

units carry out tasks that are essentially military in nature. It is common in developing countries for the police to carry out counterinsurgency and other internal security tasks of a paramilitary nature; and it is not unusual for the military to be involved in policing operations and border control.

In South Africa under apartheid, considerable military expenditure (perhaps an additional 15 per cent) was taken up through government departments other than defence.⁷ This remains the case, although no accurate estimates are available. Moreover, while there has been a 50 per cent cut in defence expenditure since 1989, much of the money saved has been transferred to the Safety and Security (policing) budget, which is now rapidly approaching the size of the defence budget, and there have also been increases in the intelligence allocation. In 1994/5, the police budget had grown to 80 per cent of the size of the defence budget—ten years previously it had been a quarter the size (the 1994/5 defence budget stood at R10.5 billion and the Safety and Security budget at R8.5 billion).⁸ Moreover, the number of permanent personnel in the police service now exceeds that in the defence force (over 120,000) if part-time volunteers and reserves are not taken into account.

South Africa's recent history demonstrates clearly the overlap between policing and defence which is also a feature, to a greater or lesser extent, in other Southern African countries. The South African Police were extensively deployed in counterinsurgency duties in the Rhodesian and Namibian Liberation struggles, and in South Africa itself were used both for rural and urban counterinsurgency operations; until 1990, all police underwent counterinsurgency training as a matter of routine, while specialized units such as the Internal Stability Units (formerly Riot Squads) were essentially paramilitary in nature. On the other hand, the South African Defence Force was drawn into internal conflicts and used in policing tasks. This was not a phenomenon new to the revolutionary struggles of the 1980s: the defence force's involvement

⁷G. Cawthra, *Brutal Force: The Apartheid War Machine* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund), 1986, p. 259.

⁸*Annual Estimates*, 1985/86.