

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCE LIST

1. Interviews and Discussions (Oral Sources)

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- c. Brigadier K. van der Waals (retired), Pretoria, 28 November 1991.
- d. Colonel J.D. Breytenbach (retired), Sedgefield, 28, 29 and 30 December 1990 and Salem, 26 January 2003. Also telephonic conversation on 15 February 2003.
- e. Commandant W. Hugo, Pretoria, 1991.
- f. Commandant J.P. Snyman, Pretoria, 1991.
- g. Mr Mike McWilliams, Johannesburg, 12 June 1995.
- h. General Constand Viljoen (retired), Bet-El Farm, Ohrigstad, 2 May 2002.
- i. Commandant Ossie Baker (retired), Johannesburg, 1991.
- j. Captain Nate Vogelmann, MC (retired), Johannesburg, 13 August 1991.
- k. Lieutenant Bill Bramwell (retired), Bedfordview, 2 September 1991.
- l. Major General "Pik" van Noorden (retired), Pretoria, 12 February 1990.
- m. Mrs Doris McCombe, Johannesburg, 18 January 1994.
- n. Major General "Buddy" Ferreira, Pretoria, 26 February 1991.
- o. Brigadier Gert Nel, Pretoria, 26 February 1991.
- p. Commandant Johan Blaauw, Bloemfontein, 20 July 1990.
- q. Commandant Ian Ritchie (retired), Johannesburg, 5 February 1992.
- r. Major General J.P.M. Möller, Pretoria, 29 August 1990.
- s. Brigadier Frank Bestbier, Pretoria, 27 February 1991.
- t. Staff Sergeant Derek Hopkins (retired), Pretoria, 19 June 1995.
- u. Major General M.J. du Plessis (retired), Bloemfontein, 28 June 1995.
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- w. Commandant Hugh Paine, Pretoria, 12 November 1993.
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- y. Lieutenant Colonel J.J. Botha, Pretoria, 15 August 2002 and 12 September 2002.
- z. Major Wesley de Beer, Bloemfontein, 29 June 1995.
- aa. Colonel "Pale" van der Walt, Verwoerdburg, 5 July 1994.
- bb. Colonel James Hills (retired), Jubel Farm, Potchefstroom, 24 April 1990 and 1 January 1996.
- cc. Telephonic conversation with Professor Jeremy Silvester, University of Namibia, Windhoek, 1 October 2002.
- dd. Captain Jeremy Wiley, Ondangwa, January 1977.
- ee. Discussions with Brigadier General John Church, Pretoria, 13 May 2003.

