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ПИСЬМО ПОСТОЯННОГО ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЯ АНГОЛЫ ПРИ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ
ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ ОТ 5 ДЕКАБРЯ 1983 ГОДА НА ИМЯ
ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЯ СОВЕТА БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ

По поручению моего правительства имею честь настоящим препроводить экземпляр "Белой книги об актах агрессии расистского режима Южной Африки против Народной Республики Ангола, 1975-1982 годы".

Она была подготовлена Министерством иностранных дел Народной Республики Ангола совместно с Отделами информации и судебных органов МПЛА-Партии труда и Директоратом разведки и информации Генерального штаба ФАПЛА.

В "Белой книге" четко отражены отвратительные преступления, совершенные вооруженными силами расистской Южной Африки против Народной Республики Ангола, и акты агрессии, совершаемые расистским режимом против суверенитета и территориальной целостности нашей страны.

Настоящим прошу распространить прилагаемый материал в качестве документа Совета Безопасности в связи с вопросом об агрессии Южной Африки против Народной Республики Ангола.

Элисио де ФИГЕРЕЙДУ
Посол
Постоянный представитель

Annex

The technical difficulties involved in the reproduction of this material and the distribution deadline required did not allow for further improvement of its presentation.

**White Paper on Acts of Aggression
by the Racist South African Regime
against The Peoples Republic of Angola**

1975—1982

PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA



PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

**White Paper on Acts of Aggression by the Racist
South African Regime against the
People's Republic of Angola**

1975 - 1982

“The policy of the People’s Republic of Angola is a clear and consistent policy based on principles. Those principles are enshrined in our Constitution and in the basic documents of the MPLA-Workers’ Party, and since the birth of our State they have been put into practice in a constant and coherent way. They are the universal principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and the peaceful solution of international differences. They are also the principles of non-alignment and solidarity with all the oppressed peoples fighting for their national liberation.

We are a peaceful people who have never attacked, nor wish to attack, anyone. All we want is to live in peace, working to build a future of well-being, progress and happiness in the just society we have freely chosen.

The defence of peace and of love and fraternity among men, without barriers of any kind, together with the advocacy of unshakeable solidarity with other peoples, is one of the finest teachings bequeathed to us by our Immortal Guide, Comrade President Agostinho Neto, who, before being an eminent statesman, was a true poet and humanist whose stature was bound to be projected on the scale of mankind."

(In Documents of the 2nd Session of the
International Commission of Inquiry,
Luanda, 30 January-4 February 1981.)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The hostility of the Republic of South Africa towards the People's Republic of Angola, taking the form of acts of armed aggression, is the continuation of a policy which dates back to the last decade of Portuguese colonial domination in Africa. Indeed, from the mid-sixties until the fall of fascism in Portugal, the racist South African regime maintained close relations with the regime of Salazar and Caetano, in a vain attempt to halt the advance of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique and perpetuate colonial and imperialist exploitation in Southern Africa.

2. After 25 April 1974, in the period of transition to independence started with the signing of the Alvor Agreements, in March 1975 the combined forces of Zaire and the FLNA, supported by the United States of America, launched a military offensive to drive the MPLA out of northwest Angola. The conflict soon spread to all our national territory. In response to this aggression, on 26 July the Political Bureau of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola proclaimed General Popular Resistance. After the first few months of the war—which will go down in history as the Second War of National Liberation—the MPLA, with the massive support of the people, had already liberated 12 of the country's 16 provinces. By August, the puppet forces had been definitively driven out of Luanda. Imperialism and international reaction's response to these victories was increased Zairean and mercenary infiltration and, in October, the South African invasion.

3. The victory of FRELIMO in Mozambique and the prospect of a revolutionary State in Angola, led by the MPLA, had put in question the neocolonial strategy of imperialism in the

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southern part of Africa and represented a threat to the security of the racist South African regime and to its colonial domination in Namibia. For the apartheid regime and imperialism it was therefore necessary to prevent the MPLA from governing Angola; and to this end they had to give all possible support to the FNLA and UNITA, movements which had already demonstrated their submissiveness to the interests of imperialism and, in the case of UNITA, even to those of Portuguese colonialism. Seeing the MPLA's total control of the country and the political and military elimination of the puppet movements (the FNLA in the north and UNITA in the centre), the South African Defence Force (SADF) took the first big initiative in August 1975 by occupying the hydroelectric dams on the Cunene River at Ruacan  and Calueque, on the Namibian border.

4. On 22 August 1975, a South African force of battalion strength, supported by Panhard armoured cars and helicopters, attacked and destroyed the town of Ngiva (formerly Pereira de E a), capital of Cunene Province. Operations by South African forces in August enabled UNITA to take the border areas while the racist army withdrew to positions on the Namibian border.

5. In September, an SADF officer, accompanied by a group of 18 instructors equipped with anti-tank weapons and machine guns, was sent to Kuito (formerly Silva Porto), capital of Bi  Province. According to the South Africans, this force, with powerful reinforcements, had the responsibility of preventing FAPLA from holding Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa), capital of Huambo Province. In mid-October, the small South African group was reinforced with troops and a squadron of Panhard armoured cars, becoming known as the "Foxbat" combat group.

6. On 16 October 1975, the large-scale South African invasion started when a combined SADF/UNITA column crossed the border at Oshikango (formerly Santa Clara). Ngiva was reoccupied on 19 October and Xangongo (formerly Forte Ro adas) on 20 October. There the column was reinforced by four Panhard companies, a platoon of 81mm mortars and a contingent of mercenaries from the notorious Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP). According to John Stockwell, the ex-CIA official in charge

of the American programme in Angola, the South African force consisted of 50 armoured cars, with 250 men, supported by 750 commandos, artillery batteries and logistics. Before entering Angola these troops were completely re-equipped at Grootfontein, where their khaki South African uniforms were replaced by green Portuguese ones and the soldiers were given instructions to say they were mercenaries, in an attempt to conceal their identity. Known as "Zulu" combat group, this column, which also contained 500 to 1,000 UNITA soldiers, advanced rapidly towards the Angolan coast with instructions to take as many towns as possible before reaching Luanda.

7. Chibia (formerly João de Almeida) was occupied on 23 October, Lubango (formerly Sá da Bandeira), capital of Huíla Province, the following day, 24 October, and Namibe (then Moçâmedes), the seaport capital of the province of the same name, on 28 October.

8. In each occupied town the racist forces installed an UNITA administration and then continued their advance.

9. Benguela, capital of Benguela Province, was taken after fierce fighting, on 5 November, and the important seaport of Lobito on 7 November, with the racist South African forces remaining there until 11 November.

10. While the "Zulu" column was advancing along the coast, the "Foxbat" column divided its forces at Huambo. Part of it, under the codename "X-Ray", advanced along the Benguela Railway towards the eastern border, Luau (formerly Teixeira de Sousa). The other part, codenamed "Orange", proceeded northwards towards Wako Kungo (formerly Cela).

11. While the racist South African forces, with UNITA puppets in their ranks, were advancing towards the capital from the south, in northern Angola the Zairean army, assisted by a small force of South African officers and artillery with 140mm guns, and by a contingent of mercenaries from ELP and of other nationalities, with FNLA puppets in their ranks, occupied Mbanza Congo (formerly São Salvador) capital of Zaire Province, Nzeto, Ambriz,

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Caxito, Uíge (formerly Carmona), capital of Uíge Province, and other localities, reaching within 20 km of the capital, Luanda.

12. When at midnight on 11 November 1975, the Central Committee of the MPLA, through the person of the late Comrade President Agostinho Neto, proclaimed the creation of the People's Republic of Angola as an independent and sovereign State, in the south the South African racists controlled a vast part of Angolan territory extending from the Namibian border to the Lobito-Luena (formerly Luso) line. Luena was occupied precisely on 11 November. In the north the provinces of Zaire and Uíge, and part of the provinces of Luanda and Kuanza Norte were held by the Zairean army.

13. The powerful resistance put up by the People's Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA), supported by the overwhelming majority of the Angolan people, prevented the racist and neocolonialist forces from achieving their goal—the proclamation of a puppet state headed by the FNLA and UNITA, tools of imperialism and racism.

14. The last attempt by the invading armies to occupy the city of Luanda before the day of the proclamation of national independence took place at Kifangondo, where on 10 November, on the eve of independence, FAPLA repelled a powerful ground attack by Zairean forces which, together with the forces assisting them, were routed after 10 hours of fierce fighting. The possibility of Angolan puppets being put in Luanda before the proclamation of independence by the MPLA had therefore been thwarted.

15. John Vorster, then Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, sent a "high-ranking envoy" to Washington to obtain clarification on US support, while Savimbi travelled to Pretoria to request that the SADF guarantee "his" position until the OAU Summit meeting convened for 9 December.

16. Faced with imperialist collusion against Angola, and in order to defend the independence and freedom won, as well as national territorial integrity, the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, in accordance with Article 51 of the United

Nations Charter, asked the Government of the Republic of Cuba for help.

17. On 11 November 1975, the South African troops stationed in Lobito were reinforced with four 88mm guns and more personnel.

18. On 12 November, the "Zulu" column continued its advance and, after bloody fighting, took Ngunza (formerly Novo Redondo), capital of the Province of Kuanza Sul, the following day. The column proceeded northwards and was stopped at the Queve River, south of Porto Amboim, where FAPLA were obliged to destroy the bridge to halt the South African advance. This fact was decisive in changing the course of the war. Despite the substantial reinforcements the vanguard of the South African army were receiving, over the next two months the racist forces were obliged to consolidate their positions on the lines they had reached, as they were not capable of getting back on to the offensive.

19. The fact that the invading enemy were forced to stop their offensive, both in the south and in the north, gave the Angolan forces time to prepare the big counter-offensive which was to lead to the driving out of the invading armies and the puppet organisations and to the restoration of the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

20. In the north, FAPLA started the counter-offensive on 21 November and re-established its control over the whole region in the second week of February 1976, after driving out the last mercenaries in Soyo and Mbanza Congo.

21. In the centre, the big counter-offensive of FAPLA, supported by Cuban internationalist forces, started in the third week of January 1976. Wako Kungo, the South African troops' first position, was retaken on 21 January and Ngunza on 24 January.

22. With the FAPLA counter-offensive, the South African armoured troops and artillery started a rapid withdrawal towards the south, blowing up all the bridges they crossed.

23. Huambo was retaken by FAPLA on 8 February. Then all

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the other occupied towns and villages in the south of the country fell successively, and the South African racists concentrated their troops in Xangongo and Ngiva until they were definitively expelled from our national territory on 27 March 1976.

24. The invasion of Angola by the armies of South Africa and Zaire, accompanied by mercenary forces (whose presence in the theatre of war the governments of the two aggressor countries always tried to conceal from world opinion) was irrefutably demonstrated when South African and Zairean soldiers captured by the glorious FAPLA were presented to the international press and by the trial of mercenaries held in Luanda in 1976.

25. The damage caused to the People's Republic of Angola by the big South African invasion of 1975-76 amounted to an extremely high sum, representing a heavy burden for a young country freed from colonialism which was starting on a new life of independence. In a report submitted to the United Nations at the time, this damage was estimated to be 6.7 billion US dollars.

CHAPTER II

CONTINUOUS AGGRESSION

A. General character of operations

26. South African attacks on the People's Republic of Angola have been especially against the provinces of Kuando Kubango, Cunene, Namibe (formerly Moçâmedes) and Huíla, in the south and southeast of the country, totalling an area of about 401,373 sq km (Kuando Kubango—192,076 sq km; Cunene—75,995 sq km; Huíla—77,393 sq km; Namibe—55,948 sq km).

27. The above regions have a population of approximately 1,050,000 inhabitants, added to which are thousands of Namibian refugees forced to leave their homes because of the illegal occupation of their country by the Pretoria administration.

28. These regions are of special economic importance to the People's Republic of Angola owing to their many resources in the spheres of agriculture, livestock, industry and fishing.

29. As regards agriculture, special mention should be made of the maize, beans, sorghum and millet crops which, with milk, provide the essential food requirements of the inhabitants of those regions.

30. Mention should also be made of the fact that those areas have the largest reserves of livestock—mainly cattle and pigs—in the People's Republic of Angola.

31. As regards industry, in addition to infrastructures directly related to the processing of agricultural and livestock production, there are the Cassinga iron mines whose activity has

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been drastically affected by the instability caused in that zone by constant South African aggression.

32. In conclusion, it should be noted that Namibe Province is the country's main fishing centre, owing to the abundance of fish in its waters. For this very reason, the province has the largest fish processing industries in Angola.

33. Since 27 March 1976, the date when the first big South African invasion of the People's Republic of Angola ended, Pretoria's armed forces have never ceased to keep those regions under constant pressure, through air space violations and bombing raids, incursions of heliborne troops, acts of provocation, infantry attacks supported by armoured units, artillery shelling, mine laying in fields and on bridges and highways, and the looting and destruction of varied material and means of production.

34. Added to these military operations are combined attacks on settlements and villages, in close co-ordination with the UNITA puppets, who are trained and equipped in military camps in Namibia, while the South African forces ensure the transport of UNITA's men and war material into Angolan territory and also provide the air cover needed for such penetration.

35. This continuous aggression against the People's Republic of Angola by the racist Pretoria regime culminated on 23 August 1981 with the launching of so-called "Operation Protea", resulting in the present occupation by the South African army of the whole of the strip south of the Cunene River, with the apparent object of creating a buffer state, so as to make the Namibian decolonisation process even more complex.

B. Operations up to June 1979

General description

36. Between 27 March 1976 and 11 June 1979, the South African army carried out 193 armed mine-laying operations, 21 border provocations, seven bombing raids and one large-scale combined operation in which both air and ground forces took part.

This assessment, however, is incomplete because many acts of aggression could not be detected with precision.

37. During this period, South African actions affected the provinces of Cunene, Huila, Moxico and Benguela. Owing to their scale and the extent of the damage caused, special mention should be made of the massacre of Cassinga (Huila Province) and the bombing of Boma (Moxico Province).

Attack on Cassinga

38. The brutal attack on the Cassinga refugee camp took place on 4 May 1978 and was carried out by 200 paratroopers, assisted by two C-130 troop transport planes, 14 Alouette SA-330 and Puma helicopters, nine Mirage III planes and a number of Cessna F.1 and F.2 reconnaissance aircraft.

39. After the planes had fired rockets and dropped explosive and fragmentation bombs, as well as paralysing gases, the paratroopers landed on the terrain and during the six and a half hours that the attack lasted gave full vent to their basest instincts, indiscriminately massacring the terror-stricken population in cold blood, after having mined all access routes to the camp so as to prevent the Angolan soldiers stationed in a nearby town from coming to the defence of the Namibian refugees.

40. When the courageous intervention of Angolan soldiers forced them to make a quick getaway in their helicopters, the South African paratroopers took with them four Namibian women and left behind them a frightful toll of victims:

- 612 Namibian refugees killed (147 men, 167 women and 298 children)
- 12 Angolan soldiers killed
- 3 Angolan civilians killed
- 611 Namibian refugees wounded
- 63 Angolan soldiers wounded
- 15 Angolan civilians wounded

41. Added to these human victims—many of them murdered

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in cold blood with shots in the back of the neck—were the buildings that were destroyed, including health centres, the devastation of 160 hectares of crops and the killing of 100 head of cattle.

42. The massacre of Cassinga, therefore, gives a fearfully enlightening picture of the true nature of South African “civilisation”. . . .

Attack on the small town of Boma

43. On 26 February 1979, a criminal attack on a refugee school at Boma, on the outskirts of the provincial capital of Moxico, resulted in 198 people killed and 600 wounded, in addition to material losses estimated at 4,451,957 US dollars. Hence, that was the second largest aggressive operation against the People's Republic of Angola during this period.

44. It should be noted that it was a combined operation of the Rhodesian and South African forces, using four Canberra bombers of the Rhodesian air force as well as three Mirage aircraft of Pretoria's air force, which were used essentially to provide cover.

45. Boma, a small settlement with only 4,000 inhabitants, suddenly found itself the target of 30 tons of bombs—mostly anti-personnel and fragmentation bombs—as well as rockets fired by two of the South African Mirages; before it could recover from the surprise of the attack, the aggressor aircraft calmly withdrew to where they had come from, leaving behind them the bloody evidence of yet another crime committed by the most odious regime in the world.

General assessment of damages

46. In the course of this period (26 March 1976 to 11 June 1979), the South African regular army caused at least 570 known deaths among the Angolan population and wounded 594, most of them peaceful and defenceless peasants in the areas subjected to their barbarous attacks.

47. At the same time, there was also substantial loss of life

among refugees forced to live in Angola because of the present situation in their countries. The following such losses were registered:

612 Namibians killed and 611 wounded
198 Zimbabweans killed and 600 wounded
3 South Africans killed and 8 wounded.

48. Total social and economic effects of South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola during the same period were assessed as 293,304,000 US dollars, with the following break-down:

Agriculture and livestock production, 142,500,000 dollars
Construction, 21,656,000 dollars
Transport facilities, machinery and diverse equipment, 52,797,000 dollars
Fisheries, 17,750,000 dollars
Commercial sector, 14,285,000 dollars
Administration and public services, 44,322,000 dollars

49. To these estimates should be added all the human and social losses which it is impossible to assess in monetary terms. These include the loss of human lives, the forced exodus of people from areas affected by the war, the interruption of schooling, unemployment caused by the destruction of means of production, enforced deficiencies in social services, the serious nutritional and material shortages suffered by the population in the affected regions, and the non-completion of social and economic projects and programmes in those regions, with the resultant repercussions on the national economy as a whole.

50. A detailed description of all the aggressive actions carried out against the People's Republic of Angola by South Africa during the period from 26 March 1976 to 11 June 1979—together with the damage caused and assessment of losses—was duly recorded and documented in the report presented to the United Nations by the Angolan Government on 25 July 1979 (Document S/13473).

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C. Operations between June 1979 and December 1980

General description

51. Between 11 June 1979 and 31 December 1980, the South African army continued to maintain a state of war on the sovereign territory of the People's Republic of Angola which, although an undeclared war, was tragically confirmed by the innumerable criminal acts committed, each more barbarous and open to condemnation than the last.

