Masculinities at War: The South African Border War and the Textual Representation of the "Moffie"

Ernst van der Wal

Summary

This article takes as its point of departure the discursive representation of the *moffie* (or "faggot") in border literature (or *grensliteratuur*) that was produced after the fall of apartheid in South Africa. By investigating the textual representation of sexuality and gender during South Africa's Border War, this article shows how autobiographical and non-fiction texts that are produced by former army conscripts still conform to ideals surrounding white, cisgender heterosexuality. Understanding war as a physical and discursive practice, this article is interested in how, in a contemporary South African context, the phenomenon of the Border War is drawn upon in certain literary works as a means to reconcile the author with a changing political system. However, as this article demonstrates, this process of textual retribution is still skewed towards sexual and gendered biases and, as a result, a narrative emerges in these works that centres on the experiences of the white, cisgender, heterosexual man, with his sexual and gendered "other", the *moffie*, presented as menacing, treacherous and disgraceful. In this manner, works of non-fiction that were produced after the fall of apartheid and that offers a retrospective viewpoint on the Border War are often marked by the violent inscription of homosexual and transgender subjects as both inferior and weak, as well as deceitful and dangerous.

Opsomming

Die vertrekpunt van hierdie artikel is die diskursiewe voorstelling van die "moffie" in grensliteratuur wat na die val van apartheid in Suid-Afrika geproduseer is. Deur die tekstuele uitbeelding van geslag en seksualiteit tydens die Suid-Afrikaanse Grens-oorlog as basis te neem, demonstreer hierdie artikel hoe outobiografiese en nie-fiksie tekste wat geproduseer is deur voormalige militêre dienspligtiges steeds idees rondom wit, *cisgender* heteroseksualiteit ondersteun. Deur oorlog as beide 'n fisiese en 'n diskursiewe praktyk te beskou, beoog hierdie artikel om, binne die kontemporêre Suid-Afrikaanse konteks, die fenomeen van die Grensoorlog te ondersoek soos dit nagespoor kan word in persoonlike narratiewe. Hierdie narratiewe bied outeurs die geleentheid om kwessies rondom versoening en vergelding aan te spreek – hierdie proses is egter, soos die artikel demonstreer, steeds verwring deur seksuele en geslagtelike vooroordele. Hierdie vooroordele manifesteer in 'n verskeidenheid tekste waarin die ondervindinge van die wit, *cisgender*, heteroseksuele man as hoeksteen dien waarteen sy seksuele- en geslagtelike "ander" gemeet kan word, en waarteen hy homself oënskynlik kan beskerm en verdedig. Op hierdie wyse word sekere nie-fiksie

JLS/TLW 35(2), June. 2019
ISSN 0256-4718/Online 1753-5387
© *JLS/TLW*
doi.org/10.2519/1753-5387/11595

tekste (wat na die val van apartheid geproduseer is en wat op ’n retrospektiewe wyse met die Grensoorlog omgaan) gekenmerk deur ’n gewelddadige inskripsie van homoseksuele en transgender persone as beide minderwaardig en swak, sowel as bedrieglik en gevaarlik.

Introduction

This article investigates the textual representation of sexuality and gender during South Africa’s Border War.[1] Specific attention is paid to those sexualities and/or gendered expressions that did not conform to the national ideal of white, cisgender[2] heterosexuality. As the basis of this analysis, a specific genre known as border literature (or *grensliteratuur* in Afrikaans) is drawn upon and critically examined. This article focuses on the manner in which a specific character, namely that of the *moffie*, has developed in certain texts that respond to the historical occasion of the South African Border War.

Understanding war as not only a physical but also a discursive practice (that is, a practice that takes on a written and spoken form), I am interested in how the phenomenon of the Border War is drawn upon in non-fiction war literature where the author attempts, through forms of autobiographic reflection, to engage with the topics of community, violence and absolution. Such attempts demonstrate, on the one hand, a concerted effort at critically addressing the various erasures and distortions that mark the discursive representation of the South African Border War as produced by the apartheid state at the time. On the other hand, the contemporary interrogation of the South African Border War by former conscripts and soldiers display a problematic tendency to vilify and reinscribe the very idea of an enemy – an enemy that, as this article demonstrates, is often skewed towards sexual and gendered biases. In the waging of war, as well as its later retelling, a narrative emerges that centres on the experiences of the white, cisgender, heterosexual man, with his sexual and gendered counterparts treated as the ideological excesses against which he remains ever vigilant and hostile.

This article takes as its point of departure the discursive treatment and representation of a particular trope, namely that of the *moffie* (or “faggot”) that has emerged in certain texts that fall under (or critically responds to) the genre of border literature. This trope is often used in such literature as a blanket category to describe men who do not conform to a normative

1. Even though the term “Border War” is predominantly used within the South African context to refer to this event, it is a loaded and skewed nomenclature (as some critics, such as Baines [2014] have pointed out), hence it is used with reservation in this article.

2. I use the term “cisgender” to describe people whose gender identity matches their sex at birth. This term is generally preferred as it has fewer hierarchical implications than “normal” or “non-transgender” (Morgan et al. 2009: 5).

understanding of heterosexuality and cisgenderism. As such, the term *moffie* bears on a range of attributes and acts, ranging from same-sex intimacies and sexual acts, signs of effeminacy and physical weakness, as well as moral objections to the waging of war.[3]

The literary genre of *grensliteratuur* or border literature provides an important theoretical and historical scaffold for understanding the production of contemporary war literature that deals with the subject of the South African Border War. The term "border literature" speaks to a body of largely fictitious literary works that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s "as a series of relentless explorations of war, conscription, border skirmishes, incursions into neighboring territories, (and) the invasion of privacy" (Brink & Coetzee 1986: 13; also see Johannes Cronje 2011). As Gary Baines explains, border literature encapsulates "works of fiction penned almost exclusively by young white male Afrikaner intellectuals … [as a means to] challenge the official discourse of the 'Border War'". While the genre has largely been credited as challenging of the apartheid government (see, for example, H.E. Koornhof 1989), others have argued that it actually has its roots in, and is reflective of, more conservative ideological practices (Gordon 1991; Steyn 1999).[4]

Of importance to the contemporary moment is, as H.P. van Coller (2013) maintains, the fact that the genre of border literature has come under increasing scrutiny, specifically in terms of the type of literary work that falls under its rubric. For Van Coller (2013), one of the most important characteristics of border literature is that it relates directly or indirectly to forms of armed conflict (as most of the writers served as conscripts and soldiers, or even as journalists), that it presents an authenticating perspective *from* (and not necessary *on*) a given situation, and that it often speaks on a metaphoric level about the abnormality of war and about complex human relations. Van Coller's definition of border literature is quite wide, yet he largely considers in his own analysis of the genre works of autobiographic fiction that is journalistic in nature and/or tone. Of importance to this article

3. As my later discussion of selected texts demonstrates, the conceptual underpinnings of the *moffie* are quite wide, yet the term predominantly refers to homosexual and/or transgender subjects. The origin of the word as a form of South African slang is of note and, as Shaun de Waal explains, "the word 'moffie' covers a range of interrelated senses, including 'male homosexual', 'effeminate male' and 'transvestite'" (1994: xiii). Despite its appropriation by homosexual and transgender subjects, it is important to acknowledge that the term has "an overwhelmingly derogatory implication, based on homophobic social responses" (De Waal 1994: xiii).

