara's strategy of the complete destruction of the opposing force and Levy's "... in general creating a considerable amount of hell and wearing him [the enemy] down..." point of view. If one is to assess the broader picture, using all guerilla tactics applied by PLAN, one could easily come to the conclusion that their landmine and sabotage campaign was "causing considerable hell and wearing the SA security forces out". The intimidation and elimination of pro-SA government members of the local population was however more successful, thus the success during the general elections of 1989.

The SWA/Namibian Border War is possibly not a great example of true classical guerilla warfare, but some of their actions were typical thereof. SWAPO leaders believed in the Debray-Guevara theory that military power will win the war, as in Cuba in 1958. During the 20th century, guerilla war on its own seldom won any revolutionary wars, but the actions of PLAN, like the standoff attacks on security forces and the intimidation of the local population, undoubtedly contributed to SWAPO's successes in the elections of 1989.

74 Steenkamp and T Ramsden, *Border-line insanity: A national serviceman's story* (Alberton, 2009), pp. 181-182.

75 Blake, p. 199.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

APPENDIX A**List of PLAN standoff attacks on SADF/SWAPOL**

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
13 October 1968	Mpacha	Unknown	20 x SADF killed	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF records. ⁷⁷
1973	Kamenga	Unknown	160 x SADF killed	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF records. ⁷⁸
26 January 1973	Singalamwe	Rockets and mortars	SAP base commander wounded.	Several PLAN killed when SAP reinforcements and SAAF helicopters arrived. ⁷⁹
April 1974	Singalamwe	Grad-P, B10, 82mm mortars	Substantial losses to SADF	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF records. ⁸⁰
9 April 1975	Base in Caprivi	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF records. ⁸¹
10 September 1975 – 23h00	Epinga Onambutu	Unknown	Ten x Guards of tribal chiefs killed	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF records. ⁸²
31 December 1975	Oshandi	Unknown	One x white and one x black worker killed	Claim by SWAPO. Workers were laying water pipeline to Owamboland. ⁸³

77 Udogo, p. 130. No mention is made about which SADF/SAP base it was.

78 *Ibid.*

79 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 34.

80 Namakalu, p. 39.

81 Anon. Department of Information and Publicity, *SWAPO of Namibia 1981. To be born a nation: The liberation struggle for Namibia* (London, 1981). No further detail from SWAPO is available and also no record of such an attack in the SANDF Archives.

82 Namakalu, p. 49.

83 DOD Archives, Chief of the SADF, Gp1, HSAW/82/1/2, vol. 1, Terroristebedyryghede in SWA, 31 October 1975–27 July 1976.

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
16 April 1976	Kwando	Unknown	None	60 x PLAN insurgents withdrew when SAAF helicopters flew over them. ⁸⁴
15 May 1976	Nkongo	Rockets and machine-gun	None	20 x PLAN insurgents. ⁸⁵
June 1976	Oruno	Unknown	None	SWAPO claim SAAF suffered helicopter and vehicle damage. No SADF records. ⁸⁶
2-3 June 1976	UNITA mercenary camp	Unknown	None	SWAPO claim that three SAAF helicopters were shot down. No SADF records. ⁸⁷
1 July 1976	Ondangwa	Unknown	None	Four x Owambo soldiers captured by PLAN. ⁸⁸
11 July 1976	Etale	Unknown	Unknown	SADF record. ⁸⁹
4 September 1976	Epinga	Unknown	Ten x Owambo home guard killed	SWAPO claims. Probably same attack as 10 Sep 75. No SADF records. ⁹⁰

84 *Ibid.*

85 *Ibid.*

86 Department of Information and Publicity, p. 226.

87 *Ibid.*

88 DOD Archives, CSADE, Gp 1, HSAW/82/1/2, vol. 1, Terroristebedywighede in SWA, 31 October 1975–27 July 1976.

89 *Ibid.*

90 Department of Information and Publicity, p. 226. There is no record of such an attack in the DOD Archives.

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
15 December 1976	Etale	Six x 60mm mortars	One x SADF member killed	SADF record. ⁹¹
1977	Onhumba	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ⁹²
January – February 1977	Singalamwe	Small arms, mortars	Heavy SADF losses	SADF confirmed shooting down of SAAF Alouette but not attack on base. ⁹³
January – April 1977	Onunu	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ⁹⁴
January – April 1977	Onambutu	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ⁹⁵
January – April 1977	Onanmagego	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ⁹⁶
January – April 1977	Eebundu	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ⁹⁷
January – April 1977 -22h30	Oshikango	Machine-gun	Unknown	SADF record. ⁹⁸
2 February 1977	Onampenga	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ⁹⁹
21 February 1977	Grootfontein	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹⁰⁰