52. South African aggression against Angolan territory during the said period assumed various forms, including ground and heliborne attacks, air space violations and bombing raids, and the occupation of localities, culminating in so-called "Operation Smokeshell" launched in June 1980.

53. Without detailing the constant air space violations (no less than 925) and different types of ground operations (81 bombing raids and shelling incidents, 33 attacks by heliborne troops, etc) the larger South African acts of aggression during the period under review were as follows:

- Bombing raid against Lubango (Huila Province)
- Bombing raid against Xangongo (Cunene Province)
- Ground and heliborne attacks in the area of Naulila (Cunene Province)
- Ground attacks against Calueque/Cuamato (Cunene Province)
- Heliborne operation against Leba (Huila Province)
- Attack on the commune of Chitado (Cunene Province)
- Attack on the village of Cuangar (Kuando Kubango Province)
- Bombing raid against the villages of Ndova, Humbe and Mujoma (Cunene Province)
- Attack on the village of Savate (Kuando Kubango Province)
- Bombing raid against Humbe (Cunene Province)
- Occupation of Chiede (Cunene Province)
- Attack and occupation of Mavinga (Kuando Kubango Province)
- Invasion in June 1980 (Cunene Province)

Bombing raid against Lubango

54. Among the most flagrant and criminal operations against the People's Republic of Angola perpetrated by the South African army was the bombing raid on the town of Lubango, capital of Huíla Province.

55. On 26 September 1979, at 10.30 a.m., four South African Mirages and one Buccaneer fired rockets and dropped bombs on the "Madeiras da Huíla" furniture factory in Lubango and on a FAPLA logistical base.

56. Amid the terror of the workers, caught in the middle of their work time, and the stupefaction of the whole town, which never imagined that the South Africans would go so far in their savage aggressiveness, the planes indiscriminately dropped their criminal load, killing 26 people, seriously wounding 41 and slightly wounding 34. The "Madeiras da Huíla" factory, one of the largest furniture companies in the country, was destroyed.

57. In addition, the attack caused lesser damage to the following factories and companies:

Hilfina Furniture
 Sotrama
 Sopapel
 Álvaro Vicente Sawmill
 Empel
 Fafal
 Venâncio Guimarães Flour Mill
 Kangika Flour Mill
 Favel
 Triunfo
 Huíla Liqueur Factory

Bombing raid against Xangongo

58. On the same day that Lubango was bombed, 26 September 1979, and within only an hour, i.e. starting at 11.30 a.m.,

the South African air force attacked Xangongo with a force comprising four Impalas and two Mirage IIIs, killing 30 people, wounding 100 (all civilians) and destroying a primary school and a food store.

Attack on Serra da Leba

59. Just over a month later, on 28 October 1979, the South African army carried out a big attack for purely destructive purposes on the Serra da Leba mountain range in Huila Province.

60. At 16.00, troops transported in four SA 335 Puma helicopters, supported by Alouette IIIs, landed on the Serra da Leba and subsequently carried out a series of actions on the Lubango-Namibe line, notably the following:

The destruction of 15 metres of railway line and the mining of another 20 metres.

The damaging of the Namibe Railway tunnel in the Leba mountains.

Blowing up several bridges on the railway line between Lubango and Kuvango, in the Dongo region.

Attacking civilians who were driving through the Leba region.

61. The casualties of these criminal acts amounted to 20 civilians killed, including a woman in the last month of pregnancy!

Attack in the area of Naulila

62. Continuing their adventurist escalation, less than one month after the attack on Serra da Leba, the military forces of the Republic of South Africa started an operation in the area of Naulila (Cunene Province).

63. Indeed, at dawn on 24 November 1979, South African ground and heliborne troops, supported by aircraft, launched a series of operations around Naulila which went on for four days.

64. Among those actions were the following:

24 November 1979—mining of the Xangongo - Naulila - Cuamato road.

25 November 1979—bombing raids on Pêu-Pêu and Naulila, as well as on an ODP (People's Defence Organisation) school 25 km from Xangongo.

25 November 1979—Cuamato and Naulila attacked and occupied by armoured units supported by artillery, aircraft, cavalry, police dogs, motorcycles and ground troops.

27 November 1979—bombing raid on Môngua.

65. These were the effects of those criminal actions:

38 civilians killed

Two soldiers killed

An unknown number of wounded

10 people missing

20 houses destroyed

One school totally destroyed

Assorted military material destroyed

Attack on Calueque

66. Following the operations carried out around Naulila, on 28 November 1979 the South African troops started to advance towards Calueque with 25 reconnaissance motorcycles, 10 helicopters and an unknown number of Ratel armoured cars.

Attack on Cuangar

67. On 14 April 1980, another big action against the People's Republic of Angola by the Pretoria regime was registered, when South African troops equipped with artillery, a helicopter and a light aircraft attacked FAPLA's position at Cuangar (Kundo Kubango Province).

68. The attack, which lasted from 05.00 to 10.00, left six soldiers dead and 30 wounded, and diverse war material was destroyed.

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Bombing raid on Humbe

69. Two weeks later, on 28 April 1980, at 19.10, South African aircraft bombed Humbe, in Cunene Province, killing eight civilians and wounding 24.

Bombing of Ndova, Humbe and Mujoma

70. The localities of Ndova, Humbe and Mujoma, all in Cunene Province, were the targets of South African bombing raids on 3 May 1980.

71. The bombing resulted in the following human losses—12 wounded in Ndova; seven killed and 12 wounded in Humbe; and one killed and one wounded in Mujoma.

Attack on Chiede

72. Also in May 1980, on the 12th, troops transported in eight Puma helicopters supported by six fighter bombers attacked the village of Chiede (Cunene Province) at 05.00, and then occupied it.

73. During this operation, the South African aggressors killed 57 people (three soldiers and 54 civilians) and wounded 19 (all civilians).

Attack on Savate

74. Only nine days later, on 21 May at 09.00, South African troops attacked and occupied the locality of Savate, in Kuando Kubango Province.

75. For this attack the South African army mobilised its motorised infantry and air force, using three Alouette III helicopters, one Puma helicopter, a light aircraft, 11 Panhard AML-90 and Ratel armoured cars and heavy artillery.

It was not possible to count the number of killed and wounded in the cowardly attack on Savate.

Invasion of June 1980 (Operation Smokeshell)

76. The succession of increasingly extensive and serious military operations carried out in the months of April and May by the South African forces gave cause to expect the launching of a large-scale operation against the People's Republic of Angola.

This is precisely what happened!

77. Starting on 10 June 1980, the ground and air forces of the Republic of South Africa advanced 140 km inside Angolan territory, in Cunene Province, thereby starting so-called "Operation Smokeshell", characterised by a series of criminal and indiscriminate actions against such targets as villages, shops and schools.

78. FAPLA responded promptly and vigorously, forcing the aggressors to withdraw to the illegally occupied territory of Namibia after suffering an unknown number of casualties and losing an Alouette III helicopter whose pilot was killed.

Attack on Chitado

80. Forced to retreat from the sovereign territory of the People's Republic of Angola in June 1980 by the unyielding resistance of the Angolan army, the South African aggressors did not give up their bellicose designs.

81. On 28 August 1980, heliborne South African troops attacked and occupied the main settlement in the commune of Chitado, in Cunene Province, killing 15 civilians and wounding seven, and completely destroying the village.

Attack on Mavinga

82. The last significant South African operation during this period was the occupation and destruction of the small town of Mavinga, in Kuando Kubango Province.

83. This operation took place on 19 September, when South

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African troops supported by heavy artillery and armoured cars attacked the locality at 06.00, killing and wounding a large number of people. The exact numbers are not known.

84. After occupying Mavinga, the South African soldiers completely destroyed it, revealing the barbarous and savage character of their actions.

General assessment of losses

85. Between 11 June 1979 and 31 December 1980, the South African aggressor army caused approximately the following human losses:

400 civilians killed

640 civilians wounded

85 soldiers killed

95 soldiers wounded

An unknown number of people were kidnapped, and an incalculable number of Namibian refugees were killed and wounded

86. As regards the social and economic consequences, although it was difficult to assess them because of the characteristics of the zones hit by the South African aggressors, being large semi-desert and thinly populated regions, it was estimated that they amounted to a total of 230,996,805 US dollars.

87. When the effects of the aggressive and destructive onslaught were analysed by sector, it was possible to arrive at the following figures:

Agriculture and livestock production: losses from cattle killed, looted and unmarketed; destruction of plant and crops; crops abandoned and work not carried out—141,139,869 dollars.

Industry: destruction and damaging of 12 economic units in the industrial zone of Lubango through the bombing on 26 September 1979—12,254,618 dollars.

Construction: destruction and damaging of the railway line and a tunnel in the Serra da Leba; bridges destroyed or

damaged—33,796,121 dollars.

Transport facilities: vehicles destroyed or damaged—21,039,898 dollars.

Fisheries: work not carried out—5,000,000 dollars.

Internal trade: buildings destroyed; goods destroyed and damaged—12,640,000 dollars.

Health: destruction and damaging of medical posts and centres, hospital equipment and medicines—3,799,617 dollars.

Education: destruction and damaging of 15 schools, two students' hostels and diverse equipment—1,326,682 dollars.

D. Operations during 1981

General description

88. The state of continual aggression that the South African army had maintained in the People's Republic of Angola since 27 March 1976 was suddenly aggravated in early 1981.

89. Encouraged by the bellicose statements against Angola and the other Frontline States of the new US administration, headed by Ronald Reagan, the Pretoria rulers, in close co-ordination with Washington, started in January to put in motion the sinister plan which was to culminate, on 23 August 1981, in the biggest invasion of Angolan territory since 1975, and the present occupation of a large part of Cunene Province.

90. Indeed, at the beginning of the year the South African air force stepped up its violations of Angolan air space, starting systematic overflying and carrying out exhaustive military reconnaissance over areas where Angolan troops were stationed, especially anti-aircraft positions, up to 200 km inside the country.

91. At the same time, South African ground forces repeatedly violated Angola's borders, attacking FAPLA columns, massacring the population for purposes of intimidation, and mining the principal highways, aiming to make it difficult to supply the population in the south of the country and seeking to paralyse Angolan troop movements.

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92. Up to 23 August 1981 alone, the following aggressive operations by South African forces were registered:

- 1617 reconnaissance flights
- 100 bombing raids
- 50 strafing incidents
- 26 ground reconnaissance operations
- 67 troop build-ups
- 4 paratrooper landings
- 34 ground attacks
- 7 shelling operations
- 9 mine-laying and other minor operations

93. Air space violations were stepped up in the second fortnight in May, as were ambushes and mine-laying operations.

94. As from June, acts of intimidation against the people were intensified, with the aim of making the people leave the border areas and flee north of the Cunene River or into Namibia.

95. In July, South Africa massed about 40,000 soldiers and a vast quantity of military equipment on the Namibian-Angolan border, as revealed at the time by the Angolan authorities.

96. In mid-June and the first fortnight in August, South African forces started to infiltrate into Angolan territory, occupying villages such as Mulemba, Nehone, Ndova, Mupa and Evale, and setting up their forward command post, it should be noted, at Mulemba.

97. In conjunction with these armed operations, the South African propaganda media launched a massive and systematic campaign to mislead world opinion, the essential thrust of which was an alleged "Soviet threat", the purported existence of "East Germans" alongside the Cuban internationalists and FAPLA units, and the installation of missiles in southern Angola.

The purpose of that campaign was clear—to create the necessary psychological climate to "justify" the criminal aggression

the loathsome Pretoria regime was preparing to launch.

98. So-called "Operation Protea", the major aggressive operation undertaken by the South African army against Angola in 1981, was therefore nothing but the culmination of a whole strategy jointly drawn up by Washington and Pretoria, the implementation of which was started at the very beginning of the year.

99. Meanwhile it should be noted that the strategy included also other kinds of action, like acts of sabotage in towns and attempts on the lives of the main Angolan leaders, a clear example of which was the attack on the Luanda oil refinery carried out by a South African commando unit at the end of 1981.

Invasion of August 1981 (Operation Protea)

100. On 23 August 1981, the South African army launched a large-scale invasion of Angolan territory, a genuine localised invasion named "Operation Protea" by Pretoria, which at its height involved the following:

About 11,000 men

Around 36 Centurion M-41 tanks and 70 AML-90 armoured cars

200 armoured troop carriers, including Ratels, Buffels and Saracens

Artillery comprising G-5 155 mm guns and 127 mm Kentron ground-ground missiles

About 90 planes and helicopters

101. The invasion started with the massive bombardment of Cahama and Chibemba by eight planes (six Mirages and two Buccaneers), aimed at destroying Angolan anti-aircraft positions.

102. On 24 August, while three motorised South African infantry columns entered Angolan territory in Cunene Province, attacking and occupying Xangongo, Humbe and Namacunde, the racist air force started to bomb the town of Ngiva, capital of the province.

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103. The following day, Uia and Môngua were occupied by two South African columns which had come from Xangongo, while the air force repeatedly bombed Ngiva and Cahama.

104. On 26 August 1981, Pretoria's air force continued to bomb a number of places in Cunene Province, at the same time dropping leaflets calling upon Angolan soldiers stationed in Ngiva not to put up any resistance to an imminent attack on the town.

105. In the early hours of the 27th, the South African air force resumed its massive bombing of Ngiva, while heavy artillery subjected the town to an intensive barrage of fire.

106. At 07.00 on 27 August 1981, South African troops massively supported by aircraft made their first attempt to occupy the provincial capital of Cunene, from both the north and the west. They were repulsed.

107. Fierce fighting continued all day long on the 27th, and the South African aggressors were repulsed three times after sustaining numerous losses.

108. On 28 August 1981, owing to the enemy's superiority and, above all, to their having destroyed anti-aircraft positions, the Angolan soldiers decided to withdraw from Ngiva.

109. On 29 August 1981, six days after the start of the invasion, the South African army already occupied an area of 40,000 sq km, including in particular the localities of Xangongo, Môngua, Humbe, Uia, Cuamato, Anhaca, Nehone, Mucope, Evale, Mupa and Ngiva.

110. However, they failed in their attempts to occupy Cahama, owing to the selfless and heroic resistance of the FAPLA units entrusted with the defence of that small town.

111. In the course of September, unable to advance beyond the Cahama line, the South Africans started to withdraw their heavy artillery and tanks, but kept light armoured car units on the terrain.

112. During this partial withdrawal the invaders took with them heavy and light vehicles, tractors and trailers, and also cattle, goods and various foodstuffs.

113. Up to the end of 1981, the South African army continued its aggressive actions, notably bombing raids, troop landings, mine-laying and ambushes.

114. Special mention should be made of yet another unsuccessful attempt to take Cahama carried out by heliborne troops on 26 October 1981. Significantly, that was the day when a delegation of the "Contact Group" on the Namibian problem arrived in the Angolan capital.

115. At present the entire strip south of the Cunene River is occupied by the South African army, which keeps it under constant patrol, using the air force and light units supported by cavalry and police dogs, carrying out ambushes and mining all access routes in order to prevent any attempt by the Angolan army to take back the region.

Attack on the Luanda oil refinery

116. On 30 November 1981, a South African commando unit, probably coming from the sea, carried out a large-scale sabotage action against the Luanda oil refinery, with the aim of paralysing economic life, creating panic among the population of the capital and cutting fuel supplies to the Angolan armed forces who, in the south, were resisting the invasion launched on 23 August that year by the Pretoria regime.

117. Another factor which proves the direct relationship between the sabotage of the refinery and the South African invasion of Angolan territory is the fact that according to certain information the Pretoria regime intended at that time to launch a general offensive against Kuando Kubango Province.

The purpose, therefore, was to cut supplies to Angolan military units, so as to prevent them from repelling South African aggression!

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118. The attack on the Luanda oil refinery, which affected especially the storage area and spread to the first refining stage, or the "old part", was carried out with powerful explosive charges placed in strategic spots in the storage area. The explosion caused an extensive fire, and only the prompt intervention of the refinery workers prevented it from attaining the proportions of a catastrophe.

119. Indeed, owing to this prompt and courageous action, it was possible to prevent the fire from spreading, and it was brought under control on the same day as the attack, although not completely extinguished until a few days later.

120. Found on the site of the disaster were a number of unexploded charges, packs containing assorted documents, weapons, and the corpses of several of the attackers, providing irrefutable proof of Pretoria's direct participation in the irresponsible attack on the Luanda oil refinery.

121. Four days after the fire was completely extinguished it became possible to see the extent to which the act of sabotage by the South African racists had failed to achieve the intended results.

The attack resulted in the destruction of some fuel tanks, also damaging some pipes and valves and a unit no longer in operation; but the refining plant and most of the tanks were intact, so that stored levels remained sufficient to ensure the continuity of supplies to the consumer market.

122. Nevertheless, a number of preventive steps were taken, such as importing some refined products and introducing slight rationing of fuel supplies, which did not greatly affect the normal life of the people.

123. A little over three months later, on 2 March 1982, the parts of the Luanda oil refinery affected by the South African sabotage went into operation again, after repairs which cost 12,550,000 dollars.

124. If we add this figure to the 24 million dollars the People's

Republic of Angola lost between December 1981 and March 1982, owing to 40,000 tonnes per month not exported, the total cost of damage caused by the sabotage of the refinery amounts to 36,550,000 dollars.

Assessment of damage

125. In the course of 1981, the following human losses as a result of South African aggression were registered:

- 206 soldiers killed
- 389 soldiers wounded
- 1086 soldiers missing
- 158 civilians killed
- 265 civilians wounded
- 160,000 homeless persons

126. These figures are far from representing the true scale and tragedy of the situation, since as from 23 August 1981 almost all of Cunene Province fell into South African hands, making it impossible to make an accurate assessment of the damage caused by South African actions during this period.

127. With regard to social and economic effects, a full assessment is also difficult for the reasons mentioned, but they amounted to a total of about 400 million dollars, a higher figure than in previous years.

128. The increase is mainly due to the South African army's occupation of a vast part of Cunene Province, where they have destroyed towns and villages such as Ngiva, Cahama, Chibemba and Xangongo, together with housing, hospitals, schools and public buildings.