4. As Robert Gordon (1991: 81) argues: "while it [*grensliteratuur*] is undoubtedly part of a long tradition of literature which challenges authority, it does so within ritually demarcated boundaries which … rather than undermine the ungodly status quo of Apartheid arguably serves to sustain it."

is the fact that contemporary applications and definitions of border literature also acknowledge non-fiction works, with some authors highlighting a significant move within the genre from the productions of works of fiction to non-fiction (Roux 2011), while others call for reconsidering the very delineation of fact and fiction within the genre (Van Coller 1990:84, also see Senekal 2012). In addition, mention is also made that border literature includes literary works produced in both Afrikaans and English (Liebenberg 2011; Roos 2018), while texts that were originally produced in Afrikaans are often translated into English. For this reason, I propose a working definition of border literature that might run against its traditional understanding as a form of Afrikaans war fiction so as to include English and non-fiction texts – an inclusion that is warranted by the contemporary renegotiation of and changes within the genre.

The texts that I chose to focus on are presented by their authors as personalised responses to the South African Border War. Here, Ian Liebenberg's (2011: 123) delineation of such literature is of importance, insofar as he identifies a category within South African Border War literature that consists:

> of publications that share the day-to-day life experiences of South African soldiers including those who were conscripted over the span of twenty years (1968-1988), many of whom saw deployment in northern Namibia and Angola. To some extent one may suggest that these works reflect proto-elements of a history from below …. These works are critical or supportive of the war, but the difference is that they address the experiences of those on the ground: in the trenches and on patrols. In short, they share a slice of life.

For my own application of the term "border literature", I am specifically focusing on non-fiction war literature in which autobiographic accounts are presented by former army conscripts and soldiers who participated in the South African Border War. In many ways, this definition corresponds to Liebenberg's above-quoted category, while it also responds to and re-evaluates traditional understandings of the genre of border literature.

Theoretically, my enquiry is informed by Critical Discourse Analysis (or CDA), which is concerned with the (re)production of ideology through linguistic and discursive systems. In the words of Teun van Dijk (2004: 352), CDA is "a type of discourse analysis research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts". Taking as its point of departure the ideological assumptions and beliefs that are hidden underneath and embedded within the surface structure of language (Machin & Mayr 2012; Sriwimon & Zilli 2017), CDA allows for a critical interrogation of, inter alia, sexual, gendered, racial and cultural stereotypes that might pervade a given text or discursive body of work (Lazar 2005). Lending itself to the complexities of social practices as they are manifested on a textual level

(Shaw & Bailey 2009), CDA offers a viable platform for engaging with the particularities of a given language, as well as its relation to (and impact on) individuals and communities.

It is important to note that the texts that I focus on (which forms part of the central discussion of this article under "The Textual Framing of War") are not presented as an exhaustive list, neither do I wish to portray them as representative of border literature as a whole.

Rather, I draw on CDA in order to explore how certain non-fiction works that fall under (or responds to) the genre of border literature are productive of a narrative of white masculinity in which homosexual and/or trans subjects occupy a marginal, if not stigmatised position. The specific texts under investigation include: Granger Korff's *19 With a Bullet* (2009), Bertie Cloete's *Pionne* (2009), Cameron Blake's *Troepie* (2009) and *From Soldier to Civvy* (2010), David Williams's *Op die Grens* (2008), Tim Ramsden's *Border-Line Insanity* (2009), and J.H. Thompson's *Dit was Oorlog: Van Afkak tot Bosbefok* (2007).

These texts, which were produced by white, male conscripts and soldiers, are presented by their authors as historical and/or autobiographical accounts of the South African Border War. While a larger rhetoric of reconciliation and atonement permeate these texts, they also grapple with the character of the *moffie* in complex ways. All the texts under discussion were produced after the fall of apartheid and, as I demonstrate in this article, they grapple with the complex position of white, male subjectivity within a new socio-political system where the racial, sexual and gendered ideologies that permeated the Border War have suddenly lost much of their currency. It is important to note that fictional texts also abound that deal with the representation of the *moffie*,[5] while non-fiction texts are also increasingly produced that question the commonly accepted idea that the Border War was, on the South African side, solely waged by white men.[6] The focus of this article is, however, on non-

5. Border literature is known for works of fiction, which falls outside the scope of this article, but is of great importance for understanding the discursive landscape that frames the character of the *moffie* during the South African Border War. See, for example, André Carl van der Merwe's *Moffie* (2006), Etienne van Heerden's *My Kubaan* (1983), as well as Mark Behr's (1993) *Die Reuk van Appels.*

6. It is important to note in this regard that personal and/or historical accounts on the Border War have been racially skewed towards the perspective of white men, seeing that the largest part of the conscripts were white males. That being said, "non-white" (that is predominantly "coloured") men also joined the South African Defence Force as soldiers or volunteers – see here, for example, David Robbins's *On the Bridge of Goodbye* (2007). Forms of gender misrepresentation have also gained attention in contemporary border literature – see, for example, Deon Lamprecht's *Tannie Pompie se Oorlog* (2015).

fiction literature that was produced by former army conscripts that speak about the complex character of the *moffie*.

Apartheid, the South African Border War, and the Production of Sexual and Gender Norms

The South African Border War, also known in South Africa as the Angolan Bush War, occurred in Namibia (then South West Africa), Zambia and Angola from 26 August 1966 to 21 March 1990. The main aggressor was the South African Defence Force (or SADF), who engaged in war with the South West African People's Organisation (or SWAPO and their Cuban allies) in a battle that would have considerable impact on Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as the cultural and political psyche of this region. While the reason for this violent event is inevitably marked by conflicting accounts, (especially within the South African context where apartheid propaganda and nationalist rhetoric imbued it with a sense of morality), issues of ownership and governance stand central to discussions of the Border War (see Baines 2014 and Scholtz 2015).

The rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the apartheid political system, as well as the influence of international Cold War politics, had a tremendous impact on South Africa's own defence policy. From the 1950's onwards, South Africa's nationalist and military response to what it perceived to be danger of communism, as well as black militancy and self-empowerment, was encapsulated in a highly aggressive stance towards anything that the South African Government perceived to be a form of criticism, interference or subversion. Such nationalist aggression led to a series of violent events that played out in South West Africa during the 1960s, and that ultimately culminated in the start of the Border War in 1966. While the ensuing war was largely presented to the South African public and international arena as a concerted effort to curb Soviet expansionism in Africa, the apartheid government's desire to maintain its power within both South Africa and South West Africa cannot be denied. Hence, the Border War presented a concerted military and ideological effort to keep Soviet "terror" and Black African nationalism at bay whilst, ultimately, protecting the apartheid system.

Of particular importance to this article is the way in which the values of an apartheid system and its support of a white South African patriarchy was entangled with this war. As argued by Neville Hoad (2005: 16-17), the "[apartheid] state imagined sexual control as central to the effective implementation and sustaining of apartheid policies … [and consequently] sought to make male and female homosexuality a [punishable] offence". With especially male homosexuality bearing the brunt of state condemnation, the policing of sexual norms by the apartheid government had a profound impact

on the treatment of men who were conscripted during the South African Border War.[7] As Glenn Retief maintains:

> Racist legislation and iron-fisted rule have, since the earliest days of Nationalist government, gone hand-in-hand with an obsessive interest in sexual policing. This policing has been based on the values of Christian Nationalist apartheid ideology: the need to keep the white nation sexually and morally pure so that it had the strength to resist the black communist onslaught.
> (1994: 100)

Such ideas surrounding moral purity, as well as the larger effect of apartheid policies on public perceptions of gender and sexuality, came to bear significantly on those white men who served in the army during the Border War. As noted by Aaron Belkin and Margot Canaday (2010: 3), "the development of a white militarism within the military … depended on the idea that the South African *troopie* [conscript] was the masculine defender of a threatened *volk* [or nation]. The heroic discourse surrounding the *troopie* rested on notions of male dominance and on hostility towards gay men, who were viewed as a threat to the nation". In the words of Matthew Krouse, homosexuality was treated as "a form of hidden terrorism which permeate[d] every echelon of the military environment" (cited in Gevisser & Cameron 1995: 211). The military training and conscription that the apartheid government called for during the South African Border War was enmeshed with a larger ideological framework that upheld certain racial, sexual and gendered norms. This ideological framework identified the homosexual subject as dangerous and treacherous, and such ideas came to bear significantly on those men who were conscripted during the Border War.

The Textual Framing of War

The historical occasion of the Border War is, of course, more complex than this article can necessarily give credit to, yet I wish to direct my focus specifically to the narrative consequences of this war; that is, how this event has been shaped by and reacted to in textual accounts that retrospectively try to make sense of this event. Such a form of retrospective address is concentrated on personal accounts from the view of former army conscripts that were trained to fight, or who actively served, during the Border War. Discursively, these accounts often take the form of war literature.

Such discursive engagement with the very occurrence, idea and consequence of the Border War resonates with a larger international environment (both academic and popular) where the narrative effect of war is increasingly

---

7. Between 1967 and 1991, all white South African males over the age of 16 were conscripted for military training and/or active military service and warfare.

emphasised. As such, authors engaging with the topic of war pay particular attention to the way in which the ideas, enactments and effects of war are shaped by the stories told about it. Chris Hedges (2003: 3), for example, argues that war and its telling forms a culture of its own, as it provides a physical and discursive event that is simultaneously orientated towards some enemy without (the terror lying outside of a national border), as well as the enemy within.[8] As Vivienne Jabri (2007: 10) also maintains, war is ultimately a form of "injurious coercion" that is as much physical as ideological. "How a war is justified and which judgements reach the public sphere are intricately related to existing structures of domination, including dominant discursive practices … wars share *discursive repertoires* framed around justification and rationalisation" (*my emphasis*, Jabri 2007: 14).[9]

It is exactly because of such interdependence between the discursive and the material that Jabri warns of the effect that stories of war might have on a given society. As Jabri (2007: 19-20) posits, "writing on war brings forth particular responsibilities, not least of which is the responsibility to recognise the impact of writing in the construction of narratives that come to form the certainties surrounding particular situations of violent conflict". Because of war's "recursive relationship to society" (Jabri 2007: 23), the texts and images that are produced around it should be considered with critical attention. Within the context of the South African Border War, Gary Baines (2014) echoes this sentiment by emphasising the role that naming and words can play in the framing of war. For Baines (2014: 3), the contemporary understanding of the Border War is shaped by competing narratives, all of which are wrought in "[a] war memory", or rather a war of memories. As such, Baines (2014) argues that:

> Collective memories do no arise spontaneously nor take shape independently of human agency. They are born of and shaped by agents, whom we might call "memory makers" or "memory bearers", which include cultural brokers, public intellectuals, teachers and politicians who are instrumental in the public construction of memory. They select, modify, negotiate and reify particular versions of the past. These agents employ the cultural tools of language and narrative to make meaning. These interpretative codes play a significant part

---

8. As Hedges argues (2003: 3), "even with its destruction and carnage it can give us what we long for in life. It can give us purpose, meaning, a reason for living".

9. For Jabri (2007: 11), "war is … an extraordinary occurrence, a situation of crisis and existential danger … [while] the use of the term in recent times has expanded to cover policies aimed at the combat of undesirable social problems". As a consequence, "the discourses of war draw upon deep-rooted articulations of affiliation and identity based on exclusionist social boundaries that are themselves reconstituted in the perpetuation of violence against a constructed enemy" (Jabri 2007: 12; Holsti 1997).

> in shaping the views of the past and the present that bind the members of a mnemonic community together.
>
> (Baines 2014: 4)

The enterprise of shaping a community and, subsequently, a mnemonic landscape of war, necessitates a vast discursive repertoire – a body of narratives, texts and images that can be drawn upon and shared. The importance of such a discursive repertoire can be seen in the plethora of texts and images produced by, inter alia, the state, military organisations and defence forces during the Border War. Such material range from legislative documents, policy statements and legal agreements, to gun manuals, promotional leaflets, posters and comics.[10] This range of material speaks of war as a structured event that is at once spectacular and extraordinary, but also quite common – a place where a community is provided with the discursive tools for forging a militarised sense of self at the face of extreme circumstances. A question that is of importance to the post-war South African context would be: how can these discursive tools be understood or used today for dismantling the erroneous, yet long-popular idea of a homogenous mnemonic community?[11]

Internationally, processes of (re)making and (re)telling memories of war are also at work, with the issue of homosexual and transgender positionalities drawing increasing attention in contemporary scholarship. Contemporary writing – be it popular texts or academic research projects – pays increasing attention to alternatives to the heterosexual, cisgender masculine ideal that pervades narratives of war. For example, *One of the Boys* (2010) by Paul Jackson investigates the history of homosexuality in the Canadian military during the Second World War. Jackson's scholarship engages with homosexuality and its militarisation; that is, the way in which homosexuality took on "a military life at both the social and administrative levels" (2010: 3).