91 DOD Archives, CSADF, Gp1, HSAW/82/1/2, vol. 2, Terroristebedyrywighede in SWA, 29 July 1976–26 January 1977.

92 Namakalu, p. 159.

93 This incident – the shooting down of one SAAF Alouette – was confirmed by the SADF (In Zambia, a SAAF Alouette III (76) was shot down by enemy fire killing the SAAF crew, <http://www.southafrica.wargraves.org/lists/saborder_1.htm>, but the shooting down of a second SAAF Alouette was however unconfirmed.

94 Namakalu, p. 159.

95 *Ibid.*

96 *Ibid.*

97 *Ibid.*

98 DOD Archives, SWA TF, Gp 1, G/Int/1/2/1, Opsomming van vyandelike insidente, 3 January 1977.

99 Namakalu, p. 159.

100 *Ibid.*

DATE/ TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
Late February 1977	Base in Caprivi	Unknown	Three x SADF wounded	Follow-up operation 12 x PLAN killed. ¹⁰¹
17 March 1977	Nkurenkuru	Small arms	None	Possible FAPLA attack. ¹⁰²
18 March 1977	Beacon 5,5 Border post	Two x 60mm mortars, small arms	None	PLAN stormed SADF soldiers at the Beacon. ¹⁰³
15 April 1977	Okanghudi	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹⁰⁴
25 April 1977	Mucusso	Unknown	None	PLAN shouted in Afrikaans. ¹⁰⁵
8 June 1977	Mpacha AFB Katima Mulilo town, Wenela	122mm rockets, mortars	None	Simultaneous attacks by PLAN. ¹⁰⁶ Confirmed by SADF. ¹⁰⁷
24 October 1977	Omhalapapa	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹⁰⁸
24 November 1977	Omhalapapa	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹⁰⁹
November 1977	Caprivi OP post Katima Mulilo	Mortars	None	Possibly executed by Zambian security forces. ¹¹⁰
14 February 1978	Omafufu	Unknown	28 x SADF killed	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹¹¹

101 Geldenhuys, 2009, p. 46.

102 DOD Archives, SWA TF, G/Int/1/2/1, 3 January 1977.

103 *Ibid.*

104 Namakalu, p. 159.

105 DOD Archives, CSADF, Gp 1, HSAW/82/1/2, vol. 2, Terroristebedywighede in SWA, 29 July 1976–26 January 1977.

106 Namakalu, p. 159.

107 Geldenhuys, 2009, p. 86.

108 Namakalu, p. 159. It is highly likely that these two attacks could be the same attacks referred to by SWAPO.

109 *Ibid.*

110 Geldenhuys, 2009, p. 63.

111 Department of Information and Publicity, p. 264. There are no SADF records.

DATE/ TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
18 February 1978	SADF base	Mortars	30 x SADF killed	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹¹²
18 – 19 February 1978	Elundu	Unknown	15 x SADF killed (SWAPO) Three x SADF killed Six x SADF wounded One x SADF captured	Claim by SWAPO. ¹¹³ A SADF section at a water-hole was overpowered by PLAN. ¹¹⁴
25 February 1978	Ruacana	Mortars, small arms	None	SADF records. ¹¹⁵
March 1978	Elundu	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹¹⁶ Probably the Feb. 78 incident.
March 1978	Etomba	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹¹⁷
30 March 1978	Kwando	122mm rockets, 82mm mortars, RPG7	None	Follow-up into Zambia, four x PLAN killed. ¹¹⁸
26 June 1978	Katima Mulilo	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹¹⁹

112 *Ibid.*

113 *Ibid.*

114 Dierks.

115 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 1, Skending van landsgrense: Bestokings, 25 August 1977–16 October 1978.

116 Namakalu, p. 159.

117 *Ibid.*

118 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 1, Skending van Landsgrense: Bestokings, 25 August 1977–16 October 1978.