- ff. Colonel L.C. Odendaal, Pretoria, 15 February 1995.
- gg. Telephonic interview with Captain Tommie Lamprecht (retired), Pretoria, 12 May 2003.
- hh. Discussions with Ms Louisa Jooste, Deputy Director of SANDF Documentation Services in Pretoria, on numerous occasions during 1999-2002.
- ii. Commandant Piet Nel, Port Elizabeth, 14 October 1991.
- jj. Commandant J.E.H.T. van Zyl, Pretoria, 20 November 1993.
- kk. Maggy Amutenya, Windhoek, 1998, (transcript translated by Martha Akawa and provided by University of Namibia).
- ll. Captain Mwaanga Paulus Ngodji, Okahandja Military Base, Namibia, March 1998 (transcript provided by University of Namibia).
- mm. Moks Shisvute, Namibia, 29 May 1998 (transcript provided by University of Namibia).
- nn. Lieutenant General Ian Gleeson (retired), Pretoria, 16 January 2003.
- oo. Telephonic conversation with Major General Martin Shalli, Army Commander, Namibian Defence Force, Grootfontein, 13 February 2003.
- pp. Lieutenant General J.J.A. da Silva ("Mayunga") of the Angolan Embassy, Pretoria, 20 February 2003.
- qq. Captain Dolf du Plessis, Hartebeespoort Dam, 14 June 1995.
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- (3) DGS/967/1, Archival Group DGS (Gp 2), Box No. 539, , "Report on Exercises carried out by A Coy 1 TS on 25th June 1940:.
- (4) "Paratroop Training", Archival Group CGS (War), Box No. 351: Enclosure "Training of Parachutists", dated 2 July 1940.
- (5) G2/1/11, Archival Group CGS (Gp 2), "Employment of Aircraft with Police Battalion", dated 12 July 1940.
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- (10) AG(1) AG/736/4/19 (Officers - SATC, No. 30 Armoured Commando (V) SAAF - Lyttelton), Box No. 132.
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- (15) 2 MA/514/2/81 (Secret), (2 MA Operational/War Diaries 1977/1978), Archival Gp 2 MG Oorlogsdagboek, Boxes 152 and 527.
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- (20) AG/HWA, Box No. 213, Gp 13, AG 560/6/7/32.
- (21) DC/2539, Box No. 3460, DC Gp 2 (Committee of Enquiry: Military Training)
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- (23) AG(1) 84/116, Box No. 44, Gp AG(1) (Military Gymnasium).
- (24) Commander's Diary, Operation SWIVEL, Box No. 451, C Army Gp.
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- (31) Supplementary Documents (*Aanvullende Dokumente*), Box No 31 (Op REINDEER).
- (32) DC/390/6, Secretary of Defence Group.

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- (64) KMDMT SWA OPS/309/1 REINDEER (Top Secret), Vol 2, Archive Aanvullende Dokumente, Group O-1968, Box No 83.
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- (66) Op REINDEER (Top Secret), Archive Group "Aanvullende Dokumente", Box No 31.
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ii. **Loose Documents**

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- (3) Nöthling, Major C.J.: *Operasie Reindeer*, Pretoria, SADF Documentation Service, June 1978 (no reference). Mimeographed monograph.
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- (5) Uncatalogued Collection of Classified Documents relating to Cassinga, held at SANDF Directorate Documentation Services.

b. **SANDF Personnel Records**

- i. Personal File: Capt D. M^cCombe (Second World War).

- ii. Personal File: Maj J.H. Gage, MC (Second World War).

c. **Other Military Documents Encountered**

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- vi. A Company 1 Parachute Battalion Operational Diary 22 August – 25 October 1974.
- vii. Memorandum from Officer Commanding 44 Parachute Brigade to BGS, reference 44 VALSK BDE/514/2/9/1 dated 4 March 1985.
- viii. Memorandum from C Army S Ops to Brig M.J. du Plessis, SM (Confidential) dated 11 April 1978, no reference number.
- ix. Copy of call-up telegramme received by Staff Sergeant N.O. Grobler dated 18 April 1978.
- x. Dippenaar, Commandant J.M.: *Operasie Sceptic: 10 Junie 1980*, (Confidential), undated.
- xi. *Parachute Jump Record Book*, maintained at the Parachute Training Centre of 44 Parachute Regiment, Tempe, Bloemfontein.
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- xiii. *Verslag oor Operasie REINDEER deur kol J.D. Breytenbach*, OPS 309/1/B/1 REINDEER (Top Secret), dd 9 May 1978.
- xiv. Annual Historical Report for 1 Parachute Battalion, DD 929, dd 31 December 1978.

d. **Military Staff Papers**

- i. Alexander, Commandant M.: *Staff Paper on the Value of a Parachute Capability in the SA Army, for Officer Commanding 44 Parachute Brigade*, 44 PARA BDE/304/2/1, Hammanskraal, 17 November 1987.
- ii. Boon, 2nd Lieutenant M.J.: *Airborne COINOPS: The Vertical Envelopment Concept Applied to Rural Counter-Insurgency Operations in Featureless Bush Terrain*, 1 Parachute Battalion, Tempe, January 1979.