---

10. Much of these examples formed part of the official state propaganda that was produced by, or for, the apartheid government. Today, blogs and internet sites offer such material up for public contemplation and commentary, or cater to interested buyers and collectors. See, for example, *SADF.info* (2008), *A Site about the South African Bush War* (2016) and *Grensoorlog* (2009).

11. It should be noted that, in the context of the South African Border War, the idea of mnemonic homogeneity and seamless cooperation (particularly amongst a white Afrikaans community) is, of course, a fallacy. The End Conscription Campaign is one such example of overt dissent amongst South Africans on the subject of the Border War – a campaign that created its own images and texts that spoke against the discursive culture created by the SADF and the apartheid government. However, official war propaganda and state communication presented an image of a unified community at war (predominantly as a tool to bolster support for and maintain apartheid ideologies). Hence, a struggle ensued between the idea of a unified nation at war, and a nation being at war with(in) itself.

Meanwhile, James Lord's *My Queer War* (2010) offers a personal account of a homosexual conscript's experiences during the Second World War. Dealing with the intersection of armed conflict and conflicted homosexuality, the book attempts at plotting a personal trajectory in the larger frame of war; of finding a way to understand homosexuality within a larger historical setting of war and nationalist conflict.[12] In addition, Dian Hanson's *My Buddy: World War II Laid Bare* (2014) investigates "buddy-relationships" during the Second World War that was formed between soldiers and sailors from Australia, England, France, Italy, Poland, Russia, and the United Stated of America. A compelling aspect of this text is the way in which it deals with intimate homosocial relationships between soldiers, sailors and army conscripts, be it between heterosexual or homosexual men. The text captures forms of emotional and bodily intimacy between men in such a way that it offers a complex perspective on the various entanglements between heterosexual and homosexual conscripts. In fact, this text demonstrates that the clear demarcation of heterosexuality and homosexuality becomes quite difficult to maintain in this scenario, with the experience of emotional and physical male intimacy being foregrounded as something that unites, instead of divides, heterosexual and homosexual men during warfare. By drawing on archival and autobiographic accounts, these above-mentioned texts all attempt to unsettle a historical landscape in which narratives about war and militarisation have largely been skewed towards an imagining of a homogenous heterosexual masculinity.

In the telling of the story of the South African Border War, burgeoning scholarly and journalistic research into the treatment of conscripted homosexual and transgender men reveal a complex history that ranges from accounts of tolerance, to forms of outright condemnation. For example, Aaron Belkin and Margot Canaday's (2010) research on the integration of gays and lesbians into the South African National Defence Force gives a sense of the ambivalence and uncertainty surrounding the apartheid state's view of homosexuality. As Belkin and Canaday (2010: 1) argue, "during the apartheid era, the South African military maintained a dual policy on homosexuality – prohibited among members of the permanent force, homosexuality was officially tolerated among conscripts". Other texts are less sure of this ambivalence and lean strongly towards a view on homosexual and transgender conscripts as deliberately persecuted by the state. For example, *The Aversion Project* (van Zyl et al. 1999) – a report that features primary research into human rights abuses of gay, lesbian and transgender conscripts in the SADF – reveals how health workers (such as doctors and nurses) abused their

12. Also see Allan Berube's *Coming Out Under Fire* (2000) and Naoko Wake's study "The Military, Psychiatry, and 'Unfit' Soldiers, 1939-1942" (2007) for similar investigations into homosexuality and its treatment during the Second World War. Tom Hickman's *The Call-Up* (2004: 209-210) also briefly mentions homosexuality in the armed forces during that time.

power to "treat" and "cure" (or, as the report reveals, even torture) homosexual and transgender conscripts under the guise of psychological and/or physical remedy. This report reveals that, amongst other things, South Africa's defence force often coerced homosexual and transgender conscripts into undergoing "sex-change" operations in the 1970s and 1980s, while others were submitted to chemical castration, electric shock therapy, and other unethical medical experiments. As part of a covert programme to exterminate homosexuality from the SADF, it is estimated that as many as 900 forced "sexual reassignment" operations may have been performed between 1971 and 1989 at military hospitals. These accounts are also corroborated in writings by Robert Kaplan (2004),[13] Chris McGreal (2000) and Ana Simo (2000).

The above accounts, which predominantly takes the form of investigative journalism or academic research, are crucial for providing an alternative lens on the South African Border War – one that explicitly tries to lay bare the existence of homosexual and transgender subjects. This research is of extraordinary value insofar as it brings homosexual and transgender experiences to the fore that have, for decades, been ignored or blatantly refuted. The very fact that such experiences can be traced contests the idea that homosexuality and transgenderism simply did not exist in the context (or proximity) of the Border War.

However, what such scholarship also highlights is a prominent fissure in the telling of different public memories, specifically when it comes to the stories told by conscripts about themselves. Here, the highly popular genre of border literature plays an important role in the vocalisation of personal experiences. Contemporary texts within this genre, especially those orientated towards the popular arena, increasingly draw on the personal accounts of army conscripts. Often, these conscripts present their own personal recollections as more nuanced versions of the monumentalised state narrative of war that was produced during apartheid. These personal recollections serve various functions – the first is geared towards explicit criticism (of apartheid and its political and military leaders), the second towards reconciliation (with the

---

13. Kaplan (2004: 1415) writes that: "conscript ranks were screened for homosexuals by doctors and chaplains. Threatened with punishment if they did not comply, they were admitted to the secretive Ward 22 at 1 Military Hospital, Voortrekkerhoogte, Pretoria. In later years, homosexual women were also selected. Subjects were first given crude behaviour therapy. This consisted of exposure to black and white pictures of naked men while receiving electric shocks …. Homosexuals were indiscriminately grouped in the psychiatric ward with drug abusers, conscientious objectors, the politically unreliable, and the seriously mentally ill. They were often subjected to narcoanalysis, showing an ominous similarity to psychiatric re-education in the Soviet Union. Others were chemically castrated with massive doses of hormones."

previous "enemy", such as enemy soldiers or "terrorists"), whilst the third operates at a level where the narrating subject tries to make sense of his (for it is a primarily male-centred narrator) own complicity in processes of war. Hence, the narrating subject tries to unravel historical meta-narratives on the Border War and reweave them, so to speak, into a personal historical account.