The South African regime's sabotage of the Luanda oil refinery also contributed substantially to the increase.

129. Broken down by sector, the staggeringly high damages are as follows:

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Agriculture and livestock production, 144,996,000 dollars
Industry and fisheries, 15,059,300 dollars
Construction, 33,800,000 dollars
Transport facilities, 28,130,000 dollars
Commerce and food supplies, 15,890,000 dollars
Administration, housing and services, 115,840,000 dollars
Oil refinery, 36,550,000 dollars

130. Added to the above figures, which represent the direct social and economic effects of South African aggression in 1981, are also the 170 million dollars estimated by the Angolan Government for immediate relief for 160,000 people forced to leave their homes because of the war and who are now in need of food, medical care, clothing and housing.

131. Finally, there are also human and social losses which it is impossible to assess in monetary terms, such as loss of life, the consequence of grave nutritional and material deficiencies, especially for children and old people, the interruption of schooling, insufficiencies in the social services, unemployment caused by the destruction of the means of production, and so forth. There can never be any compensation for these social and economic losses, because they are irreparable.

CHAPTER III

CONDEMNATION BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

A. Condemnation by the UN, the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement

132. Throughout these years of continuous aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, the international community has not failed to condemn the criminal policy of the racist South African regime, demanding the cessation of all acts of aggression and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola. Such condemnation has assumed various forms, through the stand taken by governments, international governmental and non-governmental organisations, as well as organisations and individuals from all over the world and all walks of life.

133. In this virtually universal condemnation, special mention should be made of action taken by the United Nations and different agencies which are part of the United Nations system. At almost all its ordinary sessions, the United Nations General Assembly has expressed unequivocal condemnation of the racist South African regime for the acts of aggression continuously committed against the People's Republic of Angola.

134. The Security Council, as the body with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has also dealt with the situation created by South African aggression on a number of occasions, taking a position especially after the occurrence of the large-scale invasions and acts of aggression cyclically launched by the racist South African army.

It successively adopted resolutions 387 (1976) of 31 March

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1976, 428 (1978) of 6 May 1978, 447 (1979) of 28 March 1979, 454 (1979) of 2 November 1979 and 475 (1980) of 27 June 1980.

In all these resolutions, some of them adopted unanimously and the others only with the abstention of some western countries, the acts of aggression committed against the People's Republic of Angola were invariably condemned, the immediate cessation of these acts and scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola demanded, and the racist South African regime's obligation to pay compensation for all the damage caused stressed.

135. In 1981, after the big invasion in August ("Operation Protea"), the Security Council met once again to deal with the situation prevailing in southern Angola, at the express request of the President of the People's Republic of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos, in a telegram addressed to the United Nations Secretary-General on 26 August. After discussion, a draft resolution was presented to the Council which "strongly" condemned South Africa, demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African troops from Angolan territory, recognised the right of the People's Republic of Angola to full and adequate compensation, decided on the application of mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and, finally, decided to send a commission of enquiry to Angola to assess the situation. The resolution was voted for by the overwhelming majority of Member States of the Security Council (France, China, Soviet Union, Spain, Mexico, German Democratic Republic, Niger, Panama, Tunisia, Uganda, Ireland, Phillipines and Japan, with Great Britain abstaining), but it was not adopted because of the United States' veto.

136. In the Organisation of African Unity, too, the bellicose and aggressive attitude of the Republic of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola has also always met with most clear and firm condemnation. This condemnation was expressed, among other ways, by the adoption of successive resolutions by the OAU Council of Ministers, notably CM/Res. 535 (XXVIII), CM/Res. 537 (XXVIII), CM/Res. 551 (XXIX), CM/Res. 629 (XXXI), CM/Res. 788 (XXXV), CM/Res. 827 (XXXVI), CM/Res. 828

(XXXVII), CM/Res. 830 (XXXVII). CM/Res. 853 (XXXVII) and CM/Res. 854 (XXXVII).

137. The same attitude of condemning the racist South African regime and expressing solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola has been strongly and repeatedly affirmed by the Non-Aligned Movement, and special mention should be made of the positions taken by Non-Aligned Summits. In items 43, 44 and 45, the "Political Declaration" adopted at the 5th Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries (Colombo, 16 to 19 August 1976), states: "The Conference recalled with particular indignation the unprovoked and criminal invasion of Angola on the eve of independence by the South African apartheid regime. . . ." "The Conference congratulated the Government and people of Angola for their heroic and victorious struggle against the racist invaders from South Africa and their allies. . . ." "The Conference called for the observance and application of resolution 387, of 31 March 1976, of the United Nations Security Council, which demands of the racist South African regime compensation for all the material and human losses caused by the war of aggression conducted by its army's regular forces against the People's Republic of Angola. . . ."

138. The 6th Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, also condemned the armed aggression and attempts at destabilisation carried out by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola (items 80 and 92, among others, of the "Political Declaration").

B. MISSIONS OF ENQUIRY AND TESTIMONIES

139. From 1979 up to now, there have been countless missions by bodies of the most diverse origins which have gone to Angola on fact-finding visits to see on the spot the reality of the acts of aggression committed against the People's Republic of Angola, which they have denounced to the world, and also their serious effects in terms of human and material losses.

140. The clear and unequivocal testimony gathered in the

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areas actually affected by impartial bodies who had direct contact with the victimised population and material proof of the bellicose acts, massacres and destruction, has demonstrated to the world the lying and base nature of the propaganda of the racist Pretoria regime, which sometimes merely denies its criminal actions and sometimes would have it believed that its actions are directed solely against purported SWAPO bases on Angolan territory.

Because it is impossible to list all the visits and testimonies there have been over the years, only the most important are mentioned here.

141. After the massacre of Cassinga on 4 May 1978, a joint mission of the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and the WHO (World Health Organisation) went to Angola from 24 to 28 May, and paid a lengthy visit to Cassinga. The mission was composed of Mr Bwakira, representative of the UNHCR, Mr Selstrom, co-ordinator of UNHCR programmes, and Dr Ortiz-Blasco, WHO representative. We quote only the following passage of the report of that mission, which was submitted to the UN Secretary-General and published as Annex V to United Nations document S/13473 of 27 July 1979:

“Profoundly shocked representatives United Nations system have been able establish on spot Cassinga extreme barbarity and spirit systematic extermination and destruction against a population of refugees under UNHCR mandate and beneficiary assistance United Nations specialised agencies. The civilian character of this population is vouched for by all that United Nations mission has been able to verify as was already well established by preceding mission UNICEF realised from 10 to 14 April before attack.”

142. From 31 July to 4 August 1980, there was a visit to Angola by a Commission of Inquiry of the Organisation of African Unity, created on the decision of the 35th OAU Council of Ministers held in Freetown from 10 to 30 July 1980.

The Commission was headed by Anami Akakpo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Togo, and during the visit it gathered facts and

testimonies in Huíla and Cunene provinces. The Commission's report was submitted to the 37th OAU Council of Ministers, held in Addis Ababa from 23 February to 1 March (CM/1092).

143. In August 1980, a mission of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist and Apartheid Regime in Southern Africa, composed of French lawyer Leo Matarasso, Chilean Air Force General Sergio Polete, American lawyer Judith Bourne, Professor A. Babing of the German Democratic Republic and Professor Paulette Pierson-Mathy, travelled to Angola on a fact-finding mission, staying there from 6 to 13 August. The mission went to the town of Lubango and other places in southern Angola, including the Serra da Leba highway. They saw on the spot the damage caused by the recent bombing raids there. The report of the mission, published in United Nations document 81-00709, "Notes and Documents" No. 2/81 of January 1981 of the Centre Against Apartheid, states:

"The mission has confirmed the findings of previous observers and investigators that civilians have been major victims of South African aggression. Neither women nor children, nor the aged are spared and the targets aimed at are the vital economic structures of Angola."

144. The 2nd meeting of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist and Apartheid Regime in Southern Africa was held in Luanda from 30 January to 4 February 1981. It was attended by the 29 members of the Commission, internationally known personalities including the President of the Commission, Sean McBride, Nobel Prize and Lenin Peace Prize winner, former Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs and first United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. Also represented were five governmental and 23 non-governmental organisations. The Commission had the opportunity to hear the testimony of witnesses of acts of aggression and to see countless material proofs of damage caused. During the proceedings a mission composed of eight members of the Commission visited Huíla and Cunene provinces to see the facts on the spot. All the documents of the 2nd meeting of the Commission were compiled in a book published in Portuguese (Edição DEJ, Luanda 1981) and in French and English

(International Commission of Inquiry, Brussels, 1982). The conclusions are attached as an annex to this document.

145. Following a request by the Angolan Government addressed to the United Nations Secretary-General, a Multi-Agency Mission of Inquiry set up by the United Nations Disaster Relief Organisation (UNDRO), visited Angola from 29 August to 13 September 1981. In addition to UNDRO, the mission included representatives of UNICEF, WHO, the UNHCR, the World Food Programme and the United Nations Development Programme. The mission made a careful study of the effects of the big invasion of August 1981 on displaced and affected persons, and also assessed these people's immediate assistance needs. The report of the mission was published in UNDRO document GE 81-02936, under the title "Displaced and Drought-affected Persons in Southern and Central Angola".

146. Also with a view to seeing the effects of the big invasion of August 1981, a further mission of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist and Apartheid Regime in Southern Africa, composed of Paulette Pierson-Mathy, professor in the Law Faculty of the University of Brussels, and Reg Austin, professor in the Law Faculty of the University of London, went to Angola from 1 to 9 October 1981 and visited a number of places in Huíla and Cunene provinces. Their report was published in United Nations document 82-10321, "Notes and Documents" No. 12/82 of April 1982 of the Centre Against Apartheid. We quote the following passage:

"The mission assembled incontrovertible proof that this South African invasion involves a daily system of air attacks and ground operations that are terrorising the population and destroying the economy and infrastructure of the province. The mission noted that the main target is the land and people of Angola. The South African military operations are concentrated on the Angolan population and civilian objectives (administrative buildings, small shops, civilian means of transport, schools, peasant huts, fields and herds). ."

147. From 23 to 27 January 1982, there was a visit to Angola by a Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of Apartheid set up by the EEC/ACP and headed by the President of the European Parliament, Mr Giovanni Bersani. The Commission gathered facts and proofs regarding the racist Pretoria regime's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and presented a report to the EEC/ACP Consultative Meeting of the European Parliament, held in Harare, Zimbabwe, in the first week of February 1982.

C. INTERNATIONAL LAW

148. The behaviour of the racist South African regime constitutes the most complete, flagrant and persistent negation and violation of the most elementary norms and principles of international law. This negation and violation can be broken down into three main aspects—the practice of racism and apartheid in South Africa itself, the illegal occupation of Namibia and aggression against sovereign neighbouring States. This has been analysed, noted and strongly condemned by the international community as a whole. Unfortunately, this virtually universal condemnation has not been accompanied by practical and effective sanctions to put an end to the criminal activity of a regime which, frequently and quite rightly, is today regarded as the most loathsome in the world.

149. The invasions and armed occupation, air and ground attacks, acts of sabotage, indiscriminate massacres of the defenceless population, destruction and damaging of civilian economic targets and infrastructures, provocations, reconnaissance flights and other aggressive actions carried out by South African troops supported by mercenaries and supplemented by Unita puppet groupings, in a premeditated, persistent and protracted manner, constitute systematic and massive violation of the sovereignty and independence of the People's Republic of Angola and its territorial integrity. The intensity and gravity of this action means the imposition on the People's Republic of Angola of an undeclared and unprovoked real state of war.

150. This action by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola violates such fundamental principles as the

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prohibition on the threat or use of force in international relations, respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in internal affairs, principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and further developed in the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States (Res. 2625 (XXV) of the United Nations General Assembly). It is also indisputably and characteristically aggression in accordance with the Definition of Aggression (Res. 3314 (XXXIX) of the General Assembly), which states in Article 1:

“Aggression is the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations. . . .”

Article 3 of the Definition specifically defines as an act of aggression:

“The invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof.”

151. The definition of South Africa's behaviour as constituting aggression—which definition has also been made by the United Nations Security Council although that body has never followed up that fact with action provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter—signifies the unequivocally criminal nature of that behaviour under international law. According to the Definition of Aggression quoted above:

“A war of aggression is a crime against international peace. Aggression gives rise to international responsibility.”

152. Under international law, there can be no pretext, excuse or justification for aggression. Total respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States is a categorical imperative. Therefore, the above-mentioned resolution 3314 (XXXIX) states:

“No consideration of whatever nature, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, may serve as a justification for aggression.”

153. Despite this, the racist Pretoria regime has sometimes tried to justify its action with fallacious pretexts, seeking a semblance of international legal cover for them. It has invoked either the exercise of the right of legitimate self-defence against alleged “terrorist” attacks by SWAPO, or an imaginary right of “hot pursuit” against SWAPO combatants inside Angolan territory.

The above description of the kind of actions carried out over the years by South African troops and the fact that they have been directed essentially against the Angolan army, against the defenceless civilian population and against economic targets, clearly shows that this line of argument is utterly groundless.

154. The right of individual or collective self-defence is provided for in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter as a lawful reaction to an armed attack against a Member of the United Nations. However, South Africa’s borders are thousands of kilometres from Angola and its territory has never been subject to an armed attack or any armed provocation by the People’s Republic of Angola.

In the same way, the People’s Republic of Angola has never made any armed attack or any armed provocation against the territory of Namibia, and not once have the Angolan armed forces crossed that territory’s border.

155. Indeed, the occupation of Namibia by the racist South African regime is illegal, since the United Nations withdrew from South Africa the mandate entrusted to it by the League of Nations and placed the territory under the administration and direct responsibility of the United Nations (General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI)). This was confirmed by Security Council resolution 276 (1970) and recognised by the advisory opinion of 21 June 1971 of the International Court of Justice.

156. In addition to this illegality, the continued occupation of

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Namibia by South Africa, preventing the Namibian people from freely exercising their right to self-determination, is in itself an act of aggression. In resolution 36/121-A of 10 December 1981, the General Assembly:

“Declares that the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa continues to constitute an act of aggression against the Namibian people and against the United Nations, which has direct responsibility for the Territory until independence.”

157. Juridically, an aggressor cannot benefit from or avail itself of the fact of its aggression. Hence the racist Pretoria regime can in no way resort to the justification of purported self-defence.

Moreover, Article 51 of the United Nations Charter states that the State that invokes self-defence should immediately report to the Security Council all the measures taken in the exercise of this right. This is not what South Africa has done. On the contrary, it is the People's Republic of Angola that has immediately reported to the Security Council the acts of aggression it has been subjected to.

158. Invoking a purported right of “hot pursuit” against SWAPO combatants, apart from having no basis in fact as already stated, is juridically invalid. International law recognises this right only on the high seas, and even then in such terms that the pursuit does not actually threaten the sovereignty of other States. On land the right of hot pursuit is unknown in international law. And even were this not so, such a right would be inconceivable in a situation such as the case in point, where the alleged hot pursuit is from an illegally occupied territory like Namibia.

159. Acts of resistance to the authority of the illegal occupier by national liberation movements are entirely legitimate and cannot in any way be compared juridically with acts of “terrorism”, as the Pretoria regime claims.

In December 1973, SWAPO was recognised by resolution 3111 (XXVIII) of the United Nations General Assembly as “the authentic representative of the Namibian people”, and later, in resolution 31/146 (1976), as the “sole and authentic representative

of the Namibian people", which recognition was subsequently reaffirmed in various resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, the OAU and a number of international organisations.

160. Therefore, SWAPO has the right to resist by every possible means, including armed struggle, the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist South African regime.

Under the above-mentioned Declaration on the Principles of International Law (Res. 2625 (XXXV) of 24 October 1970),

"Every State has the duty to refrain from any forcible action which deprives peoples . . . of their right to self-determination and independence. In their actions against, and resistance to, such forcible action in pursuit of the exercise of their right to self-determination, such peoples are entitled to seek and to receive support in accordance with the purpose and principles of the Charter."

161. The United Nations Security Council and General Assembly have affirmed the complete legitimacy of the Namibian people's struggle to put an end to South African occupation and, consequently, the legitimacy in that struggle of any assistance given to them by other States. In resolution 296 (1969), the Security Council calls on "all States to intensify their moral and material assistance to the Namibian people in their struggle against foreign occupation". In resolution 36/121-A of 10 December 1981, the General Assembly, as it moreover had already done in a number of previous resolutions,

"Calls upon Member States, specialised agencies and other international organisations to render sustained and increased support and material, financial, military and other assistance to SWAPO to enable it to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia."

162. Therefore, the staunch help the People's Republic of Angola has been giving to SWAPO, as the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, unquestionably constitutes the strict fulfilment of an international legal duty, in compliance

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with the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law. This has been specifically stated by the United Nations and by the Security Council itself (Res. 428 (1978) and 447 (1979). In the latter resolution, the Council

“Commends the People’s Republic of Angola . . . for [its] steadfast support of the people of Namibia in their just and legitimate struggle against the illegal occupation of their territory by South Africa and for the enjoyment of their inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence.”

163. In its continuous aggression against the People’s Republic of Angola, the racist South African army has repeatedly used methods which are a clear violation of the laws and customs of war, as codified in the 1907 Hague Convention, the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the 1977 Additional Protocol. Indeed, the humanitarian law of war prohibits, in particular, attacks on purely civilian targets, the destruction and damaging of towns and villages totally unjustified by military requirements, and ill-treatment and other needless suffering deliberately inflicted by the racist South African troops.

164. All such acts are war crimes and crimes against humanity as defined by the Nuremberg Principles, which were recognised in the United Nations General Assembly resolution of 11 December 1946 as principles of international law.

165. Apart from South Africa’s international responsibility, as an aggressor State, international law also postulates the international penal responsibility of the individuals who committed the crimes. The Nuremberg Principles establish the following:

“The official position of defendants, whether as Heads of State or responsible officials in Government Departments, shall not be considered as freeing them from responsibility or mitigating punishment.” “The fact that the defendant acted pursuant to order of his Government or of a superior shall not free him from responsibility, but may be considered in mitigation of punishment if the Tribunal determines that justice so requires.”