119 Namakalu, p. 159.

DATE/ TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
13 August 1978	Wenela	Mortars	Unknown	Executed by the Zambian security forces. ¹²⁰
23 August 1978	Katima Mulilo	122mm rockets 82mm mortars, 60mm mortars	100 x SADF killed (SWAPO) Nine x SADF killed Nine x SADF wounded (SADF)	PLAN's Op Revenge in retaliation to SADF attack on Cassinga. ¹²¹ SADF records indicate ten x SADF killed. ¹²²
19 October 1978	Beacon 21	82mm mortars	Four x SADF wounded	SADF records. ¹²³
19 December 1978	Katima Mulilo	Small arms	None	Shots from Zambian security forces. ¹²⁴
15 January 1979 - 04h50	Okalongo OP post	Small arms, RPG7	Three x SADF wounded	Attack by 40 x PLAN insurgents. ¹²⁵
13 February 1979	Nkongo	Unknown	Seven x SADF killed (SWAPO) Seven x SADF wounded (SADF)	Attack executed by 150 – 250 PLAN insurgents. ¹²⁶
27 February 1979 - 01h45	Elundu	75mm recoilless gun, 36 x 82mm mortars	None	Fire was inaccurate and missed the base. ¹²⁷

120 Stiff, *The covert war*, p. 231.

121 Geldenhuys, 2009, p. 80.

122 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 1, Skending van landsgrense: Bestokings, 25 August 1977–16 October 1978.

123 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 6, 326/1/1/3, vol. 2, Skending van landsgrense: Magte van ander lande, 2 October 1978–2 March 1979.

124 *Ibid.*

125 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 3, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 7 September 1978–7 February 1979.

126 Udogo, p. 133 and DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 6, 326/1/1/3, vol. 2, Skending van landsgrense: Magte van ander lande, 2 October 1978–2 March 1979.

127 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 6, 326/1/1/3, vol. 2, Skending van landsgrense: Magte van ander lande, 2 October 1978–2 March 1979. The attack and date was confirmed by Udogo and the

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
March 1979	Ondangwa AFB	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹²⁸
6 March 1979	Ruacana	Small arms, RPG7, RPD machine gun, 82mm mortars	None	Attack on SWAWEK lasted two hours. ¹²⁹
25 March 1979	Oshigambo	Small arms, mortars	One x SADF wounded	PLAN equipment found at base plate positions. ¹³⁰
April 1979	Ruacana	Unknown	Unknown	Claim by SWAPO. No SADF record. ¹³¹
4 April 1979 - 23h45	Ondangwa AFB	Four x Mortars	Four x SADF wounded	SADF records. ¹³²
7 May 1979	Ruacana	122mm rockets, 82mm mortars, RPG7	None	Fire-fight lasted about 45 minutes. ¹³³
7 June 1979 - 23h00	Hurricane AFB	122mm rockets, 40 x 82mm mortars	None	Bombardment lasted 45 minutes. SADF retaliated with 140mm artillery. ¹³⁴
13 September 1979 – 20h55	Nkongo	Eight x Mortars	One x SADF wounded	SADF retaliated with mortars. ¹³⁵

Department of Information and Publicity, p. 264.

128 Udogo, p. 133 and Department of Information and Publicity, p. 265. Also see 4 April 1979.

129 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 6, 326/1/1/3, vol. 3, Skending van landsgrense: Magte van ander lande, 8 March 1979–4 June 1979.

130 *Ibid.*

131 Namakalu, p. 159.

132 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 6, 326/1/1/3, vol. 3, Skending van landsgrense: Magte van ander lande, 8 March 1979–4 June 1979.

133 *Ibid.*

134 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 1, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 6 February 1979–12 November 1980.

135 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 7, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 16 July 1979–19 December 1979. Nujoma, p. 315 refers to repeated attacks against South African installations at

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
16 September 1979 – 20h45	Elundu	Ten x Mortars	Two x SADF wounded	SADF retaliated with mortars. ¹³⁶
11 October 1979 - 02h30	Beacon 20	Mortars, small arms	None	Attacked from inside Angola. ¹³⁷
14 November 1979	Kahenge	Small arms	None	Police base fired upon from inside Angola. ¹³⁸
10 December 1979	Onyuulave	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹³⁹
30 December 1979	Oshikango OP post	82mm mortars, RPD machine gun, RPG7	None	SADF retaliated on Santa Clara. ¹⁴⁰
18 January 1980	Ruacana	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁴¹
3 February 1980	Ohangwena Eenhana	Unknown	None	SADF records. ¹⁴²
17 March 1980	Onanyena	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF records. ¹⁴³
20 March 1980	Ontumba	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF records. ¹⁴⁴

Kongo. This could be the attack he refers to.