3. **Other Archival Collections**

- a. Robben Island Museum – Mayibuye Archives Centre, University of the Western Cape.
 - i. Box: Namibia: General 102.
 - ii. Box: 115, Documents
 - iii. Newspaper clippings on Namibia.
 - iv. ANC Collection: *Sechaba*, Fourth Quarter 1978

4. **Published Archival Sources**

a. **Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard)**

- i. Volume 68
- ii. Volume 70
- iii. Volume 71
- iv. Volume 19 (Debates of 1967).
- v. April 1978.
- vi. No 13 (1-3 May 1978).
- vii. No 14 (8-12 May 1978).

5. **Photographs and Film Material**

- a. Aerial photographs (some annotated) taken of Cassinga by Canberra, Mirage and Buccaneer aircraft before, during and after the raid, obtained from the records of the Joint Air Reconnaissance Intelligence Centre (JARIC) of the SANDF, (taken by Canberra except where otherwise indicated):
 - i. Film No. 1755, Negatives No 9554-9556. Date of photography: 11 September 1975. Film Format RC-8.
 - ii. Film No. 1817, Negatives No 1199-1201. Date of photography: 10 November 1975. Film Format RC-8.
 - iii. Film No. 1844, Negatives No 237-239. Date of photography: 5 February 1976. Film Format RC-8.
 - iv. Film No. 2222, Negatives No 4402-4404. Date of photography: 6 March 1978. Film Format RC-8.
 - v. Film No. 2231, Negatives No 4780-4782. Date of photography: 1 April 1978. Film Format RC-8.
 - vi. Film No. 2231C, Negatives No 003-004. Date of photography: 1 April 1978. Film Format F-32.
 - vii. Film No. 2238A, Negatives No 0045-0105. Date of photography: 29 April 1978. Film Format F-32 (including enlargements with pre-strike annotation).
 - viii. Film No. 2246A, Negatives No 0079-0096. Date of photography: 4 May 1978. Film Format F-32 (including enlargements with post-strike annotation).
 - ix. Film No. 2608, Negatives No 86-91. Date of photography: 7 June 1980. Film Format F-100 (Mirage).
 - x. Film No. 2705, Negatives No 0912-0914. Date of photography: 1 August 1981. Film Format RC-8.

- xi. Film No. 2931C, Negatives No 091-093. Date of photography: 4 October 1982. Film Format F-32.
- xii. Film No. 3008, Negatives No 4943-4945. Date of photography: 27 August 1983. Film Format RC-8.
- xiii. Film No. 3008C, Negatives No 137-141. Date of photography: 27 August 1983. Film Format F-32.
- xiv. Film No. 3083, Negatives No 8443-8445. Date of photography: 12 April 1984. Film Format RC-8.
- xv. Area Mosaic of southern Angola covering area approximately 90km in all directions around Cassinga, date of photography: 3 June 1981.
- xvi. Oblique angle photographs of Cassinga taken during the air strike.
- xvii. Copies of photographs taken by Mirage gun cameras during strafing runs.
- b. Photographs alleged to have been taken inside Cassinga prior to the raid and to have been developed from film contained in a camera captured by the South African paratroopers during the raid.
- c. Photographs taken during the raid by a paratrooper officially tasked as the photographer. Now held in the SANDF archives of the Documentation Service.
- d. Course photographs of Course 47V: Basic Parachute Jumping Course, 6-24 May 1968, and Course 11V: Parachute Jumping Instructors Course, 29 January – 24 March 1962, mounted on the wall of the SANDF's Parachute Training Centre in Tempe, Bloemfontein.
- e. Photographs taken by individuals, some of them during the raid. These are indicated and acknowledged where they are used.
- f. Photographs obtained from the National Archives of Namibia: Catalogue Numbers 12370, 12372, 13311, 14100, 14101, 14102, 14103, 14104, 14105, 14106, 14107, 14108, 14109, 14111, 14113, 14114, 14118, 14120. Unfortunately the photographs ordered from the Archives often did not correspond with their catalogue numbers, so the accuracy of these numbers is open to question.
- g. Photographs copied from: Pagano, *The Kassinga File*; Steenkamp, *SA's Border War ; Massacre at Kassinga*
- h. Photographs of aircraft provided by Dave Becker, I Military Printing Regiment and the South African Air Force Museum,