166. This international responsibility of South Africa, its leaders and its agents, for the practice of war crimes against humanity is also juridically applicable in the specific context of the war of aggression it is waging against the Namibian people and their legitimate representative, SWAPO. Indeed, the use of armed force against SWAPO and the Namibian people constitutes an international armed conflict, to which the laws or customs of war are wholly applicable. In Article 1 of the Additional Protocol to the 1949 Geneva Conventions relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), signed in Geneva on 10 June 1977, it is specifically stated that the provisions of the Protocol apply to

“... armed conflicts in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.”

Hence, members of SWAPO are legitimate combatants under international law, and they are entitled to prisoner-of-war status when captured in combat.

167. From all the foregoing, the behaviour of the racist South African regime cannot but be regarded as illegal, criminal and in violation of the most elementary norms and principles of international law. This behaviour implies, to the highest degree and with the utmost gravity, the international responsibility of the racist South African government and—not only as regards aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other sovereign neighbouring States, but also because of the occupation and domination of Namibia and the oppression of the South African people and their subjection to apartheid—fully justifies that the Security Council, in its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should immediately impose on the Pretoria regime the comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

XIV

Only thus will it be possible to put an end to the barbarousness and criminal bestiality of the most loathsome regime in the world.

This is an irrefutable demand of the universal legal conscience, the international community and the peoples of the whole world, who aspire to peace, justice and freedom!

APPENDIX

SUMMARY OF ACTS OF AGGRESSION COMMITTED AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1982

1. In the first half of 1982 the occupation of a large strip of Angolan territory south of the Cunene River continued, while there was at the same time a substantial increase in enemy actions against military and civilian targets, against the population and economic targets.

Meanwhile, an increased number of ground reconnaissance operations and the massing of troops and all kinds of equipment on the border indicated that a new big invasion of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola was being prepared.

2. During this period, South African forces carried out 375 reconnaissance flights, 16 bombing and strafing raids, 85 landings of heliborne troops, 2 shelling incidents, 5 ground reconnaissance operations and 37 build-ups of troops and material.
3. Principal actions were as follows:

2 January - South African troops supported by 3 helicopters attacked a combined group (FAPLA-FAR) in the area of the Mujombe farm, resulting in one Cuban soldier killed and a Cuban soldier missing.

18 January - South African troops ambushed 2 FAPLA vehicles in the area of Chicusse, resulting in 1 FAPLA killed, 1 FAPLA wounded, 2 FAPLA missing and 2 vehicles destroyed.

19 January - FAPLA shot down a South African Puma helicopter in the area between Chiede and Namacunde.

21 January - Three South African Mirages strafed a FAPLA vehicle on the Cahama-Chicusse road.

7 February - There were a number of bombing raids in the Mujombe area.

8 February - FAPLA shot down a South African Puma helicopter between Uia and Mujombe, killing its occupants.

16 February - South African troops mined the Uia area. They ambushed a FAPLA group in the same area, wounding 7.

II

27 February – South African troops, comprising 200 armed men with armoured cars, massed in the area of Catequero and Humbe.

1 March – Heliborne South African troops landed in the Catequero area.

6 March – Ground attack against FAPLA south of Chipelongo.

4 April – Four South African Mirages attacked Chibemba, wounding a civilian.

21 April – Two South African aircraft bombed Mulondo, resulting in 1 FAPLA killed, 2 FAPLA wounded and 2 children killed.

26 April – Bombing of Mupa, resulting in 1 civilian killed and 6 civilians wounded.

27 April – 3 FAPLA vehicles strafed on the Cahama-Chicusse road, killing 3 FAPLA, wounding 9 and destroying 3 vehicles.

14 May – Ten SAAF aircraft bombed the municipality of Jamba and the surrounding area, resulting in 7 civilians killed, 7 civilians wounded, a power station destroyed and a village destroyed.

15 May – A group of 4 to 6 Mirages bombed FAPLA positions in the Cuvango area. At the same time there was a further air attack on Jamba, this time repelled by FAPLA.

16 May – South African aircraft bombed Cahama at about 05.30, resulting in 6 FAPLA killed, 14 FAPLA wounded and 2 vehicles destroyed. Three South African aircraft were shot down and crashed in areas occupied by South African troops.

At about 16.30, 6 Mirages again bombed Cahama, resulting in 1 FAPLA killed and 3 FAPLA wounded. A plane was shot down.

22 June – Heliborne South African troops landed on the Cahama-Chibemba road and ambushed a FAPLA vehicle.

23 June – A group of South African troops landed from two Puma helicopters on the Mulondo-Kiteve road. Owing to FAPLA's reaction, they fled the area, leaving behind them engineering equipment.

4. Taken as a whole, South Africa's aggressive actions caused the following casualties and damage: 23 FAPLA killed, 1 Cuban killed, 10 civilians killed, 53 FAPLA wounded, 14 civilians wounded, 16 FAPLA missing, 1 Cuban missing, 7 vehicles destroyed, 1 bridge destroyed, 1 raft destroyed, 1 power station destroyed, 1 village destroyed.

On the other hand, Angolan anti-aircraft guns shot down 2 South African helicopters and 4 South African Impala Mk-2 aircraft.

ANNEX 1

TABLES SHOWING MATERIAL DAMAGE

1. Period from 27 March 1976 to 11 June 1979

| | Kz | US\$ |
|--|----------------------|--------------------|
| Agriculture and livestock | 4 305 495 000 | 142 500 000 |
| Construction | 654 314 384 | 21 656 000 |
| Transport facilities, machinery and various material | 1 595 208 560 | 52 797 000 |
| Fisheries | 536 298 500 | 17 750 000 |
| Commercial sector | 431 606 990 | 14 285 000 |
| Administration and services | 1 339 144 908 | 44 322 000 |
| TOTAL | 8 861 887 056 | 293 304 000 |

2. Period from 11 June 1979 to 31 December 1980

| | | |
|--|----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Agriculture and livestock</i> | | |
| Losses from unmarketed cattle | 720 000 000 | |
| Losses from misappropriated cattle | 37 000 000 | |
| Destruction of buildings, crops abandoned and cattle slaughtered | 486 000 000 | |
| SUB-TOTAL | 1 243 000 000 | |
| <i>Industry</i> | | |
| Damage to 12 factories in the Lubango area | 370 261 060 | 12 254 168 |
| <i>Construction</i> | | |
| Damage to railway line and tunnel in the Serra da Leba | 680 976 948 | |
| Other bridges destroyed | 340 139 000 | |
| SUB-TOTAL | 1 021 116 000 | 33 796 121 |
| <i>Transport facilities</i> | | |
| Vehicles destroyed and damaged | 635 699 492 | 21 039 898 |
| <i>Fisheries</i> | | |
| Activities not carried out | 151 070 000 | 5 000 000 |
| <i>Commercial sector</i> | | |
| Buildings and goods destroyed | 381 906 000 | 12 640 000 |
| <i>Health</i> | | |
| Destruction of medical posts and centres, medicines and hospital equipment | 114 801 629 | 3 799 617 |
| <i>Education</i> | | |
| Destruction of 15 schools, 2 students' hostels and assorted material | 40 084 374 | 1 326 682 |
| TOTAL | 3 957 939 503 | 230 996 805 |

II

3. Period from 1 January 1981 to 31 December 1981

Agriculture and livestock

| | | |
|---|----------------------|--------------------|
| Destruction of crops, reduction of cultivated areas | 2 800 000 000 | |
| Cattle killed and misappropriated | 680 000 000 | |
| Unmarketed cattle | 840 000 000 | |
| Destruction of buildings and equipment | 80 000 000 | |
| SUB-TOTAL | 4 400 000 000 | 144 966 000 |

Industry and fisheries

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|------------|
| Activities stopped or not carried out | 455 000 000 | 15 059 300 |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|------------|

Construction

| | | |
|--|----------------------|-------------------|
| Damaging of Xangongo bridge and other bridges and highways | 875 000 000 | |
| Destruction of machinery and equipment | 146 500 000 | |
| SUB-TOTAL | 1 021 500 000 | 33 800 000 |

Transport facilities

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|------------|
| Destruction and damaging of vehicles | 849 900 000 | 28 130 000 |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|------------|

Trade and supplies for the population

| | | |
|---|-------------|------------|
| Destruction of buildings containing stocks of foodstuffs and other consumer articles and disappearance of sums of money | 480 000 000 | 15 890 000 |
|---|-------------|------------|

Administration, services and housing

| | | |
|---|---------------|-------------|
| Destruction of infrastructure of towns and villages, (Ngiva, Cahama, Xangongo etc.), including houses, schools, hospitals | 3 500 000 000 | 115 840 000 |
|---|---------------|-------------|

Luanda oil refinery

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Repair of damage caused by sabotage | 379 185 700 | |
| Losses from non-export of fuel | 725 136 000 | |
| SUB-TOTAL | 1 104 321 700 | 36 550 000 |
| TOTAL | 11 790 569 000 | 390 235 300 |

4. General Assessment of Damage (1975-1981)

| | Kz | US\$ |
|--------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1975/76 | 202 433 800 000 | 6 700 000 000 |
| 1976/79 | 8 861 887 056 | 293 304 000 |
| 1979/80 | 3 957 938 505 | 230 996 805 |
| 1981 | 11 790 569 000 | 390 235 300 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 227 044 194 559 | 7 614 536 105 |

ANNEX 2

DATA ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE INVASION OF AUGUST 1981 ESTABLISHED BY THE MISSION OF INQUIRY COORDINATED BY UNDRO

Table 1—Assessment of Displaced Population after the Invasion

| Province | Number of displaced persons | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Total | Increase due to invasion | Men | Women | Children |
| Bié | | — | 37,500 | 52,500 | 60,000 |
| Huambo | 134,000 | — | 33,500 | 46,900 | 53,600 |
| Benguela | 47,000 | — | 11,750 | 16,450 | 18,800 |
| Huíla | 70,000 | + 17,000 | 17,500 | 24,500 | 28,000 |
| Cunene | 160,000 | +114,000 | 40,000 | 56,000 | 64,000 |
| Kuando Kubango | 20,000 | — | 5,000 | 7,000 | 8,000 |
| TOTAL | 581,000 | +131,000 | 145,250 | 203,350 | 232,400 |

Table 2—Population Affected by Drought

| Province | Number of persons affected | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| | Total | Men | Women | Children |
| Bié | 78,000 | 19,500 | 27,300 | 31,200 |
| Benguela | 65,000 | 16,250 | 22,750 | 26,000 |
| Huíla | 66,000 | 16,500 | 23,100 | 26,400 |
| Cunene | 18,000 | 4,500 | 6,300 | 7,200 |
| Kuando Kubango | 30,000 | 7,500 | 10,500 | 12,000 |
| Moçâmedes | 6,000 | 1,500 | 2,100 | 2,400 |
| TOTAL | 263,000 | 65,750 | 92,050 | 105,200 |

Table 3—Total Affected Population Lacking Assistance

| Province | Number of persons affected | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Total | Men | Women | Children |
| Bié | 150,000 | 37,500 | 52,500 | 60,000 |
| Huambo | 134,000 | 33,500 | 46,900 | 53,600 |
| Benguela | 65,000 | 16,250 | 22,750 | 26,000 |
| Huíla | 116,000 | 29,000 | 40,600 | 46,400 |
| Cunene | 160,000 | 40,000 | 56,000 | 64,000 |
| Kuando Kubango | 30,000 | 7,500 | 10,500 | 12,000 |
| Moçâmedes | 6,000 | 1,500 | 2,100 | 2,400 |
| TOTAL | 661,000 | 165,250 | 231,350 | 264,400 |

Source: Report of the Multi-Agency Fact-Finding Mission
(29 August-13 September 1981), published by UNDRO.

ANNEX 3

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE MPLA-WORKERS' PARTY ON SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

As is widely known, starting in early June the People's Republic of Angola has again been the victim of a large-scale attack by racist South African troops which, in view of the scale of the material and manpower resources used and the depth of penetration into our country, has *de facto* assumed the proportions of an invasion of the free and sovereign territory of Angola.

The pretext used to legitimise this gross violation of the most elementary and internationally recognised rights of sovereignty and independence is intended to divert attention from the true objectives of imperialism, which the racist regime in South Africa is faithfully carrying out.

On the one hand, the purpose is at all costs to cause the political, social and economic destabilisation of the People's Republic of Angola, in a vain attempt to prevent the consolidation and advance of our People's Democratic Revolution and the consequent establishment of a socialist regime in a region of the world which is particularly important in the context of the global strategy of imperialism.

The achievement of this objective involves the systematic destruction of goods and equipment needed for the economic and social reconstruction process in our country, and the constant massacre and bombing of the defenceless population in the southern part of our country, aimed at spreading terror and intimidation, lessening the people's capacity to respond to the watchwords of the MPLA-Workers' Party and demobilising them for the struggle. If these purposes were achieved, conditions would be created making it easier to introduce the Unita puppet bands whose main support is the Pretoria regime.

On the other hand, because the irreversible course of history points to an imminent solution to the problem to Namibia's independence, the racist South African authorities are desperately seeking to destroy the rearguard forces of the SWAPO combatants and to weaken them militarily by

disrupting their guerrilla units and demoralising their combatants. This activity is intended to neutralise SWAPO and put it at a disadvantage in forthcoming negotiations within the framework of United Nations resolutions on Namibia's independence, thus preventing the liberated area of mankind from being expanded by the establishment of another anti-imperialist regime in Southern Africa.

The vital importance assumed by this region of our continent, which explains all the imperialist aggressiveness against the People's Republic of Angola and SWAPO, and all the overt and covert manoeuvres to defend the South African regime, stems not only from the region's privileged geographical position for controlling the South Atlantic, but also from the important reserves of strategic raw materials in its sub-soil. The survival of the world imperialist system itself depends to a great extent on the control of these raw materials, on which the development of advanced industry, and more particularly of military industry, is based. If we bear in mind the growing scarcity of mining resources in the world, principally as regards strategic raw materials, and the fact that Southern Africa is the richest mineral region of our continent, it is easy to understand why imperialism and its agents are acting particularly aggressively in this region.

It is within this context that we must see the recent South African invasion of our country, to which the Angolan people and their armed wing, FAPLA, were able to give an adequate response. Once again the defeated South African troops were obliged to leave behind them a trail of desolation and death, innumerable innocent lives cut short, the destruction of schools, highways and hospitals, and the theft of cattle and all kinds of goods and equipment.

But the despair of the racists does not help them to learn the lessons of history, as shown by the recent attack on the municipality of Calai, in Kuando Kubango Province.

The complicity of western powers in these occurrences has been proved not only by the compromising silence shown during the invasion, but also by a number of other factors such as the coincidence of South African aggression against our country with reports that the US Congress is authorising the American executive to continue its aid to the Unita puppet grouping, and traitor Jonas Savimbi's recent trip to London.

However, the patriotic way in which the entire people of Angola rose up from Cabinda to the Cunene to crush the recent South African aggression makes us certain of the continuity of the revolution and of the readiness of the Angolan working people to make whatever sacrifices are needed to put into effect our socialist option and keep the torch of

proletarian internationalism burning bright.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party praises the action of all the combatants in the military and para-military forces for the victory achieved over the South African invading army and, on behalf of all the Angolan people, expresses its appreciation for the fighting capacity they have shown, the degree of resistance when put to the test, and the high political consciousness and revolutionary morality of the fighters in the face of the powerful racist war machine.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party also hails the courage and serenity of the martyred population of the provinces of Cunene and Kuando Kubango, who remained at their work posts confident of the action of our armed forces, and the patriotic spirit shown by the Angolan people everywhere in the country who in huge public demonstrations reaffirmed their fidelity to the political line of our Party and to Comrade President José Eduardo dos Santos. The enormous demonstration of the Angolan youth is unequivocal proof that the Angolan Revolution will continue its triumphant advance to final victory.

We once again reaffirm our desire to contribute to a peaceful solution of the problem of Namibia's independence, within the framework of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, and we demand that the appropriate international bodies take adequate measures to oblige the racist South African Government to respect and fulfil decisions taken by the United Nations.

We take this opportunity to express thanks for the countless proofs of militant solidarity shown by countries and political organisations that have raised their voices to condemn the South African racists' acts of aggression against our country.

The Angolan people, their vanguard Party, the MPLA-Workers' Party and the Government of the People's Republic of Angola reaffirm their full support for SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people fighting colonialism, imperialism and racism, and their commitment to the freedom struggle of all peoples still oppressed and exploited.

**The Struggle Continues!
Victory is Certain!**

Luanda, 31 July 1980.

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ANNEX 4

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTION 387 (1976)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 1906th meeting on 31 March 1976

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter of the Permanent Representative of Kenya on behalf of the African Group of States at the United Nations,

Having heard the statement of the representative of the People's Republic of Angola,

Recalling the principle that no State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State,

Recalling also the inherent and lawful right of every State, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to request assistance from any other State or group of States,

Bearing in mind that all Member States must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

Gravely concerned at the acts of aggression committed by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola and the violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity,

Condemning the utilisation by South Africa of the international Territory of Namibia to mount that aggression,

Gravely concerned also at the damage and destruction done by the South African invading forces in Angola and by their seizure of Angolan equipment and materials,

Noting the letter of the Permanent Representative of South Africa regarding the withdrawal of South African troops,

1. *Condemns* South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.
2. *Demands* that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

II

3. *Demands also* that South Africa desist from the utilisation of the international Territory of Namibia to mount provocative or aggressive acts against the People's Republic of Angola or any other neighbouring African State.
4. *Calls upon* the Government of South Africa to meet the just claims of the People's Republic of Angola for a full compensation for the damage and destruction inflicted on its State and for the restoration of the equipment and materials which its invading forces seized.
5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of the present resolution.

(Adopted by nine votes to none, with five abstentions—United States of America, France, Italy, Japan and Great Britain.)