These accounts go to great length to speak of reconciliation, of meeting those who were once considered the enemy face-to-face. Here, I specifically draw on the term "reconciliation" to speak of the restoration of relations with another subject or party, as well as the action of making one view or belief compatible with another. Reconciliation speaks of inclusivity, of some communal basis that is negotiated for the sake of unity and harmony. As noted by Beth Goldblatt and Shiela Meintjies (1996), forms of gendered, sexual and racial violence and inequality have marked the history of colonial and apartheid South Africa, and these cannot be separated from one another. Hence, the project of reconciliation is one that needs to look at the complex entanglement of various bodies, identities and experiences that have been excluded or violated in the process of negotiating the idea of belonging (also see Wilson 2001, Ross 2003).

Within the context of contemporary, post-apartheid border literature, a noteworthy attempt is made in some textual narratives to unsettle those cultural, racial and national benchmarks that were at play prior to the fall of apartheid. Being highly critical, these accounts attempt to simultaneously unsettle grand narratives that were disseminated by the apartheid state, whilst also showing the narrator and/or writer's own complicity in these narratives (of apparently acting them out, blindly) during the Border War. This perspective is simultaneously angled outward and inward, showing the power of the state to indoctrinate and corrupt, to call a community of conscripts into being, whilst also demonstrating the subject's desire to be part of this community, to engage in a violent practice of defining oneself in opposition to an enemy. With the idea of a racially defined enemy unsettled by the fall of apartheid, these personal historical narratives turn towards another enemy – the apartheid state, the now ominous force that, as these texts would have the audience believe, distorted reality and corrupted its citizens. At the same time, these narratives are also geared towards a form of reconciliation, insofar as they are often directed towards the restoration of relations between people who were once divided by war.

Francois Verster's *Omega, Oor en Uit* (2016) is one such text that interrogates the South African Border War for its production of a particular racialised and gendered trope, namely that of the white male subject, as the barometer of normality and humanity. As Verster argues: "*Een ding wat ek daar [op die grens] besef het, is dat die storie dat sommige rasse 'meer man' as ander is, nonsens is* [one thing that I realised on the border was that the story that some races are 'more man' than others is nonsense"] (2016: 67). Koos Stadler's *Recce: Kleinspan-Operasies Agter Vyandelike Linies* (2015)

also takes a critical stance towards the construction of a racialised masculinity during the Border War, while Nico van der Walt's *Bos Toe!* (2007) places under critical scrutiny the apartheid state's emphasis on the Border War as a form of initiation into white manhood – one that is disciplined, violent and severely hostile towards a black "enemy".

Granger Korff's *19 With a Bullet* (2009) also explores the South African Border War as a moment during which a hostile brand of white masculinity was propagated – one that, as Korff admits, he initially supported. In the words of Korff:

> [t]he world had damned South Africa, boycotted trade and blackballed any country that broke sanctions and dealt with us. "The evil racist regime", they called us. Personally, I didn't see much wrong with what was going on, and neither did a lot of the Africans I spoke to. It made pretty good sense. We were very different, culturally and economically. After all, this was Africa. The black African people lived over here, the white people lived on that side, and the Indians and Coloureds lived just behind that distant hill over there. It made sense to me".
>
> (2009: 21)

In the developing account provided by Korff, a convoluted narrative emerges – one that veers from asserting his own heterosexual vigour[14] to supposedly endearing descriptions of "snot-nose *piccanins*"[15] (2009: 70) and detailed accounts of killing SWAPO terrorists, or "pigs" (2009: 169, 173). For Korff also goes to great length in the epilogue of his book to speak about making peace with present-day South Africa and its Black leadership; about even writing to former president Nelson Mandela to congratulate him on his victory (2009: 337). Korff loves Africa, he professes, and he has "no personal quarrel with … black people" (2009: 70), which leads him to the realisation that much of his hatred towards the former SWAPO enemy came as a result of being "sucked into one big lie and brainwashed for the sake of *Volk* and *Vaderland*" (2009: 338).

The complexity of the story that unfolds can specifically be seen when Korff refers to homosexual conscripts. In his description of a SADF psychiatric ward, Korff makes mention of the "flaming queens" who would "cackle with laughter" and tell stories about "cross-dressing for nights on the town" (2009: 73). These "girls", or "flamers" as Korff also calls them (2009: 73-74), were waiting to be discharged, as they were deemed unfit for military service. In

14. See, for example, the salacious description of his affair with a school teacher, whom he would meet "after school and screw her brains out" (Korff 2009: 32).

15. "*Piccanin*" is largely considered to be a derogatory term (Room 1986: 130) insofar as it has often been used (especially within the South African context) as a racial slur that refers pejoratively to a dark-skinned child of African descent.

Korff's description they are presented as pitiable characters and, even though the whole book allocates only two short paragraphs to them (2009: 73-74), a perspective emerges on these effeminate trans and/or gay subjects as suicidal, tortured and incapable of successfully fighting or working as real "men".

Bertie Cloete's *Pionne* (2009) is another text that presents itself as a device for asking "honest" questions about the war and the apartheid state's indoctrination of its citizens. Already at the outset, this text presents itself as a vehicle for critical, sincere interrogation and reflection. As the author argues, the popular maxim that faithful subjects never have to, nor should question their country (which he takes from the "old" [that is, apartheid] South African flag song), should not mindlessly be held as relevant to post-apartheid South Africa. Rather, the author maintains, "*die kinders was getrou en die kinders sóú vrae vra* [the children were true and wóúld ask questions]" (2009: preface). On the basis of "honest", "critical" reflection, the author sets out to interrogate a range of issues that, he would have the reader believe, were impossible to address during apartheid and the Border War. For example, the author maintains that "brainwashing" and "cultivated patriotism" was part of everyday life, to such an extent that "*Almal wou grens toe gaan. Gaan sterf vir volk en vaderland. Almal wou 'n held wees* [Everyone wanted to go to the border. Go die for the fatherland. Everyone wanted to be a hero]" (Cloete 2009: 24). Later, he would reminisce about the valuable lessons that he learned from this war, namely "*respek vir enige menselewe* [respect for all human life]" and an awareness that: "*Onskuldiges. Kinders. Ma's. Almal wat in die oorlog sterf, is 'n universele probleem. Op enige normale mens wat so 'n treurmare beleef, maak dit 'n blywende indruk* [The innocent. Children. Mothers. Everyone that dies during war is a universal problem. It leaves a lasting imprint on any normal person that lives through such terror]" (2009: 85). This awareness even culminates in a sense "of belonging, a sense of brotherhood, a deep bond shaped by Africa, so vaguely understood by the world" (English in original 2009: 97) – a textual climax where the reader is presented with a magnificent image of an Africa united across racial and national divides.[16]

However, such reconciliation is not unconditional – it is, despite its bold, awe-inspiring rhetoric, based on the fact that it is a newly forged community of *heterosexual men* who decide, on their own terms, who to elevate to the status of "brother" or "equal". The fire burning in Africa, to use Cloete's (2009: 97) analogy, is not the common hearth for all African citizens. In this