6. **Unpublished Papers**

a. **Private Papers and Diaries**

- i. Personal diary maintained by Major Lew Gerber covering the 2 Parachute Battalion operational deployment over period 13 May – 5 August 1976.
- ii. Personal diary maintained by Air Corporal G.J. Leibbrandt during the parachute training of 15 South Africans in England over the period 27 September – 21 December 1960.
- iii. Personal diary maintained by Commandant Lew Gerber covering the call-up of 2 and 3 Parachute Battalions for the aborted Operation BRUILOF over the period 6-17 March 1978.

- iv. Personal report and observations on Cassinga by Commandant Lew Gerber, written from his perspective as a participant in the raid, in the days immediately following the raid.
- v. Copy of handwritten verbal operational orders for A-Company, Composite Parachute Battalion.
- vi. Pocket notebook used by Commandant Lew Gerber during Operation REINDEER.
- vii. Collection of cartoon drawings by D.F. van Wyk, entitled "The Cassinga File".
- viii. Recollections of Captain Tommie Lamprecht (retired), written in 2003 and entitled "Cassinga Notas".

b. **Correspondence**

- i. Letters received from Dr A Groeneweg, Stichting Airborne Museum, Oosterbeek, Netherlands, dated 7 May 1992 and 27 October 1992.
- ii. Letter received from Mr K. Philip Reinders, Battle of Arnhem 1944 Association, Vlaarding, Netherlands, dated 13 July 1991.
- iii. Questionnaire completed by Maj Gen Martin Shalli, Namibian Defence Force Army Commander, dated 16 April 2003.

7. **Academic Theses and Dissertations**

- a. Jooste, Louisa: *F.C. Erasmus as Minister van Verdediging, 1948-1959*, Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1995 (MA Dissertation).
- b. Van Wyk, Lodewicus Johannes: *Die Geskiedenis van 1 Valskermbataljon, 1961-1984*, Bloemfontein, Universiteit van die Oranje-Vrystaat, 1986 (MA Dissertation).
- c. Mostert, F.W.: *'n Kritiese Evaluering van Operasie Reindeer: Die Militêre Optrede van die SAW by Cassinga in Angola op 4 Mei 1978*, Bloemfontein, Universiteit van die Oranje Vrystaat, May 1993 (Honours Paper).

8. **Conference Papers**

- a. Alexander, Brigadier General McGill: *South African Airborne Operations*, Paper presented at the SA Military Academy's Conference on "South Africa at War in the Twentieth Century", held at Saldanha from 4 to 6 September 2000.
- b. Seegers, Annette: *The Security Forces and the Transition in South Africa: 1986 – 1994*, Paper presented at the Africa Seminar of the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 8 March 1995.

9. **Military Manuals and Training Handbooks**

- a. *Doctrina del Enemigo Convencional*, Madrid, Escuela Superior del Ejército, June 1977.
- b. *Conventional Warfare*, Marksheet Aide Memoire, Kimberley, 11 Commando, undated.
- c. *Standing Procedures for Parachuting in the SADF, (Provisional)*, Tempe, 1 Parachute Battalion, December, 1977.
- d. *Standing Operating Procedures for Parachuting*, 1 Parachute Battalion, December 1984.
- e. *Infanterie*, Pretoria, SA Army College précis GT/3/1/1, July 1976.

- f. *Lugstormoperasies*, Pretoria, Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag Gesamentlike Oorlogvoeringhandboek, GWU 110 Deel 1, February 1985.
- g. *Company Commander's Aide Memoire*, Oudsthoorn, Infantry School, issued in 1970s.