RESOLUTION 428 (1978)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2078th meeting on 6 May 1978

The Security Council

Having considered the letter dated 5 May 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Angola transmitting a communication from the First Vice-Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Angola (S/12690) and the letter dated 5 May from the Permanent Representative of Zambia on behalf of the Group of African States at the United Nations (S/12693),

Having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of Angola,

Having heard the statement of Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organisation,

Bearing in mind that all Member States are obliged to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State and from acting in any manner inconsistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling its resolution 387 (1976) of 31 March 1976 in which, *inter alia*, it condemned South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and demanded that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola,

Gravely concerned at the armed invasions committed by South Africa in violation of the sovereignty, air space and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and in particular the armed invasion of Angola carried out on 4 May 1978,

Grieved at the tragic loss of human lives, including those of Namibian refugees in Angola, caused by the South African invasion of Angolan territory,

Concerned also at the damage and destruction done by the South African forces in Angola,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of

such rights as set forth in the Charter,

Reaffirming that the liberation of Namibia is one of the prerequisites for the attainment of justice and lasting peace in Southern Africa and for the furtherance of international peace and security,

Reliterating its grave concern at South Africa's brutal repression of the Namibian people and its persistent violation of their human rights as well as its efforts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and its aggressive military build-up in the area,

Reaffirming its condemnation of the militarisation of Namibia by the illegal occupation regime of South Africa,

1. *Strongly condemns* the latest armed invasion perpetrated by the South African racist regime against the People's Republic of Angola, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola;
2. *Condemns equally strongly* South Africa's utilisation of the international Territory of Namibia as a springboard for armed invasions of the People's Republic of Angola;
3. *Demands* the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African forces from Angola;
4. *Further demands* that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola ;
5. *Reaffirms* its support for the just and legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia for the attainment of their freedom and independence and for the maintenance of the territorial integrity of their country;
6. *Commends* the People's Republic of Angola for its continued support of the people of Namibia in their just and legitimate struggle;
7. *Demands* that South Africa put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia without further delay, in compliance with relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976;
8. *Decides* to meet again in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola by the South African racist regime in order to consider the adoption of more effective measures, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof.

(Adopted unanimously.)

RESOLUTION 447 (1979)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2139th meeting on 28 March 1979

The Security Council,

Having considered the request of the Permanent Representative of Angola contained in document S/13176, as well as his letter dated 16 March 1976 transmitting the text of a communiqué issued by the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola,

IV

Having heard the statement of the Vice-President of the South West Africa People's Organisation,

Recalling its resolution 387 (1976) of 31 March 1976, by which, *inter alia*, it condemned South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and demanded that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola,

Bearing in mind its resolution 428 (1978) of 6 May 1978, by which, *inter alia*, it solemnly warned that, in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, it would meet again in order to consider the adoption of more effective measures in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof,

Gravely concerned at the premeditated, persistent and sustained armed invasions committed by South Africa in violation of the sovereignty, air space and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola,

Convinced that the intensity and timing of these acts of armed invasion are intended to frustrate efforts at negotiated settlements in southern Africa, particularly in regard to the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978,

Grieved at the tragic and mounting loss in human life, including that of civilians and Namibian refugees in Angola and other front-line States, and concerned about the damage and wanton destruction of property caused by the South African armed invasions of Angola launched from Namibia, a territory which South Africa illegally occupies,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and all other relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the exercise of such rights as set forth in these resolutions,

Reaffirming also its condemnation of South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the militarisation of the territory, through which it persists in its suppression of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence as well as in its armed invasions against neighbouring African States,

1. *Condemns strongly* the racist regime of South Africa for its premeditated, persistent and sustained armed invasions of the People's Republic of Angola, which constitute a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country as well as a serious threat to international peace and security;
2. *Condemns strongly also* South Africa's utilisation of the international territory of Namibia as a springboard for armed invasion and destabilisation of the People's Republic of Angola;
3. *Demands* that South Africa cease immediately its provocative armed invasions against the People's Republic of Angola and that it respect forthwith the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country;
4. *Commends* the People's Republic of Angola and other front-line States for their steadfast support of the people of Namibia in their just and legitimate struggle

against the illegal occupation of their territory by South Africa and for the enjoyment of their inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence;

5. *Requests* Member States urgently to extend all necessary assistance to the People's Republic of Angola and other front-line States, in order to strengthen their defence capacities;
6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to obtain available information from the People's Republic of Angola on the human casualties and material and other damage resulting from repeated acts of aggression committed by the racist regime of South Africa;
7. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to submit such information to the Security Council not later than 30 April 1979, in order to enable it to determine the most effective sanctions in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations so as to ensure the cessation by South Africa of its acts of aggression against Angola and other front-line States.

(Approved by 12 votes to none, with three abstentions—United States of America, France and Great Britain.)

RESOLUTION 454 (1979)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2170th meeting on 2 November 1979

The Security Council,

Having considered the request of the Permanent Representative of Angola contained in document S/13595, as well as his note dated 31 October 1979 transmitting the text of a communiqué issued by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party (S/135900),

Having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola,

Recalling its resolutions 387 (1976) of 31 March 1976 and 447 (1979) of 28 March 1979, by which, *inter alia*, it condemned South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and demanded that South Africa should scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola,

Gravely concerned at the premeditated, persistent and sustained armed invasions committed by South Africa in violation of the sovereignty, air space and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola,

Convinced that the intensity and timing of these acts of armed invasion are intended to frustrate efforts at negotiated settlements in southern Africa, particularly in regard to the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978,

Grieved at the tragic loss in human life and concerned about the damage and destruction of property resulting from the repeated acts of aggression committed by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola,

Gravely concerned that these wanton acts of aggression by South Africa form a

consistent and sustained pattern of violations aimed at weakening the unrelenting support given by the front-line States to the movements for freedom and national liberation of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa,

1. *Strongly condemns* South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola;
2. *Calls upon* the Government of South Africa to cease immediately all acts of aggression and provocation against the People's Republic of Angola and forthwith to withdraw all its armed forces from Angola;
3. *Demands* that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola;
4. *Demands also* that South Africa desist forthwith from the utilisation of Namibia, a territory which it illegally occupies, to launch acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola or other neighbouring African States;
5. *Requests* Member States urgently to extend all necessary assistance to the People's Republic of Angola and other front-line States, in order to strengthen their defence capacities;
6. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

(Adopted by 12 votes to none, with three abstentions—United States of America, France and Great Britain.)

RESOLUTION 475 (1980)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2240th meeting on 27 June 1980

The Security Council,

Having considered the request by the Permanent Representative of Angola contained in document S/14022, in which he requested the convening of an urgent meeting of the Security Council,

Having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of Angola,

Recalling its resolutions 387 (1976), 428 (1978), 447 (1979) and 454 (1979), by which it, *inter alia*, condemned South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and demanded that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola,

Gravely concerned at the escalation of hostile, unprovoked and persistent acts of aggression and sustained armed invasions committed by the racist regime of South Africa in violation of the sovereignty, air space and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola,

Convinced that the intensity and timing of these acts of armed invasion are intended to frustrate efforts at negotiated settlements in southern Africa, particularly in regard to the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978),

Grieved at the tragic loss in human life, mainly that of civilians, and concerned about the damage and destruction of property, including bridges and livestock, resulting from the escalated acts of aggression and armed incursions by the racist regime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola,

Gravely concerned that these wanton acts of aggression by South Africa form a consistent and sustained pattern of violations aimed at weakening the unrelenting

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support given by the front-line States to the movements for freedom and national liberation of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa,

Conscious of the need to take effective measures to maintain international peace and security,

1. *Strongly condemns* the racist regime of South Africa for its premeditated, persistent and sustained armed invasions of the People's Republic of Angola, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country as well as a serious threat to international peace and security;
2. *Strongly condemns also* South Africa's utilisation of the international Territory of Namibia as a springboard for armed invasions and destabilisation of the People's Republic of Angola;
3. *Demands* that South Africa should withdraw forthwith all its military forces from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, cease all violations of Angola's air space and, henceforth, scrupulously respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola;
4. *Calls upon* all States to implement fully the arms embargo imposed against South Africa in Security Council resolution 418 (1977);
5. *Requests* Member States urgently to extend all necessary assistance to the People's Republic of Angola and the other front-line States, in order to strengthen their defence capacities in the face of South Africa's acts of aggression against these countries;
6. *Calls* for the payment by South Africa of full and adequate compensation to the People's Republic of Angola for the damage to life and property resulting from these acts of aggression;
7. *Decides* to meet again in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola by the South African racist regime, in order to consider the adoption of more effective measures in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof;
8. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

(Adopted by 12 votes to none, with three abstentions—United States of America, France and Great Britain.)

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ANNEX 5

SECOND SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE CRIMES OF THE RACIST AND APARTHEID REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (Luanda, 30 January-3 February 1981)

CONCLUSIONS

The International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist and Apartheid Regimes in Southern Africa held its second session from 30 January to 3 February 1981 in Luanda, People's Republic of Angola.

This session was attended by the Commission members and by different personalities and representatives of various organisations coming from 28 countries of Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas.

In concluding the second session, the International Commission of Inquiry has drawn attention to the universally recognised legal principles on which its action is based. It has gathered such information which shows a defiance of these principles. It has drawn legal conclusions of vital importance and proposed measures which make it possible to restore both justice and international legality.

I. Legal Background

The Charter of the United Nations, the Principles set forth by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, as well as many resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations, all these solemn instruments necessarily lead to the conclusion that apartheid is a crime under international law.

Namibia enjoys, in fact, the status of an international territory and was placed under the direct responsibility of the United Nations by General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) adopted on 27 October 1966. That the continuous presence of the South African authorities is illegal and all measures taken by those authorities are equally illegal and invalid was reaffirmed by the Security Council in its resolution 276 (1980) of 30 January 1980.

Therefore, the acts of violation and the contempt displayed by the South African regime for the body of international law established since 1950 by the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly, the Security Council and various other organs and bodies of the United Nations, and by many international conventions, have placed it in flagrant violation of all the principles and standards universally recognised by international society.

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II. Findings

The International Commission of Inquiry at the second session in Luanda, had the opportunity to gather information and establish certain facts during its session.

1. The reports submitted by the representatives of the People's Republic of Angola, of the Namibian people (South West Africa People's Organisation—SWAPO) and of the majority of the population of South Africa (African National Congress of South Africa—ANC), the testimony of many witnesses; the observation of the missions carried out on 1 February 1981 in Lubango, Xangongo and Cuamato in the Cunene region near the Namibian frontier and on the same day in the Kwanza Sul (Kalulo) Namibian refugee camp 250 km from Luanda; the visit to the Central Military Hospital have enabled the Commission to draw the following conclusions, which confirm and complete the results obtained by the International Commission of Inquiry into the acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, which visited Angola from 6–13 August 1980. (United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, Notes and Documents No. 2/81.)
2. Armed attacks, raids and temporary military occupation of the territory by the South African army (penetrating as deep as 150 km) and violation of Angolan air space perpetrated by these forces stationed at the military bases in Namibia, are carried on systematically and almost daily.
3. These attacks are aimed in particular against the industrial and agricultural infrastructure and against all means of communication in order to paralyse the economic system and, consequently, to create a state of permanent insecurity with the aim of destabilising the People's Republic of Angola.
4. This undeclared war is directly affecting large sections of the civilian population, who are victims of bombing, assassinations, abductions and torture.
5. Torture, in its most inhuman form, is systematically used by the South African regime against both the Angolan prisoners, the SWAPO and ANC combatants and sympathisers and even against the civilian population of these countries.
6. The arms and equipment used for war and repression by South Africa originate mainly from the United States of America, France, Belgium and other NATO member countries, as well as from Israel and from certain Latin American countries (through importation, manufacture under licence and fraud committed with export licences). Mercenaries of the same origins are associated with or even integrated into South African army units.
7. The very difficult living conditions of the 50,000 Namibian refugees in Angola (notably in the fields of hygiene, health and education) are the direct consequences of the illegal measures taken in Namibia by the South African regime.

III. Legal Conclusions

The International Commission of Inquiry therefore considers, from a legal point of view, that:

1. South Africa by its acts of armed aggression systematically and on an immense

scale violates the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola and the integrity of its territory. This justifies the application of the sanctions provided in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The People's Republic of Angola suffers from an undeclared war by virtue of the scale and the repeated and unprovoked nature of South African aggression. This is coupled with an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola by maintaining and using UNITA as a supplement to the South African army and to other mercenary forces to mask the aggression as a civil war. The same grave challenges to their sovereignty are suffered by the People's Republic of Mozambique and by the Republic of Zambia and they threaten Zimbabwe which has recently become independent.

2. The Government of South Africa has no right to justify its military actions by means of the rule of "hot pursuit" in search of SWAPO and the ANC. Such a right does not exist in international law in relation to pursuit on land and is inconceivable from a territory occupied illegally. Moreover, acts of resistance against South Africa by the national liberation movements, recognised as legitimate by law, cannot in any fashion be legally identified as the "terrorism" which South Africa tries to rely upon.
3. The recognised rights of the Namibian people are violated in outrageous fashion by the South African occupation. In fact, the Territory of Namibia falls directly under the responsibility of the United Nations; the right of the Namibian people to independence has been recognised by the United Nations in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960. Only the Namibian people have the right to exercise sovereignty over this territory's wealth and natural resources (Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia). South Africa's occupation of Namibia is a violation of the fundamental principle of a people's right to self-determination and it is a crime of aggression against the Namibian people. The so-called "government" set by up South Africa in Namibia is illegal. The sole authentic and internationally recognised representative of the Namibian people is SWAPO. This is accepted by the United Nations and OAU and various government organisations. SWAPO is based on total resistance including armed struggle and this entitles SWAPO to the fullest international aid which it now demands. The use of armed force against SWAPO and the Namibian people constitutes an international armed conflict and a serious challenge to the authority of the United Nations in this part of the world. The systematic massacres and torture carried out by South Africa against the population and the liberation movement fighters (who are treated worse than common criminals) are a violation of humanitarian law (the Hague Convention, the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Additional Protocol of 1977). They also constitute an open violation of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the 1966 International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights.
4. The repression of South Africa's majority population within the framework of apartheid, considered by international law to be a crime against humanity, expresses in the clearest form South Africa's colonialist nature and violates the rights of peoples to self-determination. South Africa's majority population asserts itself through a national liberation struggle and so establishes its right to use all means, including armed struggle itself, and to benefit from all forms of

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international aid from States, intergovernmental and other agencies. Members of the liberation movement (ANC) have the well-founded right to benefit from combatant status as defined in international conventions and from prisoner-of-war status when they are captured in combat. Under all circumstances they have the right to benefit from declarations and conventions on Human Rights. The South African regime, which does not in any way fulfil its international obligations, thus openly violates the fundamental precepts of international law and must therefore fully shoulder the responsibility.

5. The systematic and open violations of international law by the South African regime are only possible due to the direct and indirect complicity of a certain number of States which respect neither the spirit nor the letter of the United Nations resolutions and decisions, nor those of various international conventions, which are thus rendered ineffective. Certain NATO countries (notably the United States of America and France), Israel, China and certain Latin American and Caribbean States, together with transnational corporations supported by the big Western Powers, effectively provide South Africa and its army with the means to carry out their policies of apartheid and oppression. This complicity has reached the point of allowing South Africa to acquire nuclear military capability. The States which are the *de facto* allies of the South African regime, as well as the transnational corporations which collaborate with it, thus contribute actively to turn South Africa into one of the main threats to the maintenance of peace and security in the world. They jeopardise the fundamental precepts of the Charter.

IV. Recommendations

Consequently, the International Commission of Inquiry makes an urgent demand for the following measures:

1. Strict respect for the principles and rules of general international law, particularly those concerning the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and of the other front-line States and the protection of humanitarian law and human rights in southern Africa;
2. The carrying out of resolutions concerning the right of the Namibian people, whose authentic representative is SWAPO, to self-determination, a requirement established by the United Nations since 1973 and the recent Geneva Conference on Namibia (January 1981); the carrying out of resolutions in favour of the right to self-determination of the people of South Africa;
3. Effective application of sanctions already decided upon by the Security Council against South Africa, the application of sanctions provided for in Article 41 of the Charter (the breaking of economic relations and of all connection by rail, sea, air, post, telegraph, radio and other means of communication as well as severance of diplomatic relations), the oil embargo and forbidding of all nuclear collaboration having priority;
4. Payment of indemnity by South Africa for all losses and damage caused by the acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and the front-line States;
5. Pursuant to decisions taken by the Security Council, effective aid to the front-line States and national liberation movements to be guaranteed and increased

as an international right and duty for all.

Finally, taking into account the grave worsening of the situation, the International Commission of Inquiry appeals to governments, to all those international organisations both governmental and non-governmental and particularly to the International Red Cross and other humanitarian organisations, to intensify in concrete terms their solidarity with the struggle against the crimes and acts of aggression of the apartheid regime.

Luanda, 3 February 1981

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ANNEX 6
STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA-WORKERS'
PARTY ON THE CONSTANT SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION AGAINST
ANGOLA

Never since the historic year of 1976—when the South African troops were forced to leave the country following the occupation started shortly before independence—have the acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola attained the same degree of intensity and continuity as over the past six months.

The Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party, meeting in plenary session from 17 to 20 June, noted that this situation is directly connected with the arrogant, reactionary and militaristic policy of the new American administration and the complicity and manoeuvring of some western countries which, in the face of an undeclared war by the Pretoria regime, are seeking to justify their support for Angolan puppets as a way of counterbalancing the help the Government of the People's Republic of Angola gives to the people of Namibia, led by their revolutionary vanguard, SWAPO. This attitude ignores OAU and UN resolutions and the international support enjoyed by SWAPO, since, in the retrograde view of those circles, that revolutionary organisation is put on an equal footing with the Angolan puppet bands.

There are South Africans stationed in Namibia, near the Angolan border, like those at Dodge City, Delta Base and Omega Base, which are teeming with combined forces comprising South Africans, mercenaries from various countries and Angolan puppets, going by such names as Buffalo Regiment, Battalion 32 and Air Reconnaissance Squadron 17. These are military bases for aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and basic staging posts for South Africa's scorched earth policy in the Angolan provinces of Cunene and Kuando Kubango.