136 *Ibid.*

137 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 1, Skending van landsgrense: Bestokings, 17 September 1979–26 July 1982.

138 *Ibid.*

139 Namakalu, p. 159.

140 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 1, Skending van landsgrense: Bestokings, 17 September 1979–26 July 1982.

141 Namakalu, p. 159.

142 DOD Archives, SWA HQ Int, 309/1, vol. 5, Veiligheidsorsig, 31 January 1980.

143 Namakalu, p. 159.

144 *Ibid.*

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
15 April 1980	Ruacana	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF records. ¹⁴⁵
4 May 1980 - 01h55	Ondangwa AFB	Small arms, 60mm mortars	None	One x SAAF Puma and one x Impala was damaged. ¹⁴⁶
5 May 1980 - 01h00	SAP base 45km east of Ombalantu	Unknown	Unknown	SADF records. ¹⁴⁷
18 May 1980	17km northeast of Nkongo	Mortars RPG7 Small arms	Four x SADF killed 13 x SADF wounded	30 x PLAN insurgents attacked SADF guarding an air supply point. ¹⁴⁸
18 June 1980 - 00h25	Ogongo	Mortars	Five x SADF wounded	SADF record. ¹⁴⁹
27 July 1980 - 02h30	Ruacana	40 x Mortars	Six x SADF wounded	Severe damage to radio masts and telephone poles. ¹⁵⁰
30 October 1980	Elundu	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁵¹
31 January 1981	Oshakati	122mm rockets	None	Little damage to town. SADF and SWAPO records. ¹⁵²

145 *Ibid.*

146 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 7, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 19 December 1979–6 November 1980.

147 *Ibid.*

148 *Ibid.*

149 *Ibid.*

150 *Ibid.*

151 Namakalu, p. 159.

152 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 3, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 2 January 1981–18 February 1981 and CIIR, p. 27.

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
February 1981	Okalongo	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁵³
26 February 1981	Ogandjera	Mortars	None	SAP base attacked by 20 PLAN of whom 12 were killed during the Koevoet follow-up. ¹⁵⁴
2 May 1981	Okalongo	Mortars	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁵⁵
2 May 1981 - 02h05	Ogongo	82mm Mortars	None	Six mortars hit base causing extensive damage. 29 x PLAN executed attack. ¹⁵⁶
24 February 1982	Okahao (Ogandjera)	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁵⁷
11 June 1982	Onhangwena	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁵⁸
4 March 1983 - 01h10	Alpha Tower	RPG7	None	Executed by 50-60 PLAN insurgents. ¹⁵⁹

153 Namakalu, p. 159.

154 Stiff, *The covert war*, p. 151.

155 *Ibid.*

156 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 5, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 3, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 2 January 1981–18 February 1981.

157 Namakalu, p. 159.

158 *Ibid.*

159 Anon. SWAPO attack on Alpha Tower, 4 March 1983. SADF. Sentinelproject. 26 January 2008, <<http://sadf.sentinelprojects.com/bg2/Kangoattack.html>>, accessed 4 November 2011.

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
23 February 1984 - 01h00	Ondangwa AFB	13 x Mortar bombs	None	Gravel runway slightly damaged. ¹⁶⁰
2 March 1984 - 22h50	Opuwo	Mortars	None	No damage to buildings. ¹⁶¹
2 March 1984	Beacon 10	Small arms, 60mm mortars	Two x SADF wounded	Executed by 20 PLAN insurgents of whom one were killed. ¹⁶²
3 March 1984 - 23h20	Beacon 28	Mortars	None	One PLAN insurgent killed in retaliatory fire. ¹⁶³
6 May 1984 - 01h50	Oshakati	13 x 82mm mortars Small arms	None	Attack on Makalani base by PLAN. ¹⁶⁴
22 May 1984	Etengwa	82mm mortars 60mm mortars	None	PLAN suffered two wounded in retaliatory fire. ¹⁶⁵
27 May 1984 - 01h20	Ogongo	Unknown	None	SADF record. ¹⁶⁶
25 July 1984	Nepara	Small arms, SKS rifle-grenades	Six x SADF wounded	Only one SKS rifle-grenade hit the base. ¹⁶⁷

160 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 5, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 23 June 1983–27 July 1984.