10. **Newsletters, Information Sheets and Miscellaneous Documents**

- a. "Briefing Paper on Repression in Namibia and the Kassinga Detainees" from Box No 102 Namibia: General, Mayibuye Archives, Robben Island Museum, University of the Western Cape, probably written in 1980.
- b. Cassinga Day Parade Programme, 44 Parachute Brigade, Murrayhill, undated.
- c. Legion of Associated Airborne RSA, Newsletter, May 1999 and February 2002.
- d. Loose document referenced A/ADM/6/1 over G/SD/3/6, written in 1975: "*Die Ontstaan en Groei van 1 Valskermbataljon*".
- e. "Political Prisoners and Detainees in Namibia", Background Information prepared by the Research and Information Department of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London, January 1981.
- f. 44 Parachute Brigade Information Brochure, Pyramid, November 1991.
- g. "The Old Mooi", Newsletter of the Potchefstroom College Old Boys' Society, Florida Park, February 1972, October 1986 and October 1987.
- h. Newsletter from 2 Parachute Battalion, August 1977.
- i. "Die Geskiedenis van 2 Valskermbataljon sedert Stigting tot 1985", Headquarters 2 Parachute Battalion, Hammanskraal, reference 2 VALSK BN/514/2/1/9 dated October 1985.
- j. Newsletter of the Johannesburg Canopy of the SA Paratroopers' Association, August 1990 and October 1990.
- k. People's Liberation Army of Namibia, "Rules and Regulations for Our Clinics", 29 August 1976, provided by L. Gerber.
- l. "Report on the Kassinga Massacre" (Strictly Confidential), For Central Committee Members Only, by Comrade P. Nanyemba, Luanda, 9 May 1978, discovered at 1 Parachute Battalion in the late 1980s.
- m. "Colours Parade, 2 Para Bn - 3 Para Bn", commemorative brochure, 28 November 1980.
- n. SADF *Info Bulletin* No 91/7, 30 August 1991.

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- b. _____: *Review of Defence and Armaments Production, 1960-70*, Pretoria, Department of Defence, April 1971.
- c. _____: *Anatomy of Terror*, Salisbury, Rhodesian Ministry of Information, 1974.
- d. _____: *Military Academy 1950-1975*, Saldanha, Military Academy, 1975.
- e. _____: *Still Champions*, Pretoria, SADF, 1988.

- f. _____: *SADF Info Bulletin No 91/7, dated 30 August 1991.*
- g. _____: *Lesse en Foute in die Bekamping van Terrorisme in Suider-Afrika*, (Confidential), Pretoria, SA Army Headquarters, undated.
- h. _____: *American Foreign Policy Basic Documents 1977-1980*, Washington DC, Department of State Publication 9330, Department of Foreign Service Series 346, Bureau of Public Affairs, Office of the Historian, 1983.
- i. Alexander, Colonel McGill: *Register of Officers who have Successfully Completed Senior Staff Training (1927 Onwards)*, Pretoria, SANDF, 1996.
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- k. Fall, I.: *Report on a Mission to SWAPO Centres for Namibian Refugees in Angola from 10 to 14 April 1978*, (Confidential), Brazzaville, UNICEF Area Office, 2 May 1978. Copy provided by History Department, University of Namibia.
- l. Odom, Major Thomas P.: *Dragon Operations: Hostage Rescues in the Congo, 1964-1965*, Fort Leavenworth, Combat Studies Institute of the US Army Command and General Staff College (Leavenworth Papers No 14), July 1988.
- m. Odom, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas P.: *Shaba II: The French and Belgian Intervention in Zaire in 1978*, Fort Leavenworth, Combat Studies Institute of the US Army Command and General Staff College, April 1993.
- n. *Defence Act*, Act No. 44 of 1957, Union of South Africa.
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