The violence of South African operations against Angola this year cannot be seen in isolation, as regards the decision-making or the action itself. It is closely bound up with the attempt to solve the problem of Namibian independence outside the framework of the United Nations and resolution 435/78, and the reactivation of the campaign by certain western news agencies against the alleged "Cuban and Soviet presence in Angola", together with the attempt to link that presence with possible difficulties in the early achievement of Namibian independence. It is also bound up with the attempt to strengthen Angolan puppet bands, as demonstrated by the recent discovery in Houston, Texas, of an illegal shipment of arms which was to have been sent to a band of Angolan puppets via Johannesburg. Neither can it be dissociated from the attempt to make Angola pay a high price for its support for SWAPO, forgetting that the independence and freedom of a people have no price and that the Angolan people stand firm in their decision to support the brother

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people of Namibia, whatever the sacrifices entailed. This year those sacrifices have already been as follows:

- 472 reconnaissance flights
- 22 incidents of strafing from the air
- 30 bombing raids
- 111 landings of heliborne troops
- 4 paratroop landings
- 2 incidents of artillery shelling
- 22 build-ups of forces and material

in addition to hundreds of civilians and military killed and wounded, destruction of transport facilities and social and economic targets, demolition of six bridges, destruction of entire villages, including the Evale commune, and also destruction of roadway infrastructure in the south of the country.

As stated by the President of the Party and the Republic, Comrade José Eduardo dos Santos: "There is in fact deliberate action, an undeclared war waged with the intention of intimidating the Angolan people and destabilising our country and progressive countries in the region. This bellicose and terrorist policy of Pretoria is the main cause of the instability and lack of security in Southern Africa today."

Faced with these acts of the loathsome apartheid regime, clearly supported by the US administration and some European countries, the Angolan people, now as in the past, will know how to find the necessary strength to respond to the situation properly.

In this respect, the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party calls upon all the Angolan people, and Party members in particular, with a view to vigilance, greater engagement in daily tasks, austerity and giving priority to resources related to the country's defence, combating laxity, disorganisation and indiscipline.

The Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party alerts world opinion and calls for the strengthening of help and solidarity from African countries, socialist countries, non-aligned countries and progressive and democratic forces throughout the world, with a view to taking practical measures against the aggression directed against a newly-independent African people who love peace, progress and freedom.

The Angolan people, with the internationalist help of friendly peoples and governments, especially those who, in the difficult days following independence, made a decisive contribution towards halting the aggression of the combined forces of imperialism, will continue to show their revolutionary determination forged in the long struggle for national liberation.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES
VICTORY IS CERTAIN**

LUANDA, 20 JUNE 1981—"YEAR OF DISCIPLINE AND CONTROL"

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA-WORKERS' PARTY

ANNEX 7

STATEMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA (2 September 1981)

In view of the gravity of the present situation in the southern part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola caused by the criminal invasion perpetrated by Pretoria's fascist and racist military forces, the Angolan Head of State and Government has informed the appropriate international bodies and institutions of the facts of the brutal aggression and its unforeseeable consequences.

Accordingly, in a message addressed to the UN Secretary-General he requested that an emergency meeting of the Security Council be called, with a view to taking the effective measures required by the situation created which, apart from other considerations, constitutes flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and a very serious threat to international peace and security.

Despite firm and unequivocal condemnations of the South African invasion and statements of solidarity by the most diverse countries and national and international organisations, the Government of the United States of America had no hesitation in shamefully using its veto to oppose the adoption of a Security Council resolution which strongly condemned the racist Pretoria regime for persistent acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and the illegal use of the international territory of Namibia for armed invasions and destabilisation of the People's Republic of Angola; demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory; called upon member States of the UN to give urgent material assistance to the People's Republic of Angola to enable it to ensure its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; called for the payment by the racist Pretoria regime of full and adequate compensation to the People's Republic of Angola for the losses in human lives and material damage caused by the acts of aggression; and decided to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions on the racist Pretoria regime, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

The veto used by the Government of the United States of America is not only an avowed demonstration of its close alliance with the loathsome apartheid system and undeniable evidence of the negation of the human rights of which it has cynically set itself up as the defender, but also an insolent challenge to the African community, in particular, and to the rest of the international community which has strongly condemned the criminal South African invasion.

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The Council of Ministers strongly denounces the shameful connivance of the Reagan Administration with the apartheid regime in the acts of aggression committed against the Angolan people and the People's Republic of Angola, and consequently against Africa, and vigorously protests against the abuse of the right of veto by the Government of the United States of America, which shows total disregard for the efforts made by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola with a view to the implementation of Security Council resolutions, especially resolution 435 (1978).

The Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Angola, meeting in special session, notes that the conditions exist for invoking the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Angola reaffirms its deep appreciation for the many expressions of condemnation of the South African invasion and the many demonstrations of solidarity with the Angolan people by the international community.

ANNEX 8

JOINT ANGOLAN-CUBAN STATEMENT (4 February 1982)

The presence of Cuban forces in Angola has been the subject of slanderous and malicious propaganda by the imperialists, especially the US imperialists who are shamefully trying to link it with the Namibian independence process as a way of preventing the implementation of resolutions already adopted by the United Nations.

In view of this situation, the Governments of Angola and Cuba regard it as their duty to make perfectly clear to world public opinion the reasons why Cuban forces are in Angola.

They recall that the reason why they came, at the request of President Agostinho Neto, and the reason why the said forces have stayed in Angola, at the request of his government, was to cooperate with the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) in their training and in defending the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola, threatened and attacked by the South African racists and by imperialism and its mercenaries and puppets.

With a view to achieving its plans to liquidate the Angolan revolutionary movement, on 14 October 1975 the Government of the United States of America sent the South African army against Angola, taking advantage of the fact of the racist South Africans' illegal occupation of Namibia, which still persists to this day.

In less than 20 days South African troops advanced more than 700 km inside Angolan territory. Meanwhile, from the north foreign regular and mercenary forces were moving threateningly close to the capital. It was at that moment that President Agostinho Neto requested Cuban military cooperation.

The heroic resistance of the Angolan people, supported by friendly internationalist forces, made it possible not only to halt the advance of the racist South African troops 200 km from Luanda, but to create conditions which obliged them to leave Angolan soil in March 1976.

The occupation of Angola by South Africa would have been a serious danger to States in the region, and indeed to all of independent Africa.

Cuba's internationalist help to the Angolan people in the resistance against the South African invaders was therefore a valuable contribution to the African people's struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid.

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Because these facts are in compliance with the principles and objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement, the 5th summit held in Sri Lanka in August 1976 "congratulated the Government and people of Angola for their heroic and victorious struggle against the racist South African invaders and their allies and praised the Republic of Cuba and other States which helped the Angolan people to frustrate the expansionist and colonialist strategy of the South African regime and its allies".

Therefore, the Angolan and Cuban Governments declare:

1. The continued presence or withdrawal of Cuban forces stationed in Angola is a bilateral matter between two sovereign States, the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.
2. The Governments of Angola and Cuba, merely one month after the expulsion of the racist South African troops, on 22 April 1976, agreed on a programme for the progressive reduction of those forces. In less than a year the Cuban military contingent was reduced by more than one-third, a process which was halted because of fresh external threats to Angola.
3. The magnitude and depth of the South African aggression against Cassinga in May 1978, and the threatening presence of paratroopers from NATO countries on the north-east border, were a grave danger to Angola and made it indispensable that the Cuban military forces remain with the necessary means to guarantee Angola's security and territorial integrity.
4. In mid-1979, the Governments of Angola and Cuba again agreed to start to carry out another programme for the gradual reduction of Cuban forces. Almost immediately afterwards, in September that year, the South Africans carried out repeated large-scale acts of aggression against Cunene and Huila provinces.
5. In August 1981, there was large-scale aggression with the invasion of Cunene Province by big contingents of regular South African troops supported by a powerful array of artillery, armoured cars and dozens of aircraft, culminating in the occupation of the provincial capital and a number of other places for several weeks. Despite the condemnation by the international community of this criminal aggression, also expressed in a United Nations Security Council resolution, albeit vetoed by the United States of America, the South African troops have persisted in their occupation of substantial areas of Cunene and Kuando Kubango provinces.
6. It is thus demonstrated that the implementation of the programme for the gradual reduction of Cuban forces in the People's Republic of Angola has on several occasions been halted as a result of constant and criminal acts of aggression against Angola.
7. In the course of these years, the United States of America and South Africa have stepped up the use, as an instrument of aggression against Angola, of counter-revolutionary bands who have their headquarters, training camps, military equipment depots and communications centres in Namibia. At the same time, the present US administration has been giving greater political, economic and military support to South Africa, its gendarme against the

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peoples of Southern Africa, in utter contempt for resolutions of the UN, OAU and Non-Aligned Movement, as well as world opinion. The danger to Angola and the other Frontline countries is therefore greater than ever.

8. In view of the hypocritical design to make the question of Namibian independence contingent on the withdrawal of the Cuban forces, the Angolan and Cuban Governments reiterate that the presence of the said forces, caused by the external aggression perpetrated by the racist and fascist South African troops, in close alliance with the United States of America, is an absolutely sovereign and legitimate act by both countries and, therefore, in no way related to the problem of Namibia.
9. If the selfless struggle of SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, and the demands of the international community succeed in achieving a true solution to the Namibian problem, based on the strict fulfilment of UN Security Council resolution 435/78, leading to a truly independent government and the total withdrawal of South African occupation troops beyond the Orange River, which would considerably decrease the dangers of aggression against Angola, the Angolan and Cuban governments will study the resumption of the programme for the gradual withdrawal of Cuban forces within a period of time agreed upon by both governments.
10. Consequently, when the Governments of Angola and Cuba so agree, the withdrawal of Cuban forces stationed on Angolan territory will take place on the sovereign decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, once all possibility of aggression or armed invasion has ceased. To this effect, the Government of Cuba reiterates that it will comply without any hesitation with any decision taken by the sovereign government of the People's Republic of Angola on the withdrawal of the said forces.

Luanda, 4 February 1982.

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ANNEX 9

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF ACTS OF AGGRESSION BY SOUTH AFRICA (1976-1981)