161 *Ibid.*

162 *Ibid.*

163 *Ibid.*

164 *Ibid.* It was usually easy to determine the exact amount of bombs fired, because of the craters caused by the explosions and by the tail fins of the mortars after detonation.

165 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 211.

166 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 5, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 23 June 1983–27 July 1984.

167 *Ibid.*

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
31 July 1984 - 02h00	Oshakati	82mm mortars	None	Ten x mortars hit the town causing damage to the state hospital. ¹⁶⁸
31 August 1984 - 20h30	Beacon 25	60mm mortars	One x SADF wounded	At least seven x mortars hit the temporary base. ¹⁶⁹
16 October 1984 - 22h18	Ondangwa SWAPOL base	60 mm mortars SKS rifle-grenades	None	During the follow-up three PLAN were killed. ¹⁷⁰
7 December 1984	Concor	Mortars Small arms	Ten x SADF wounded One x civilian killed	One PLAN member wounded and captured in retaliatory fire. ¹⁷¹
4 February 1985	Onga	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁷²
25 February 1985	Tsandi	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁷³
24 March 1985 - 22h30	Omangwehume	Unknown	None	SADF claim. ¹⁷⁴

168 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 6, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 30 July 1984–26 November 1984.

169 *Ibid.*

170 *Ibid.*

171 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 7, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 28 November 1984–25 February 1985.

172 Namakalu, p. 159.

173 *Ibid.*

174 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 8, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 27 February 1985–24 May 1985.

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
28 March 1985	Ogandjera	Mortars	Five x SADF wounded	SADF record. ¹⁷⁵
26 April 1985 - 03h50	Ruacana	82mm mortars, small arms	None	Four bombs hit the base and four hit the town. ¹⁷⁶
5 May 1985	Epinga	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁷⁷
11 May 1985 - 00h25	Ogandjera	82mm mortars	11 x SADF wounded	SADF record. ¹⁷⁸
28 May 1985 - 00h45	Ombalantu	22 x 82mm mortars	Six x SADF wounded	SADF record. ¹⁷⁹
14 June 1985	Beacon 10	82mm mortars 60mm mortars, RPG7, SKS rifle-grenades	Two x SADF wounded	Two mortars and ten rifle-grenades hit the base. ¹⁸⁰
28 June 1985	Eenhana	Unknown	Unknown	Base was not hit. ¹⁸¹
30 June 1985	Miershoop	Unknown	Unknown	No detail available. ¹⁸²
13 July 1985	Concor	59 x 82mm mortars 70 x 60mm mortars	17 x SADF killed Two x PLAN wounded	SWAPO claims on a intercepted radio communication. ¹⁸³

175 *Ibid.*

176 *Ibid.*

177 Namakalu, p. 159.

178 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 8, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 27 February 1985–24 May 1985.

179 *Ibid.*, vol. 9, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 29 May 1985–15 August 1985.

180 DOD Archives, SWA TF SWS 2 Inl, 205/1 (Sek 10), vol. 7, Inrap Sektor 10, 14 June 1985–1 August 1985.

181 DOD Archives, SWA HQ Int , 309/1, vol. 5, Veiligheidsoorsig, 31 January 1980. Nujoma, p. 337 also refers to attacks on Eenhana between June–August 1985.

182 DOD Archives, Supplementary Documents (War Diaries), 54 Bn Oorlogdagboek, 0/0/88.

183 DOD Archives, SWA TF SWS 2 Inl, 205/1 (Sek 10), vol. 7, Inrap Sektor 10, 14 June 1985–1 August 1985.

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
28 July 1985 - 01h40	Oshakati	19 x B10 bombs, 15 x 82mm mortars	Two x SADF wounded	Slight damage to caravans and vehicles. ¹⁸⁴
August 1985	Eenhana	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁸⁵
13 November 1985 – 03h00	Ruacana	B10 canons, RPG7, 60mm mortars	None	Five x PLAN insurgents killed and one captured in follow-up. ¹⁸⁶
20 February 1986	Okalongo	Six x 82mm mortars	None	One mortar hit the base. Few 82mm and 60mm mortar bombs found at base-plate position. ¹⁸⁷
17 March 1986	Ombombo	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁸⁸
23 March 1986	Epalela	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁸⁹
23 March 1986	Concor	Unknown	Unknown	Executed by 20 PLAN insurgents. ¹⁹⁰
29 March 1986	Okalongo	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁹¹
8 April 1986	Okanghudi	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁹²

184 DOD Archives, CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 9, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 29 May 1985–15 August 1985.