---

16. Even the term *pionne*, or pawns, that is used as the title of the book infers such an idea of movement towards some greater awareness. By using this term, the idea of being part of the schemes of some greater force is brought to the fore. In the text itself, Cloete suggests that he and other conscripts refuse to accept this position; rather, they deliberately question how they were used and indoctrinated. Hence, a trajectory is suggested, with movement from subjugation towards self-determination and self-awareness being a key theme.

text, as with many other non-fiction border literature (as I will later demonstrate), the spectre of the *moffie*, or the "faggot", reappears. In Cloete's text, he is the effeminate homosexual man (2009: 13), the weakling, the one who does not belong; not in the army, not amongst his heterosexual conscripts (2009: 40-41), in fact, not even in Africa, if Cloete's line of argumentation is to be followed through. After all, Africa is not for the "sissy" or the *moffie* (2009: 13). This character is never granted enough textual space to be thought of as consequence, rather the *moffie* remains a somewhat dubious, albeit covert category that remains at the periphery of the narrative. Hence, the *moffie* haunts but rarely becomes flesh. It remains an apparent danger that is never personally confronted but rather assigned to the position of placeholder – of a condition that seemingly existed at the periphery, but is never engaged with by the author in enough detail so as to give an idea of the actual experiences or human subjects who are referred to. Being a *moffie* is thus treated as an aberrant condition that threatened the highly masculine space of the Border War – a sentiment that confirms Daniel Conway's observation that the cultural construction of various physical and ideological borders during this war created a "sexualised hierarchy" within the SADF (2008: 79), with the *moffie* being constructed as the counterpart to the active, vigilant soldier. As Michael Drewett (2008: 104) also points out, the SADF's brand of militarised manhood treated anything that did not comply with (or threatened) overt masculinity as a form of gender treachery, as a failure to live up to a gendered standard as proscribed by the state. By equating femininity with cowardliness (Drewett 2008: 104), the *moffie* developed during that time as a trope that could be used to denounce and ridicule those who did not comply with, or support, the gendered and sexual standards as proscribed by the apartheid state. What Cloete's *Pionne* (2009) reveals, at the hand of Drewett's observations, is the pressure that was created (and that is somehow still maintained) "to be a strong, disciplined soldier, whose heterosexuality and masculinity … [is] not in question" (Drewett 2008: 106).

Cameron Blake's *Troepie* (2009) is another text that makes reference to the *moffie*. As noted in the glossary (2009: 300), *moffie* is used by Blake to refer to homosexuals, and earlier in his book he also mentions "gay", "faggot" and "queer" as other terms that he encountered during his conscription (2009: 69). For Blake, the abuse suffered by conscripts on the basis of "their sexual preference was utterly base", and he takes particular issue with the sentiment that "*die army's nie 'n plek vir moffies nie* [the army is not a place for faggots]" (2009: 69). At the same time, he also manages to demonstrate how people identified as *moffies* were, in fact, ostracised and alienated. It is, however, in his follow-up publication *From Soldier to Civvy* (2010) that Blake provides a more complex view on the *moffie*. In this text, which comprises of interviews that he conducted with former military conscripts, the idea of the *moffie* as it manifested during the South African Border War emerges through a diverse array of narratives. For example, in the narrative

of "Louis" (cited in Blake 2010: 21-44), the narrator takes issue with what he identifies as the "guilt" that many white men who fought in the South African Border War experience – guilt over, inter alia, racism and murder. In the words of "Louis":

> Am I supposed to feel guilty? I don't feel guilty. I've read books and articles about the things they say, about us being a bunch of murdering racists. I disagree. I'm not a racist. I grew up with blacks; I speak fluent Zulu and a bit of Xhosa … I'm also not a murderer. I'm a soldier and I will kill people if I have to.
>
> (cited in Blake 2010: 42)

Following on this above exposition, "Louis" veers into an interesting argument: he mentions an unnamed book that he apparently read on the subject of national service, which bolsters his sentiment that soldiers experience an unnecessary feeling of remorse, for "[i]f they aren't gay, murdering somebody, abusing somebody or butchering corpses, then they feel guilty" (cited in Blake 2010: 43). Here, the heterosexual soldier, the position "Louis" strongly identifies with, emerges as the antithesis of a murky if not overtly menacing category in which the homosexual, the murderer, the abuser and the human butcher become interchangeable. I find this argument extremely unsettling exactly for the manner in which sexuality becomes the pivot around which questions surrounding morality and guilt are constructed. The heterosexual soldier is, in the words of "Louis", not necessarily (or by default) guilty, for he does not commit murder per se, but the same does not hold true for a homosexual subject. While this argument is extremely convoluted and I struggle to make sense of the logic behind it, it does speak of a vitriolic and violent form of homophobia.

Later in Blake's text, the narrative account of "Laurel" is also included. As "Laurel" argues (cited in Blake 2010: 154):

> You know what is scary now [after the Border War]? If you ride around at night, which we do a lot as Metro Police, many of the Afrikaners who were, like, the ouens – guys that you looked up to; guys our age group – are now as queer as hell! We never saw that when we did National Service. I don't think the army acknowledged faggots. The way they had to hide must have been difficult. But it's also kak-scary [shit scary] to think that our army, which we thought was totally invincible, was filled with gays.

While showing some sympathy for the plight of homosexual conscripts, the narrative account of "Laurel" is largely centred on his apparent fear for such "faggots", and also a striking disbelief in the existence of homosexual conscripts who might have passed unnoticed – that is, who was not necessarily identifiable as gay, or as *moffies*. According to this account, these conscripts threaten the alleged "invincibility" of the South African Defence Force that

"Laurel" have long imagined, and entertained a degree of pride in. Of anything to fear and disbelieve years after a war has come to its end, the existence of homosexual conscripts is a curious choice.

In an anonymous narrative included by Blake (2010: 236-239), the issue of the disclosure of one's homosexuality in a post-war context is again raised – this time, the narrator takes issue with the need people experience to "come out" about whichever identities they might have hidden during their military conscription. In particular, the narrator declares his irritation about and repulsion towards former conscripts confessing of their homosexuality: "'I was gay.' *Ag* [oh] big deal! I don't want to hear that *kak* [shit]! That *kak*!" (cited in Blake 2010: 239).