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|-----|------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | 30/6/76 03.30 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African plane overflew the Ruacaná border post. |
| 2. | 5/7/76 17.00 | Cunene | Infiltration | | About 60 South Africans entered Angola at a point 5 km from Oshikango (Santa Clara). They burned five villages and threw 25 hand grenades. |
| 3. | 6/7/76 | Kuando Kubango | Infiltration | | South African troops proceeded towards Baixo Longa. |
| 4. | 12/7/76 | Kuando Kubango | Infiltration | | The South Africans set up a base 120 km east of Vila Nova da Armada. They concentrated armoured cars at Savate. |
| 5. | 20/7/76 | Cunene | Act of provocation | | South African troops engaged in acts of provocation on the border at Ruacaná. |
| 6. | 23/7/76 09.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew the Ruacaná border post. |
| 7. | 23-24/8/76 | Kuando Kubango | Infiltration | | A group of 140 armed men headed by a South African captain and two lieutenants entered Angola. |
| 8. | 7/8/76 22.00 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew Menongue. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|-----|------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 9. | 15/8/76 | Cunene | Act of provocation | | A South African company took refuge across the border after an operation carried out by our forces. |
| 10. | 25/8/76 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew Dirico. |
| 11. | 28/11/76 | Kuando Kubango | Act of provocation | | South African troops at Cuangar received reinforcements. |
| 12. | 27/8/76 | Cunene | Act of provocation | | Two South African trucks (carrying troops) patrolled the Oshikango (Santa Clara) area, placing three AML-90s 500 metres from the Oshikango border post. |
| 13. | 28/8/76 | Kuando Kubango | Infiltration | | Four armoured vehicles (two AML-90s, one car and an AML-60) entered at Cuangar and later headed for Calai. |
| 14. | 30/8/76 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | | A light South African aircraft overflew the border with Kuando Kubango. |
| 15. | 30/8/76 | Kuando Kubango | Infiltration | | Two South African trucks carrying troops entered our territory. |
| 16. | 28/9/76 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African helicopter overflew the Ruacaná border post. |
| 17. | 30/9/76 17.25 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew the Ruacaná border post. |
| 18. | 1/10/76 21.45 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft violated our airspace, overflying the Ruacaná border post and heading for Calueque. |
| 19. | 1/10/76 | Cunene | Infiltration | | South African troops equipped with four 88 mm guns entered at Oshikango. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|-----|-------------------|----------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 20. | 10/10/76 20.30 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft violated our airspace up to 10 km inside the country, in the direction of Calueque. |
| 21. | 16/10/76 17.30 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft violated our airspace, overflying Ruacaná and Chitido. |
| 22. | 26/10/76 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African helicopter overflew the Ruacaná border post. |
| 23. | 29/10/76 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew the Ngiva area. |
| 24. | 18/11/76 22.30 | Cunene | Ground provocation | | South Africans opened fire on a number of bungalows near our positions at Oshikango. |
| 25. | 22/11/76 20.00 | Cunene | Ground provocation | | South African troops opened fire on our territory at Calueque with flares and mortar shells. |
| 26. | 23/11/76 18.25 | Cunene | Ground provocation | | South African soldiers fired in the direction of Calueque and sent up a number of flares. |
| 27. | 1/12/76 | Cunene | Ground provocation | | The South Africans stationed four armoured cars at Calueque. Artillery and radio units movements were noted in the direction of Calueque. |
| 28. | 2/12/76 | Cunene | Territorial violation | | Forty South African vehicles entered our territory at border marker 16, at Oshikango, and attacked the village of Himbadalunga, burning down several houses. |
| 29. | 11/12/76 | Cunene | Territorial violation | | The South Africans stationed a platoon of assault vehicles 1 km south of Ruacaná. |
| 30. | 11/12/76 | Cunene | Territorial violation | | South African troops—estimated at two sections—crossed the border between border markers 3 and 4. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|-----|----------------------------|----------|--------------------|---|--------------------|---|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 31. | 18/12/76 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | Two Mirages overflew our positions at Calueque. |
| 32. | 21/12/76 10.35 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A Mirage overflew our border from Chitado to Ruacanã. |
| 33. | 21/12/76 22.00-22.30 | Cunene | Ground provocation | | | South African troops opened fire on our Chitado post. |
| 34. | 22/12/76 | Cunene | Provocation | | | South African troops fired eight shots at our Chitado positions. |
| 35. | 22/12/76 04.00 08.00 | Cunene | Provocation | | | There was an exchange of fire between the TGFA (frontier guards) and South Africans when the latter attacked the border post at Ruacanã. Using loudspeakers, the South Africans threatened to invade our territory. |
| 36. | 22/12/76 09.00 11.00 | Cunene | Artillery shelling | 3 civilians killed 7 civilians wounded | | South Africans fired 90 mm artillery shells in the Calueque area. |
| 37. | 22/12/76 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African Mirage overflew the Ruacanã dam at low altitude. |
| 38. | 23/12/76 20.30 | Cunene | Provocation | | | Eight armoured cars appeared at the gates (centre) at Calueque and threatened our forces. They withdrew without incident. |
| 39. | 23/12/76 | Cunene | Provocation | | | South African forces opened fire on Calueque with heavy and light weapons while a South African aircraft overflew the position. |
| 40. | 24/12/76 | Cunene | Provocation | | | The South Africans strengthened their positions, claiming the MPLA was preparing an attack. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|-----|------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|--|---|
| 41. | 28/12/76 | Cunene | Ground provocation | | South African reconnaissance vehicles crossed the border at Ruacaná. |
| 42. | 9/1/77 | Cunene | Airspace violation | 3 TGFA wounded | A helicopter overflew and strafed our national territory at Namacunde. |
| 43. | 10/1/77 | Cunene | Air attack | 2 FAPLA killed 1 FAPLA wounded | Five South African helicopters overflew Namacunde and strafed the post. |
| 44. | 3/2/77 | Kuando Kubango | Troop build-up | | South African troops massed at Luiana, also sending UNITA men there. |
| 45. | 3/2/77 | Cunene | Artillery shelling | 3 civilians killed 19 civilians wounded | South African troops shelled border marker 3 at Dombondola for 90 minutes with artillery and mortars. |
| 46. | 3/2/77 | Kuando Kubango | Territorial violation | | After crossing the border, South African troops massed at Luiana. |
| 47. | 8/2/77 | Cunene | Territorial violation | 30 houses burnt 16 people killed including 4 children 4 civilians wounded | South Africans crossed the border at Dombondola and Naulila with armoured cars and jeeps, staying in Angola for five hours. |
| 48. | 14/2/77 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew the town of Ngiva at an altitude of less than 3 km. |
| 49. | 5/3/77 09.41 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African reconnaissance plane overflew Ruacaná and Caluque for 20 minutes. |
| 50. | 6/3/77 09.00 | Kuando Kubango | Ground attack | 1 FAPLA killed 1 civilian killed 13 civilians wounded | South African troops attacked Cuangar. |
| 51. | 6/3/77 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace and territorial violation | | South African forces violated our airspace and territory in the area of the Kuando River. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|-----|------------------|--|----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---|
| | | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 52. | 15/4/77 | | Kuando Kubango | Ground attack | 2 dead | 3 wounded | Motorised South African infantry forces attacked Chindimba and Chimata. |
| 53. | 24/4/77 10.00 | | Cunene | Border provocation | 1 TGFA killed | 3 TGFA wounded | South Africans opened fire on our positions at the Oshikango border post. |
| 54. | 26/4/77 | | Cunene | Ground attack | 8 FAPLA killed | 2 civilians killed | South Africans attacked the border post at marker 3, seized a 75 mm piece of artillery and uniforms, burned food reserves and destroyed the post. |
| 55. | 5/5/77 | | Cunene | Border provocations | 1 FAPLA wounded | | South Africans appeared at post No. 1 at Calueque with three armoured cars and an infantry section, firing four times. |
| 56. | 12/5/77 14.00 | | Cunene | Territorial violation | | | A South African convoy of 14 armoured cars and 4 trucks loaded with troops crossed the border at the Ruacanã border post and stayed on our territory for half an hour. |
| 57. | 30/5/77 | | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace, entering at border marker 3 and overflying Xangongo. |
| 58. | 6/6/77 | | Kuando Kubango | Bombing attack | 7 civilians killed | 3 civilians wounded | There was a serious situation in Kuando Kubango when the South Africans bombed the town of Mucusso as well as the barracks. A number of people were taken away and reported missing after the attack. |
| 59. | 11/6/77 | | Cunene | Troop build-up | | | There was a build-up of South African troops on our border at Calueque. |
| 60. | 29/7/77 | | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | | | A South African helicopter overflew Calai for 20 minutes. |
| 61. | 29/7/77 | | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | | | Two South African aircraft crossed the border at Calai. |
| 62. | 31/7/77 | | Cunene | Ground attack | 15 civilians killed | 18 civilians wounded | South African artillery opened fire in the direction of Oshikango. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|-----|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------|--|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 63. | 10/8/77 | Cunene | Ground attack | 1 FAPLA killed 32 civilians killed 6 civilians wounded | | South African forces supported by armoured vehicles attacked Oshikango and the border post at marker 3. In Calueque they carried out mortar shelling for 15 minutes. |
| 64. | 11/8/77 | Kuando Kubango | Ground attack | 21 civilians killed 4 civilians wounded | | South African infantry supported by armoured cars and helicopters bombed and occupied the town of Dirico. Many people were forced to abandon their homes. |
| 65. | 19/8/77 11.50 | Cunene | Ground attack | 1 FAPLA killed 10 civilians killed 14 civilians wounded | | Under the cover of infantry and mortar fire, the South Africans occupied positions near the border at Calueque. |
| 66. | 12.00 & 13.00 20/8/77 17.00 | Kuando Kubango | Ground attack | 2 FAPLA missing | | South Africans and UNITA troops launched a joint attack on Dirico. |
| 67. | 18/9/77 19.00-19.30 | Cunene | Border ground attack | 3 TGFA killed 1 TGFA wounded 14 civilians killed 3 civilians wounded | | Using light arms, South Africans opened fire on the Ruacana post. |
| 68. | 18/9/77 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African reconnaissance plane overflew Calueque. |
| 69. | 6/10/77 14.00 | Cunene | Massing of ground forces | | | Build-up of four armoured vehicles, one transport vehicle and an infantry section near the border at Capasso. |
| 70. | 14/10/77 03.00-09.00 | Cunene | Ground attack | 1 TGFA killed 3 TGFA wounded 1 civilian killed | | South Africans opened fire with infantry weapons on our position in the area of border marker 3. |
| 71. | 14/10/77 03.00-09.00 | Cunene | Ground attack | 4 FAPLA killed 7 FAPLA wounded 15 civilians killed | | South Africans opened fire with light arms on FAPLA, 40 km southeast of the town of Calueque. |
| 72. | 15/10/77 01.30 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | 11 civilians wounded | | A South African aircraft overflew Caluindo for 30 minutes. |
| 73. | 5/11/77 05.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft overflew the border at Calueque. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|-----|-----------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| 74. | 5/11/77 | Cunene | Ground attack | 2 FAPLA killed 4 FAPLA wounded 1 civilian killed 7 civilians wounded | South Africans threw 8 hand grenades to the east of Oshikango. That same day they moved their observation post. |
| 75. | 7/11/77 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft, flying at an altitude of 100 metres, violated Angolan airspace at Calueque. |
| 76. | 7/11/77 | Cunene | Territorial violation | 7 civilians killed 7 civilians wounded | A South African section crossed the border at marker 6 and stayed on our territory for two hours. |
| 77. | 19/11/77 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace, crossing the border at Oshikango. |
| 78. | 10/12/77 | Cunene | Airspace violation and air attack | | South African infantry supported by helicopter fire entered Angolan territory between border markers 22 and 23, going 5 km inside the country. A number of women were killed and kidnapped. |
| 79. | 21/12/77 | Cunene | Border provocation | | The South Africans massed forces on the border at Oshikango and Calueque with the intention of invading Angola to destroy SWAPO, according to what they said through loudspeakers. |
| 80. | 23/12/77 08.00 | Cunene | Ground attack | 17 civilians killed 21 civilians wounded | South Africans attacked a FAPLA section south of Ngiva between border markers 16 and 17, using 21 mm mortars and 106 mm artillery. The shells hit farmers' homes. |
| 81. | 2/1/78 22.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew Calueque before heading for Chitido at an altitude of 600 metres. |
| 82. | 6/1/78 04.30-06.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew Cahama and Cavaleve, entering Angolan airspace near Humbe and then heading for Chitido. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|-----|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|---|---|
| 83. | 18/1/78 | Cunene | Bombing raid | | |
| 84. | 23/1/78 | Namibe | Bombing raid | 19 civilians killed 11 civilians wounded | Three South African Mirages bombed the village of Cunene in Namibe Province. |
| 85. | 1/2/78 | Huila | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew the region of Tchamutute at an altitude of 500 metres. |
| 86. | 14/2/78 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace, entering at border marker 6 in the direction of Humbe, overflying Calueque and then withdrawing by border marker 3. |
| 87. | 25/2/78 | Cunene | Troop build-up | | The enemy massed an estimated 2,000 men on the border at Calueque. |
| 88. | 5/3/78 06.00 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew Calundo and then doubled back towards South Africa. |
| 89. | 4/4/78 | Cunene | Territorial violation | | A number of South African soldiers were hit after entering Angolan territory at Calueque. Their colleagues took them back to Namibia. |
| 90. | 4/5/78 | Namibe | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft twice overflew the town of Moçamedes at a high altitude, and then disappeared towards Namibia. That same day two aircraft overflew the areas of São Nicolau and Chapéu Armado. |
| 91. | 4/5/78 | Huila | Large-scale attack | 612 killed 613 wounded | South Africans attacked the SWAPO refugee camp at Cassinga using 14 helicopters, 4 C-130s, 8 Mirages and 2 Cessna reconnaissance planes, causing extensive damage. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------------|----------------|---------------------|--|--|
| 92. | 4/5/78 | Cunene | Ground attack | | South African troops launched an attack using armoured cars and flame-throwers and devastated 400 hectares of agricultural land, destroying 5 IFA trucks and seizing 5,000 head of cattle at Dombondola, Chetequera and Cuamato. |
| 93. | 5/5/78 22.45 | Namibe | Airspace violation | | South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace, overflying Porto Alexandre before heading back to Namibia. |
| 94. | 9/5/78 | Cunene | Airspace violations | | South Africans entered our airspace several consecutive times at a high altitude, overflying Quihito, Cahama and Vila da Ponte. |
| 95. | 24/5/78 09.00 | Huíla | Airspace violation | | Two Mirages and a South African transport plane overflew Matala. |
| 96. | 6/6/78 18.45 | Huíla | Airspace violation | | A South African Mirage overflew Tchamutate in a south-north direction, withdrawing by the same route. |
| 97. | 21/7/78 21.00 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew the position at Rito. |
| 98. | 23/8/78 12.00 | Cunene | Ground attack | 4 civilians killed 11 civilians wounded | South African troops attacked the border post at marker 7. |
| 99. | 24/8/78 | Cunene | Ground attack | 5 civilians killed 11 civilians wounded | South Africans attacked the post at border marker 8, firing 88 mm mortar shells from a distance of 3 km from the border. |
| 100. | 31/8/78 08.00-14.00 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | | A light aircraft and two enemy helicopters carried out reconnaissance flights over Calai. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|-------------------------|----------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 101. | 10/9/78 | Cunene | Ground attack | | | South African troops seized cattle at a point 10 km inside Angola, entering at border markers 24 and 25. |
| 102. | 10/10/78 08.00 | Huíla | Airspace violation | | | Low altitude reconnaissance flight over Matela. |
| 103. | 10/11/78 12.40 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | Three South African Mirages overflew Angolan territory along the border. They entered our airspace at border marker 3 and withdrew through Chitudo. |
| 104. | 11/11/78 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African Mirage overflew border marker 6, heading north from Calueque towards Huíla Province. |
| 105. | 12/11/78 08.00-11.30 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | Two South African Mirages overflew our border to the east of Oshikango, penetrating our airspace as far as Namacunde. |
| 106. | 14/11/78 12.45 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A Mirage III aircraft violated our airspace and overflew Ngiva, Péu-Péu and Ruacanã. |
| 107. | 22/11/78 13.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | Two South African helicopters coming from Namibia entered our airspace at Ruacanã, overflew Cahama and headed northwards. |
| 108. | 25/11/78 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | Two jet fighters overflew Ngiva and Xangongo and then headed for Calueque. |
| 109. | 5/12/78 | Cunene | Artillery shelling | 14 dead 5 wounded | | South Africans fired artillery shells between border markers 12 and 13 in the direction of Cuamato. |
| 110. | 11/12/78 08.20 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African Mirage overflew the border post at Melunga. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|-------------------|----------|--|---|--------------------|---|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 111. | 11/12/78 10.50 | Cunene | Airspace violation and bombing | 10 civilians killed 10 civilians wounded | | Four aircraft coming from Namibia overflew the Melunga post (border marker 10) and bombed it before leaving. A Mirage overflew Oshikango and then headed for Ngiva. |
| 112. | 17/12/78 11.10 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | |
| 113. | 8/1/78 08.00 | Cunene | Territorial violation and mine-laying | 3 killed 5 wounded | | South African armoured units entered 1 km inside Angola near Oshikango. On withdrawing, they laid anti-personnel mines in the area. |
| 114. | 8/1/79 04.00 | Cunene | Bombing attack | 12 killed 3 wounded | | A rocket attack at Calueque by three Mirages which blew up a fuel tank. |
| 115. | 8/1/79 16.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation and air attack | 1 FAPLA killed 2 FAPLA wounded | | Four South African Mirages overflew the Calueque position after a number of helicopters had bombarded that position. |
| 116. | 8/1/79 14.30 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft overflew Ngiva. |
| 117. | 8/1/79 | Cunene | Territorial violation | | | During their withdrawal to Namibia at border marker 25, South Africans burned 300 huts, 200 head of cattle and 6 tonnes of clothing, and destroyed large quantities of agricultural equipment at Melunga. |
| 118. | 12/1/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A light South African aircraft entered our airspace, overflying Ngiva and even managing to land. Its registration number was 28-110. |
| 119. | 26/1/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft crossed the border, entering Angolan airspace southeast of Chitido and leaving at Ruacanã. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|---|--|---|
| 120. | 31/1/79 08.30 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | An aircraft entered Angolan airspace at Chitudo at 08.30, leaving through Ruacana. |
| 121. | 31/1/79 | Cunene | Ground attack | 10 killed 27 wounded | South African infantry troops attacked the Oshikango border post with light arms, one automatic weapon and an 81 mm mortar. |
| 122. | 3/2/78 12.06 | Cunene | Ground attack | 29 killed 21 wounded | Combined South African and UNITA forces launched an attack on Omopanda and Namacunde. |
| 123. | 3/2/79 16.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation and ground attack | 11 killed 31 wounded | A light South African aircraft overflew Namacunde. At 02.00 that night UNITA and South African forces attacked the FAPLA post at Namacunde. |
| 124. | 5/2/79 | Cunene | Artillery shelling | 35 killed 62 wounded | South African troops carried out heavy artillery shelling at Omopanda and Namacunde. |
| 125. | 6/2/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft entered Angolan airspace at Oshikango, overflying Omopanda and Ngiva at an altitude of 5,000 metres. |
| 126. | 19/2/79 07.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | Two South African aircraft entered Angolan airspace at Oshikango, overflying Ngiva, Péu-Péu and Cahama and withdrawing to the south. |
| 127. | 23/2/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A turboprop transport plane entered Angolan airspace at border marker 14 and headed northwards. |
| 128. | 23/2/79 | Cunene | Bombing raid | 35 civilians killed 3 civilians wounded | Two South African aircraft entered Angolan airspace at border markers 26 and 28 and bombed a place 27 km inside our territory. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 129. | 26/2/79 | Moxico | Bomb attack | 7 FAPLA killed 13 FAPLA wounded 198 ZAPU killed 600 ZAPU wounded | Seven South African and Rhodesian Canberra and Mirage aircraft bombed a ZAPU school at the Boma mission 30 km from Luena. |
| 130. | 26/2/79 15.00 | Huila | Airspace violation | 24 civilians killed 47 civilians wounded | Three South African Mirages overflew the town of Tchamutete and fired two rockets, one of which hit the area by the airfield. |
| 131. | 27/2/79 04.00 | Huila | Airspace violation | | |
| 132. | 28/2/79 10.39 | Huila | Airspace violation | | A reconnaissance device, probably remote-controlled, was spotted overflying the area north of Tchamutete. |
| 133. | 28/2/79 17.20 | Huila | Airspace violation | | A pilotless reconnaissance aircraft overflew the Tchamutete region for two hours. |
| 134. | 3/3/79 10.30 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A Mirage overflew the region of Ngiva from south to north and then headed for Namibia. |
| 135. | 4/3/79 09.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft was spotted in the Ruacaná and Calueque region. |
| 136. | 6/3/79 06.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | Two South African aircraft overflew Oshikango. |