185 Dierks and Nujoma, p. 337, also refers to attacks on Eenhana between June and August 1985.

186 DOD Archives), CS Ops, Gp 3, HSOPS/205/3/4, vol. 11, Gekonsolideerde Sitrap, 17 October 1985–24 January 1986.

187 DOD Archives, SWA TF SWS 3, Gp 2, 309/1, vol. 2, Algemeen, 31 January 1980.

188 Namakalu, p. 159.

189 *Ibid.*

190 DOD Archives, SWA TF SWS 2 Inl, 205/1 (Sek 10), vol. 13, Inrap Sektor 10, 16 February 1986–2 April 1986.

191 Namakalu, p. 159.

192 *Ibid.*

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
5 May 1986	Onhangwena	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁹³
11 May 1986	Onhangwena	Unknown	Unknown	Could be same incident as 5 May 85. PLAN had orders to capture a white policeman and a Casspir. ¹⁹⁴
27 May 1986	Ogandjera	Unknown	Eight x SADF wounded	SADF record. ¹⁹⁵
10 July 1986	Etale	Unknown	Unknown	SADF record. ¹⁹⁶
11 June 1986	Okakwa	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁹⁷
22 June 1986	Oshakati	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁹⁸
29 June 1986	Eenhana	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ¹⁹⁹
7 August 1986	Oshakati	Explosives	None	PLAN infiltrated and sabotaged tanks next to Koevoet's main fuel depot. ²⁰⁰
16 August 1986	Oshakati	Unknown	Unknown	SADF record. ²⁰¹
18 August 1986	Okalongo	Unknown	Unknown	The same group of PLAN insurgents executing attack on Oshakati on 16 Aug 85. ²⁰²

193 *Ibid.*

194 Anon. Die Republikein Online, <<http://www.republikein.com.na/politik-en-nationale/5-tot-11-mei-1986.50772.php>>, accessed 16 January 2009.

195 DOD Archives, SWATF SWS 2 Inl, 205/1 (Sek 10), vol. 13, Inrap Sektor 10, 29 March 1986–22 May 1986.

196 *Ibid.*

197 Namakalu, p. 159.

198 *Ibid.*

199 *Ibid.*

200 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 263.

201 DOD Archives, SWATF SWS 2 Inl, 205/1 (Sek 10), vol. 13, Inrap Sektor 10, 29 March 1986–22 May 1986.

202 *Ibid.* and Namakalu, p. 159.

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
29 October 1986	Okahao (Ogandjera)	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ²⁰³
30 October 1986	Elundu	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ²⁰⁴
15 November 1986	Eenhana	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ²⁰⁵
2 March 1987	Omhendi	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ²⁰⁶
5 March 1987	Oshikango	Mortars, Machine-gun	None	Kraal of Chief Katima. ²⁰⁷
7 March 1987	Unknown	Mortars, Machine-gun	None	Kraal of Chief Gotlieb. ²⁰⁸
8 March 1987 – 22h45	Elundu	Unknown	Two x SADF killed, two SADF wounded	SADF record. Confirmed by SWAPO. ²⁰⁹
12 March 1987	Onhangwena	Mortars	One x SWAPOL killed, five x SWAPOL wounded	During follow-up another SWAPOL and one PLAN killed. ²¹⁰
13 March 1987	Nkongo	Eight x 82mm mortars	None	No SADF records. ²¹¹
14 March 1987	Eenhana	82mm mortars, 60mm mortars, RPG7	None	Koevoet follow-up killed one PLAN insurgent. ²¹²

203 Namakalu, p. 159.

204 *Ibid.*

205 *Ibid.*

206 *Ibid.*

207 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 278.

208 *Ibid.*

209 DOD Archives, Supplementary Documents (War Diaries), 54 Bn Oorlogdagboek, 0/0/88; Namakalu, p. 159 and Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 278.

210 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 278 and Namakalu, p. 159.

211 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 278.