Other examples include David Williams's *Op die Grens* (2008), where, on the one hand, the author interrogates the propaganda presented and perpetuated by the apartheid state on the very idea of "an enemy", while he also extols the privilege and virtue of engaging in warfare. Interestingly, this paradox intersects in the domain of the homosexual – for Williams, the "shame" (2008: 23) of not being able to go to war or be conscripted as an active soldier during the Border War befell many potential conscripts who were identified as homosexual. These men were "simply sent home" on the ground that they were deemed "medically unfit" to serve their country in war efforts where, as Williams's text maintains, the brute force and bravery of the heterosexual man is obviously needed (2008: 23). Tim Ramsden's *Border-Line Insanity* (2009) also speaks of a sense of unity that pervades his memory of the Border War, and even extends to his life in contemporary South Africa, where he has purportedly managed to "break down the barriers that divide: to see people as people, instead of just blacks and whites" (2009: acknowledgements). In addition, Ramsden writes that, during his service, he formed part of a "melting pot" where he rubbed shoulders with "a colourful mix from all walks of life – we had from drug addicts and young, hard-core drinkers, to hardened farm workers and clean-cut city boys. There were even a few who had done time in jail .... We stood tall and short, clever and stupid, atheist and Christian, bold and timid, strong and weak" (2009: 38). However, this sense of inclusivity is not extended to the *moffies* he was faced with during his military service; in fact Ramsden maintains that he, and his fellow (apparently heterosexual) conscripts, always "looked down" on those who were deemed unfit for active military service (2009: 49). Quite often, Ramsden maintains, some men "chose [to work in the] kitchen [of the military base camp] to camouflage their homosexuality, which suited us since we felt safer having them out of our showers and tents" (2009: 49). So, while Ramsden casts his net of brotherhood quite wide, one enemy remains irrefutable: the *moffie*.

As a result of such textual framing, one sees a perpetuation of the idea of the *moffie* as "covert", as someone or something that only exists in stealth and that deliberately escapes or avoids the heterosexual eye. The paradox is that, exactly because of its supposedly covert nature, the threating quality

pervading the *moffie* is made all the more ominous. It is something that potentially lurks everywhere, and it spreads as if like a disease there where weakness, defiance and insecurity takes hold of a conscript's life. In fact, most texts produced and presented as non-fiction border literature never mentions the aversion therapy carried out on homosexual conscripts, or the sex reassignment procedures carried out on transgender conscripts. Rarely do these texts spend more than a few derogatory words on the subject of the homosexual or transgender conscript (be it in the figure of "the faggot", "the sissy" or the effeminate male character). And if they do, it is mostly with the overt undertaking of bolstering the heterosexual narrator (his strength, virility, morality, even martyrdom) against that of the weakling, the abominable, and the skewed.

One exception to such blatant homo- and transphobia can be found in J.H. Thompson's *Dit was Oorlog: Van Afkak tot Bosbefok* (2007), which presents a compilation of narratives that was gleaned by Thompson from former army conscripts. After conducting interviews with more than 40 men, Thompson used extracts from their accounts as a means to present a complex web of narratives that deal with diverse experiences of the South African Border War. One of the participants, identified in the text as "Rick", speaks about his personal experience of being a homosexual conscript at that time. While some of the other participants would make reference to homosexual and/or transgender conscripts in a tone that is often patronising and condescending – see, for example, the account of "Clint" in which he refers to the "tippy-toes" (Thompson 2006: 28) – such accounts are offset by the personal narrative of an openly homosexual conscript. What thus emerges is a text that is potentially more nuanced insofar as it allows a range of perspectives to resonate with one another. In this range, the voice of the heterosexual, cisgender subject is not the sole authority on the South African Border War. And for both heterosexual and homosexual subjects, the text becomes a means to engage with topics that extend beyond gendered and sexual lines – topics that deal with fear, guilt, complicity and public revelation.

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the South African Border War, Vivienne Jabri's (2007: 23) argument that war "has a recursive relationship to society … [insofar as it] is constitutively injurious, corporeal, and societal" has particular relevance. As this article demonstrates, personal historical accounts of the Border War are skewed towards white, heterosexual masculinity, with its homosexual and/or trans counterparts still being vilified. With increasing attempts to reimagine the phenomenon of this war as an event that apparently made victims of all (specifically those white conscripts who participated in this violent occurrence), narrative modes of reconciliation, particularly in non-fiction

border literature, tries to reach across various divides. One of the divides that such texts address, is that of race. Some of these texts are presented as noble endeavours and honest interrogations that seems to bolster an idea of a "community of man" – one that extends beyond previous enemy lines. However, the very concept of "the man", of the masculine, heterosexual protagonist, remains the central axis upon which forms of reconciliation and inclusivity hinge. It seems to remain a persistent precondition for publically participating in personal post-war recollection.

At the same time, such narratives remain fixated upon the homosexual and/or transgender "other", the *moffie*, that, despite its supposedly inconsequential nature, still refutes assimilation. Most of the texts that I discussed in this article show a marked inability of previous army conscripts and Border War soldiers to confront and reconcile themselves with a haunting concept and figure. Perhaps, it speaks of a lingering discomfort that is experienced by a largely heterosexual audience that still struggles to confront the sexual biases of their own nationalist upbringing. But then, more disconcertingly, it also speaks of belonging and inclusivity as conditional – that it extends only to those areas where it is comfortable or expected. For a post-apartheid and post-war white South African demographic, the ability to publicly (and textually) reconcile themselves with the previous "black enemy" is of no small consequence – it is, after all, what is to a large degree expected of them. Hence, the gestures that are made in texts such as those discussed in this article are perhaps not as innocent and self-effacing as they would like to be seen. In all, they serve a strategic purpose of *showing* (be it guilt, forgiveness or self-criticism). But then, when it comes to those "enemies", in this case those "sexual terrorists" who are not necessarily representative of the current political majority, the ability to reconcile oneself with that which was once seen as a threat suddenly falls short. If it is not expedient, reconciliation cannot be expected, it appears, and unfortunately the heterosexual white male cannot seem to reconcile himself in this literary moment with an enemy that has haunted him all along his own fragile border war.

References

A Site about the South African Bush War
2016 Online: <https://sites.google.com/site/sabushwarsite/>. 10 May 2018.

Baines, Gary
2014 *South Africa's "Border War": Contested Narratives and Conflicting Memories.* London & New York: Bloomsbury.

Behr, Mark
1993 *Die Reuk van Appels.* Kaapstad: Queillerie.

Belkin, Aaron & Canaday, Margaret
2010 Assessing the Integration of Gays and Lesbians into the South African National Defence Force. *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 38(2): 1-21.

Berube, Allan
2000 *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two.* USA: Free Press.

Brink, André P. & Coetzee, J.M. (eds)
1987 *A Land Apart*. New York: Penguin.

Cloete, Bertie
2009 *Pionne*. Hermanus: Hemel en See Boeke.

Conway, Daniel
2008 "Somewhere on the Border – of Credibility": The Cultural Construction and Contestation of "the Border" in White South African Society". In: Gary Baines and Peter Vale (eds) *Beyond the Border War: New Perspectives on Southern Africa's Late Cold War Conflicts*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.