212 *Ibid.*

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
16 March 1987 – 00h15	Nkongo	60mm mortars, small arms	None	Kraal in Onhangwena, Onesi attacked the same evening. ²¹³
26 March 1987 – 22h20	Eenhana	60mm mortars, 82mm mortars, small arms	None	SADF record. ²¹⁴
26 March 1987	Omungwelume	60 x 82mm mortars	Three x security force wounded	No SADF record. ²¹⁵
26 March 1987	Ogandjera	Unknown	None	No SADF record. ²¹⁶
26 March 1987	Etale	Unknown	Six x SADF wounded	No SADF record. ²¹⁷
26 March 1987	Okahao (Ogandjera)	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ²¹⁸
28 March 1987	Okakwa	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ²¹⁹
12 April 1987 – 21h15	Okankolo	Unknown	Seven x SADF wounded	SADF record. ²²⁰
26 April 1987 – 01h45	Nkongo	Unknown	None	The base and the kraal of Chief Stefaans were attacked. ²²¹
22 July 1987 – 23h45	Nkongo	60mm mortars	None	SADF records. ²²²

213 DOD Archives, Supplementary Documents (War Diaries), 54 Bn Oorlogdagboek, 0/0/88; Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 283.

214 *Ibid.* and Namakalu, p. 159.

215 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 283.

216 *Ibid.*

217 *Ibid.*

218 Namakalu, p. 159.

219 *Ibid.*

220 DOD Archives, Supplementary Documents (War Diaries), 54 Bn Oorlogdagboek, 0/0/88.

221 *Ibid.*

222 *Ibid.*

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
4 September 1987 – 20h55	Elundu	60mm mortars, SKS rifle-grenades, Small arms	Nine x SADF wounded	23 x mortars hit the base. ²²³
3 December 1987 – 00h30	Nkongo	Six x 60mm mortars	None	SADF record. ²²⁴
27 December 1987 – 22h15	Okankolo	Eight x 60mm mortar, SKS rifle-grenades	Unknown	SADF record. ²²⁵
13 January 1988	Oshakati	122mm rockets	Two x black civilians killed	Guard tower near hospital was hit. ²²⁶
23 January 1988	Onhangwena	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ²²⁷
27 February 1988	Ogandjera	Unknown	Injuries to civilians	SWAPO claim attack on kraal. No SADF record. ²²⁸
20 March 1988	Eenhana	Mortars, RPG7, SKS rifle-grenades	Three x SADF wounded	In Koevoet follow-up two PLAN officers killed. ²²⁹
4 March 1988 – 00h40	Nkongo	Mortars	None	Mortar missed base. ²³⁰
19 March 1988 – 23h30	Eenhana	Mortars. SKS rifle-grenades	Five x SADF wounded	18 bombs hit the base. ²³¹

223 *Ibid.*

224 *Ibid.*

225 *Ibid.*

226 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 293 and Namakalu, p. 159.

227 Namakalu, p. 159.

228 *Ibid.*

229 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 300.

230 DOD Archives, Supplementary Documents (War Diaries), 54 Bn Oorlogdagboek, 0/0/88.

231 *Ibid.*

DATE/TIME	PLACE	WEAPONS USED	CASUALTIES	COMMENTS
21 March 1988 – 00h15	Eenhana	60mm mortars. RPG7	Three x SADF wounded	Five mortars hit the base. ²³²
25 March 1988	Okatope	60mm mortars	One x SADF killed, three x SADF wounded	Eight mortars hit the base. ²³³
18 April 1988	Etale	Unknown	Unknown	No SADF record. ²³⁴
22 May 1988 - 23h30	Okankolo	60mm mortars, SKS rifle- grenades	Two x SADF wounded	Five mortars hit the base. ²³⁵
Later half of 1988	Mahanene Okankolo Nkongo Ogongo	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF records. ²³⁶
Later half of 1988	Onavivi	Unknown	19 – 40 SADF killed	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ²³⁷
21 July 1988	Omahendi	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ²³⁸
13 September 1988 – 22h50	Eenhana	82mm mortars	None	Mortars fell short of base. ²³⁹
5 September 1988	Elundu	Unknown	Unknown	SWAPO claim. No SADF record. ²⁴⁰

232 *Ibid.* Nujoma, p. 379 also refers to this attack during March 1988.

233 *Ibid.*

234 Stiff, *The silent war*, p. 307.

235 DOD Archives, Supplementary Documents (War Diaries), 54 Bn Oorlogdagboek, 0/0/88. Nujoma, p. 379 also refers to this attack on Okankolo during the later half of 1988.

236 Nujoma, p. 379. There are no records of these attacks in the SADF archives.

237 *Ibid.*

238 Namakalu, p. 159.

239 DOD Archives, Supplementary Documents (War Diaries), 54 Bn Oorlogdagboek, 0/0/88.

240 Namakalu, p. 159.