Cronje, Johannes Christoffel
2011 Die Grens as Meerduidige Gegewe in die Kontemporêre Afrikaanse Prosa. Doctoral Thesis, University of Pretoria.

De Waal, Shaun
1994 Etymological Note: On "Moffie". In: Mark Gevisser & Edwin Cameron (eds) *Defiant Desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Gevisser, Mark & Cameron, Edwin (eds)
[n.d.] *Defiant Desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Goldblatt, Beth & Meintjies, Shiela
1996 Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: A submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Online: <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/hrvtrans/submit/gender.htm> 20 October 2018.

Gordon, Robert J.
1991 Marginalia on "Grensliteratuur": Or How/Why is Terror Culturally Constructed in Northern Namibia? *Critical* Arts 5(3): 79-93.

Grensoorlog
2009 Online: <https://www.flickr.com/groups/grensoorlog/pool/>. 10 May 2018.

Hanson, Dian (ed.)
2014 *My Buddy: World War II Laid Bare*. Cologne: Taschen.

Hedges, Chris
2003 *War is a Force that Gives Us Meaning*. New York: Anchor Books.

Hickman, Tom
2004 *The Call-Up: A History of National Service*. London: Headline Book Publishing.

Holsti, Kalevi J.
1997 *The State, War, and the State of War.* Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

Jabri, Vivienne
2007 *War and the Transformation of Global Politics*. Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jackson, Paul
2010 *One of the Boys: Homosexuality in the Military during World War II.* Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Kaplan, Robert
2004 Treatment of Homosexuality During Apartheid. *BMJ* 329: 1415-1416.

Koornhof, H.E.
1989 Works of Friction: Current South African War Literature. In: Jacklyn Cock & Laurie Nathan (eds) *War and Society: The Militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Phillips.

Korff, Granger
2009 *19 With a Bullet: A South African Paratrooper in Angola.* Newlands, Cape Town: 30° South Publishers.

Lamprecht, Deon
2015 *Tannie Pompie se Oorlog: In die Driehoek van die Dood*. Kaapstad: Tafelberg Uitgewers.

Lazar, Michelle (ed.)
2005 *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. Gender, Power and Ideology in Discourse*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Liebenberg, Ian
2011 Review: 19 with a Bullet: A South African Paratrooper in Angola, *African Historical Review* 43(2): 122-126.

Lord, James
2010 *My Queer War*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Machin, David & Mayr, Andrea
2012 *How to do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*. London, UK: Sage.

McGreal, Chris
2000 Gays Tell of Mutilation by Apartheid Army. In: *The Guardian*, Saturday 29 July. Online: <https://www.google.co.za/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2000/jul/29/chrismcgreal>. 3 March 2018.

Morgan, Ruth, Marais, Charl & Wellbeloved, Joy (eds)
2009 *Trans: Transgender Life Stories from South Africa*. Auckland Park: Fanele.

Ramsden, Tim
2009 *Border-Line Insanity: A National Servicemen's Story*. Alberton: Galago Publishing.

Retief, Glenn
1994 Keeping Sodom Out of the Lager: State Repression of Homosexuality in Apartheid South Africa. In Mark Gevisser and Edwin Cameron (eds). *Defiant Desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Robins, David
2007 *On the Bridge of Goodbye: The Story of South Africa's Discarded San Soldiers*. Jeppestown: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Room, Adrian
1986 *A Dictionary of True Etymologies*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Roos, Henriette
2008 Writing from Within: The Representation of the Border War in South African Literature. In: Gary Baines & Peter Vale (eds) *Beyond the Border War: New Perspectives on Southern Africa's Late Cold War Conflicts*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
Ross, Fiona C.
2003 *Bearing Witness: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa.* London & Virginia: Pluto Press.
SADF.info
2008 Online: <http://sadf.info/index.html>. 10 May 2018.
Scholtz, Leopold
2015 *The South African Defence Forces in the Border War 1966-1989*. United Kingdom: Helion and Company.
Senekal, Burgert A.
2012 Grensoorlogstories Nie Grensverskuiwend Nie. In *Litnet*. Online: <https://www.litnet.co.za/grensoorlogstories-nie-grensverskuiwend-nie/>. 8 November 2018.
Shaw, Sara & Bailey, Julia
2009 Discourse Analysis: What is it and Why is it Relevant to Family Practice? *Family Practice* 26(5): 413-419.
Simo, Ana
2000 South Africa: Apartheid Military Forced Gay Troops Into Sex-Change Operations. In: *theGully.com*. Online: <http://www.thegully.com/essays/africa/000825sexchange.html>. 3 March 2018.
Sriwimon, Lanchukorn & Zilli, Pattamawan Jimarkon
2017 Applying Critical Discourse Analysis as a Conceptual Framework for Investigating Gender Stereotypes in Political Media Discourse. *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences* 38: 136-142.
Stadler, Koos
2015 *Recce: Kleinspan-Operasies Agter Vyandelike Linies.* Kaapstad: Tafelberg.
Steyn, Stephanus Malan
1999 Die Verbeelding van Manlike Subjectiwiteit in die Populêre Afrikaanse Grensliteratuur. Master's Thesis, Stellenbosch University.
Thompson, T.H.
2007 *Dit was Oorlog: Van Afkak tot Bosbefok*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.
Van Coller, H.P.
1990 Afrikaanse Literatuur oor die Gewapende Konflik in Suider-Afrika Sedert 1963: 'n Voorlopige Verslag. *Acta Academica* 22(4): 74-91.
2013 Grensliteratuur. In: *LTT*. Online: <http://www.litterm.co.za/index.php/lemmas/14-g/56-grenslitera tuur>. 26 October 2018.
Van der Merwe, André Carl
2006 *Moffie: A Novel.* Vermont: Penstock Publishing.

Van Dijk, Teun
2004 Critical Discourse Analysis. In: Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, & Heidi E. Hamilton (eds) *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Van Heerden, Etienne
1983 *My Kubaan*. Kaapstad: Tafelberg Uitgewers.

Van Zyl, Mikki, Jeanelle de Gruchy, Sheila Lapinsky, Simon Lewin & Graeme Reid
1999 The Aversion Project: Human Rights Abuses of Gays and Lesbians in the South African Defence Force by Health Workers during the Apartheid Era, Published Project Report. Cape Town: Simply Said and Done.

Verster, Francois
2016 *Omega, Oor en Uit: Die Storie van 'n Opstandige Troep*. Kaapstad: Tafelberg.

Wake, Naoko
2010 The Military, Psychiatry, and "Unfit" Soldiers, 1939-1942. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 62(4): 461-494.

William, David
2008 *Op die Grens: Wit Mans se Militêre Ervaring 1965-1990.* Kaapstad: Tafelberg Uitgewers.

Wilson, Richard A.
2001 *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ernst van der Wal
University of Stellenbosch
evdw@sun.ac.za