| 137. | 6/3/79 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation and bomb attack | 43 killed 14 wounded | Eight South African Mirages entered Angolan airspace at border markers 34 and 36 and bombed Capemba and Namutapa. On their way back they bombed Muendi. |
| 138. | 6/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | Four Mirages entered Angolan airspace at border marker 25 and overflew Melunga and Chitumbo. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| 139. | 6/3/79 06.05 | Cunene | Airspace violation | 2 killed 1 wounded | South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace and bombed Chitumbo, partly destroying three houses. |
| 140. | 6/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation and bomb attack | 15 killed 25 wounded | South African aircraft overflew Ngiva, Okatele and Aldo, dropping seven bombs on the two former places. |
| 141. | 6/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | Five South African aircraft overflew Oshikango and Namacunde, heading for Chinde. |
| 142. | 6/3/79 | Moxico | Airspace violation | | A plane coming from Namibia overflew Luena. |
| 143. | 7/3/79 10.51 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | Three Mirages entered our airspace at border marker 12 and overflew Dongue, Chitade, Calueque, Ngiva, Cuamato and the Dombondola area, withdrawing over border marker 7. |
| 144. | 7/3/79 11.35 | Moxico | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew Luena and vanished in the direction of Bié. |
| 145. | 8/3/79 11.35 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | South African aircraft flew between Cuamato and Ngiva, then headed south towards Namibia. |
| 146. | 8/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation and simultaneous bomb attacks | 22 killed 21 wounded | South African aircraft bombed the areas of Melunga, Dombondola, Chetequera and Ruacanã. Thirteen Mirages and eight Puma helicopters were used in these attacks, which started on 4 March and went on till 8 March. Two brick houses were completely destroyed and the roof and interior of a goods depot ruined, causing the loss of 20 tonnes of food. Three huts were also destroyed. |
| 147. | 8/3/79 | Cunene | Bomb attack | 3 FAPLA killed | A number of Mirages dropped bombs on FAPLA troops at Makutu, killing 3 soldiers and destroying 10 infantry weapons, 3 camp sites and 20 beds. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED, MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 148. | 8/3/79 | Cunene | Ground attack | | South African infantry units attacked the Chitumba area and seized 200 head of cattle. |
| 149. | 9/3/79 10.46 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African jet entered our airspace at Calueque and overflew Naulila, Chetequera, Cuamato and Mundjevala, passing over the latter place several times. |
| 150. | 10/3/79 08.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | Two Mirages overflew Oshikango and Namacunde at an altitude of 200 metres. |
| 151. | 11/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A dozen Mirages overflew Cuamato for 30 minutes. |
| 152. | 11/3/79 | Cunene | Territorial violation | | South African troops supported by helicopters crossed the border at marker 8 and headed for Chana Chingongo, burning a village. |
| 153. | 12/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | A South African aircraft overflew Ngiva at a low altitude. |
| 154. | 13/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | 5 killed 7 wounded | Four South African Mirages and Canberras overflew Namacunde and proceeded towards Xangongo and bombed the region. The operation took place at the same time as an armoured car attack in the area of Namacunde. |
| 155. | 14/3/79 | Cunene | Bomb attack | 5 killed 12 wounded | At 16.00, South African Canberras and Mirages bombed Edwa, in the Cahama area. FAPLA shot down 4 Canberras and 2 Mirages. The planes destroyed two schools, 12 camp sites, 4 tonnes of teaching materials, 30 tonnes of rice, 40 tonnes of sugar, 35 tonnes of beans, 20 tonnes of foodstuffs, footwear and other goods. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 156. | 14/3/79 07.00 | Benguela | Bomb attack | 3 ANC killed 8 ANC wounded | | At 07.00, five South African aircraft bombed ANC refugee camps in Catengue, in Benguela Province, totally destroying a school and causing the following material losses: 10 ten-room houses, 5 eight-room houses, 5 six-room houses, 2 stores containing enough food to feed 600 people for six months, a Land Rover, a jeep, a Mercedes Benz truck, an IFA truck, a 20-ton Scania truck, a 10 KW generator, a 20 KW generator, 2 hydraulic pumps, an air compressor, a tractor, 1.5 tonnes of petrol, a small machine repair shop, 500 metres of railway line, 25 radio sets, 6 radio recorders, 12 filing cabinets and a normally equipped 20-bed hospital. |
| 157. | 14/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | 1 killed 4 wounded | | Seven South African helicopters landed at Omuandi, 30 km from Chiede, in the Namacunde commune. All roads and paths were mined. |
| 158. | 14/3/79 | Cunene | Bomb attack | 4 killed | | South African helicopters bombed Chiede, killing 4 people and destroying 100 hoes and 4 carts. |
| 159. | 15/3/79 08.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft overflew Cahama and headed northwards. |
| 160. | 15/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | Two South African aircraft overflew Xangongo and headed for Ngiva. |
| 161. | 18/3/79 20.00 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft overflew Cuangar and headed back to Namibia. |
| 162. | 19/3/79 | Cunene | Mine-laying | 7 killed 24 wounded | | Helicoptered South African troops laid anti-vehicle and anti-personnel mines on the Chiede-Ngiva road, attacked a GAZ 66 vehicle and destroyed it and 59 automatic weapons and 6 machineguns. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|---------------------------------|---|-----------------|--|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 163. | 19/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft overflew Ngiva from south to north at a low altitude. |
| 164. | 19/3/79 | Cunene | Mine-laying | 4 FAPLA killed 3 FAPLA wounded | | Helicoptered South African troops mined the road from Cuamato to Ngiva. A Zit was destroyed. |
| 165. | 21/3/79 05.00 | Cunene | Shelling | 2 FAPLA killed 7 FAPLA wounded | | South African troops supported by helicopters shelled and occupied Xanavera. |
| 166. | 21/3/79 16.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | Two Mirages overflew Ngiva several times during a period of one hour. |
| 167. | 23/3/79 | Cunene | Infantry and paratrooper attack | | | South African paratroopers and infantry attacked a village in the area of border marker 12, destroying about 20 tonnes of sugar, 20 tonnes of beans, 20 tonnes of rice, 5 tonnes of clothing, 20 tonnes of assorted articles, 1,000 pairs of shoes, 1,000 machetes and 1,000 hoes. |
| 168. | 24/3/79 11.40 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | Two Mirages overflew Ngiva at an altitude of 3,000 metres and then withdrew towards Namibia. |
| 169. | 27/3/79 | Cunene | Ground attack | 8 missing | | South African infantry forces attacked a village near border marker 12 and kidnapped 8 farmers. |
| 170. | 28/3/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft overflew Cuamato, then withdrew towards Namibia. |
| 171. | 29/3/79 | Cunene | Napalm bombing | 2 killed | | A South African Mirage bombed the border marker 12 area with napalm, killing 2 people and destroying 160 hectares of agricultural land and 100 spare parts for agricultural machinery. |
| 172. | 31/3/79 | Cunene | Bomb attack | 2 civilians killed 8 civilians wounded | | A South African Mirage III bombed the regions of Melunga and Chiede, killing 2 civilians, wounding 8 farmers and destroying 300 metres of highway. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|---|--------------------|--|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 173. | 2/4/79 | Kuando Kubango | Airspace violation | | | South Africans continued to violate our airspace daily in the border areas of Cuangar and Calai. |
| 174. | 3/4/79 08.45 | Cunene | Airspace violation | 1 civilian killed 13 civilians wounded | | Two Mirages violated our airspace, overflying the area of Oshikango and bombing the Chiede region. |
| 175. | 6/4/79 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft violated our airspace and overflew Xangongo and Ruacaná at about 15.30. |
| 176. | 6/4/79 07.00 | Kuando Kubango | Artillery shelling | 5 civilians killed 9 civilians wounded | | South African artillery shelled Cuangar and Calai. Our forces repelled the enemy attack. |
| 177. | 10/4/79 | Cunene | Bomb attack | 5 civilians killed 5 civilians wounded | | Four Mirages bombed border marker 3, at Melunga. |
| 178. | 12/4/79 , 17.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | Two South African aircraft violated our airspace, overflying Dombodola and bombing a SWAPO camp. |
| 179. | 12/4/79 10.45 | Cunene | Bomb attack | 2 FAPLA killed 1 civilian killed | | The South African racists bombed the commune of Cuamato, hitting the police post and the TGFA tents. They also destroyed three huts containing the belongings of 300 people. |
| 180. | 13/5/79 | Cunene | Bomb attack | 1 civilian killed 2 civilians wounded | | Two aircraft—a bomber and a fighter—strafed the Cuamato region. |
| 181. | 18/5/79 10.20 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | An aircraft violated our airspace, overflying the area south of Cuamato for an hour and a half. |
| 182. | 19/5/79 07.30 | Kuando Kubango | Ground attack | 3 civilians killed 3 civilians wounded | | South African troops launched a joint attack with UNITA and took Calai with air and artillery support. |
| 183. | 19/5/79 | Cunene | Airborne incursion | 4 civilians killed 9 civilians wounded | | South African planes landed special troops 21 km south of Xangongo. They laid mines in the region. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 184. | 19/5/79 | Cunene | Bombing and shelling | 1 civilian killed | 3 civilians wounded | The Ruesca's border post was bombed and came under South African artillery fire, totally destroying the border installations. |
| 185. | 21/5/79 19.00 | Namibe | Airspace violation | | | Two South African aircraft violated our airspace, overflying Porto Alexandre and then heading for the coast. |
| 186. | 22/5/79 08.00 | Cunene | Artillery shelling and ground attack | 3 civilians killed | 9 civilians wounded | South African infantry and artillery attacked and shelled the area of border marker 3, using AML-60s and mortars of different calibre. |
| 187. | 25/5/79 | Cunene | Air reconnaissance | | | A South African reconnaissance plane overflew the area between Cuamato and Calueque. |
| 188. | 29/5/79 19.19 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A Mirage F-1 was spotted 70 km south of Xangongo on a reconnaissance flight at an altitude of 300 metres. |
| 189. | 4/6/79 02.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft violated our airspace near border marker 21, overflying Namacunde and then withdrawing towards border marker 8. |
| 190. | 5/6/79 12.03 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | | A South African aircraft violated our airspace near border marker 4, overflying Ngiva and then withdrawing towards border marker 12. |
| 191. | 9/6/79 | Namibe | Bomb attack | 1 civilian killed | 5 civilians wounded | A South African aircraft violated our airspace and bombed a store in the village of Iona. |
| 192. | 10/6/79 | Cunene | Territorial violation | 1 civilian killed | 3 civilians wounded | The South African recists entered our territory near border markers 20 and 23 and withdrew two hours later. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|----------------|--|--|
| 193. | 11/8/79 | Cunene | Bomb attack | 8 civilians killed 14 civilians wounded | South African aircraft—3 Canberras and 3 Mirage IIs—bombed the village of Humbé, aiming especially at the camp site of the civil engineer there and causing the following damage: 15 brick houses completely destroyed; 6 permanent homes and a two-room school for 180 pupils partly destroyed; a three-room permanent building partly destroyed; 2 Terra trucks, 16 and 20-ton (with only 6,000 km) totally destroyed; a 10-ton Volvo truck completely destroyed; an 8-ton Scania truck completely destroyed; a 40-ton trailer partly destroyed; a 5-ton ISUZU truck partly destroyed; a 623 P deoxidation machine partly destroyed; a 475 P "Mexican" mechanical shovel partly destroyed. Also lost were 8,000 litres of diesel oil, 200 litres of S.30 oil, 400 litres of MP.90 valvoline, 400 litres of P.40 valvoline and 600 litres of 100 W oil. The bombing completely stopped site activities. |
| 194. | 18/8/79 | Huila | Attack | 2 civilians killed 3 civilians wounded | South African forces attacked the village of Nintome, 3 km from Dongo. |
| 195. | 28/11/79 | Cunene | Bombing raid | Homes partly damaged | South African Mirages fired rockets on Ngiva and Mangua. |
| 196. | 1/1/80 | Cunene | Shelling | 1 TGFA wounded | South African troops shelled the Oshikango frontier post. |
| 197. | 14/1/80 12.30 | Cunene | Strafing | 1 civilian killed | Two South African aircraft strafed a well in the Napolo area. |
| 198. | 15/1/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 8 civilians killed 5 civilians wounded Vehicle damaged | South African aircraft strafed an IFA vehicle belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture, 16 km from Ngiva. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|----------------------|---|--|
| 199. | 16/1/80 07:50 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 vehicle damaged | Two South African Mirages bombed a Namibian refugee camp 14 km east of Móngua. |
| 200. | 17/1/80 | Cunene | Bombing | Crops destroyed | Four South African Mirages bombed the Nete area, south of Xangongo. |
| 201. | 19/1/80 | Cunene | Bombing | 2 vehicles damaged (including a tanker) | South African aircraft bombed two of our troops' vehicles 3 km from Evale. |
| 202. | 23/1/80 | Cunene | Bombing | No consequences | South African aircraft bombed the village of Chetequera. |
| 203. | 8/2/80 | Cunene | Attack | Unknown | South African infantry troops attacked the village of Cadueta. |
| 204. | 9/2/80 | Cunene | Bombing | Unknown | Two South African Impalas bombed north of Chiede. |
| 205. | 9/2/80 | Cunene | Shelling | 1 vehicle destroyed | Using 140 mm artillery, South African troops shelled the Ruacaná border post. |
| 206. | 11/2/80 | Cunene | Bombing and strafing | Vast agricultural area destroyed | Two Impalas bombed the Anhaca region (essentially agricultural). |
| 207. | 11/2/80 | Cunene | Bombing | Unknown | Four South African Impalas bombed 16 km east of Ngiva. |
| 208. | 12/2/80 | Cunene | Bombing | Unknown | South African planes bombed south of Chiede. |
| 209. | 19/2/80 | Cunene | Landing | No consequences | Two South African helicopters landed troops 8 km from Namacunde. |
| 210. | 20/2/80 | Cunene | Landing | No consequences | South African helicopters landed troops between Namacunde and Chiede. |
| 211. | 20/2/80 | Cunene | Attack | 2 FAPLA killed | South African infantry forces attacked a FAPLA group 6 km from Namacunde. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|----------------|--|---|
| 212. | 22/2/80 | Cunene | Bombing | 8 civilians killed 10 civilians wounded 1 vehicle destroyed 1 vehicle destroyed | Two South African Impalas bombed and strafed a civilian vehicle 20 km from Ngiva. |
| 213. | 27/2/80 | Cunene | Landing | | Helicopters South African troops were landed by 3 helicopters in the Chito and Namequera savannahs, 16 km from Ngiva. |
| 214. | 28/2/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 1 vehicle destroyed | Two South African Impalas strafed a FAPLA vehicle 10 km from Ngiva. |
| 215. | 1/3/80 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 civilian wounded | Two South African aircraft bombed a village 10 km from Ngiva. |
| 216. | 1/3/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 4 civilians killed 7 civilians wounded | Two South African aircraft strafed a civilian vehicle travelling on the road from Kafu to Xangongo. |
| 217. | 1/3/80 | Cunene | Landing | | Helicopters South African troops were landed in the Naulila area and mined access routes to Naulila. |
| 218. | 5/3/80 | Cunene | Attack | 3 FAPLA killed | South African infantry forces attacked the Mainene border post, in the Calueque area. |
| 219. | 6/3/80 | Cunene | Attack | 2 FAPLA killed | South African infantry forces attacked the border post at marker 3. |
| 220. | 18/3/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 1 FAPLA killed 4 FAPLA wounded | South African helicopters bombed and strafed the FAPLA position at Cuamato. |
| 221. | 21/3/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 1 civilian wounded 1 vehicle destroyed | South African aircraft strafed a civilian vehicle 10 km north of Uia. |
| 222. | 22/3/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 2 civilians killed 4 civilians wounded 1 vehicle damaged | Two South African Mirages strafed a civilian vehicle 3 km from Môngua. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------------|----------------|---|---|
| 223. | 22/3/80 | Cunene | Bombing | 4 ODP killed 16 ODP wounded Crops destroyed | South African aircraft bombed the ODP position 20 km from Xangongo. |
| 224. | 3/4/80 00.45 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 civilian wounded | South African aircraft bombed Pêu-Pêu. |
| 225. | 4/4/80 04.00 | Cunene | Bombing | Unknown | South African aircraft bombed the Nahone area. |
| 226. | 28/4/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 2 civilians killed 1 civilian wounded | The South African air force strafed a vehicle belonging to the DINAPROPE state agricultural company which was travelling on the Xangongo-Cahama road. |
| 227. | 28/4/80 | Kuando Kubango | Clash | 2 TGFA wounded 1 missing | Entering our territory in the Calai area, a South African reconnaissance unit clashed with a group of border guards, near the Capulo River. |
| 228. | 28/4/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 3 FAPLA wounded | Two South African aircraft strafed a FAPLA vehicle 10 km from Ngiva. |
| 229. | 3/5/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 1 driver killed Ambulance destroyed | South African aircraft strafed an ambulance belonging to the Cunene Hospital 8 km from Namecunde. |
| 230. | 3/5/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 11 FAPLA wounded | South African aircraft strafed 2 FAPLA vehicles 10 km from Ngiva. |
| 231. | 29/5/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 2 FAPLA wounded | South African aircraft strafed a FAPLA convey 30 km from Pêu-Pêu. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|---------------|----------------|----------------|--|--|
| 232. | 7/6/80 | Hulia | Bombing | 3 refugees wounded Medical post destroyed 3 South African planes shot down | Six South African Mirages bombed a Namibian refugee camp 16 km from Lubango. |
| 233. | 3/7/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 2 FAPLA dead 3 FAPLA wounded | A South African aircraft strafed a FAPLA ambulance at Cahama which was carrying patients. |
| 234. | 4/7/80 | Cunene | Mine-laying | 3 FAPLA wounded | South African troops mined the Mõngus-Evale road. |
| 235. | 9/7/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 2 civilians wounded 2 vehicles destroyed | South African aircraft strafed two IFA vehicles (one a tanker carrying 5,600 litres of fuel). |
| 236. | 12/7/80 | Kuando Kubango | Attack | 5 South Africans killed 2 SA boats sunk 5 wounded (children) | South African troops started a large-scale attack on Calai which was promptly repelled by FAPLA. |
| 237. | 13/7/80 | Cunene | Bombing | | Two South African Canberras bombed the village of Mupe. |
| 238. | 22/7/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 1 FAPLA killed 3 FAPLA wounded Vehicle destroyed | Two South African Impelas strafed a FAPLA vehicle 48 km from Xangongo. |
| 239. | 27/7/80 | Cunene | Bombing | No consequences | South African aircraft bombed the village of Chitado. |
| 240. | 29/7/80 | Cunene | Attack | 17 dead (T/GFA & ODP) 11 civilians killed 3 civilians kidnapped | Nine helicopters, 2 Mirages and 1 Canberra landed troops and bombed the village of Chitado. |
| 241. | 1/8/80 | Cunene | Attack | 5 civilians killed (refugees) | South African troops transported by 8 helicopters landed simultaneously in the areas of Caco, Nepolo, Chesequera and Lilaia. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|----------------|---|--|
| 242. | 8/8/80 | Cunene | Attack | 3 SWAPO killed (refugees) 6 SWAPO wounded (refugees) Camp destroyed | Heliborne South African troops were landed in the area of Nauclala, a Namibian refugee camp. |
| 243. | 11/8/80 | Cunene | Attack | 3 civilians killed | Heliborne South African troops were landed north of Caco. |
| 244. | 12/8/80 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 civilian killed (ODP) | The South African air force bombed the commune of Omenha. |
| 245. | 13/8/80 | Cunene | Attack | 3 civilians killed 4 kidnapped | South African troops landed in the area of Camuvi. |
| 246. | 13/8/80 | Cunene | Landing | 1 civilian kidnapped 1 civilian wounded | South African troops landed in the area of Monte Negro. |
| 247. | 14/8/80 | Cunene | Landing | 4 civilians kidnapped | South African troops landed in the Caco area. |
| 248. | 18/8/80 | Cunene | Bombing | 8 civilians killed | Two South African Impalas bombed Evale. |
| 249. | 19/8/80 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 civilian killed 10 civilians wounded | South African aircraft bombed the Bairro Castilho in the town of Ngiva. |
| 250. | 25/8/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 1 ODP killed 1 ODP wounded | South African aircraft strafed an ODP vehicle between Môngue and Xangongo. |
| 251. | 25/8/80 | Cunene | Landing | 1 South African helicopter shot down | South African troops tried to make a helicopter landing at Xangongo. |
| 252. | 27/8/80 | Cunene | Reconnaissance | 1 wounded | South African troops carried out reconnaissance in Chiole, Maktutu and Omito. |
| 253. | 28/8/80 | Cunene | Landing | 3 civilians killed | South African troops landed at Chiole and Chimpeca. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|---|-----------------|--|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 254. | 2/9/80 | Cunene | Strafing | | No consequences | Two South African aircraft strafed a vehicle 4 km from the Chiulo Mission. |
| 255. | 3/9/80 | Cunene | Build-up | | | Build-up of South African troops on our border in the Curuca River area. |
| 256. | 4/9/80 | Cunene | Bombing | | No consequences | Two South African aircraft bombed the village of Chiulo. |
| 257. | 8/9/80 | Cunene | Build-up | | | Build-up of South African troops on our border in the Oshikango area. |
| 258. | 12/9/80 | Cunene | | 1 Impala Mk-II Registration No. 1074 Pilot killed | | While trying to bomb a FAPLA position at Xangongo, a South African aircraft was shot down. |
| 259. | 20, 21, 23 & 26/9/80 | Kuando Kubango | Build-up | | | Build-up of South African troops in Calai, Dirico and Chicucu. |
| 260. | 17/10/80 | Cunene | Build-up | | | South African troops comprising an infantry platoon massed in the Cuamato area. |
| 261. | 19/10/80 | Cunene | Attack | 22 civilians killed (including 3 ODP) | | South African troops were landed in the Humbe area and attacked that locality. |
| 262. | 21/10/80 | Namibe | Attack | 3 FAPLA (TGFA) killed 4 civilians killed Homes destroyed | | Heliborne South African troops supported by 3 Mirages landed and attacked the village of Iona. |
| 263. | 2/11/80 | Cunene | Bombing | 2 civilians wounded 1 vehicle damaged | | Four South African aircraft bombed Humbe. |
| 264. | 6/11/80 | Kuando Kubango | Build-up | | | South African troops massed in the Calai area. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|--------------------|--|--|
| 265. | 18/11/80 | Cunene | Bombing | 3 civilians wounded | South African aircraft bombed a vehicle between Móngus and Ngiva. |
| 266. | 22/11/80 | Cunene | Bombing | 2 vehicles destroyed | South African aircraft bombed Bairro Nijjalala in the town of Ngiva. |
| 267. | 5/12/80 | Cunene | Build-up | | South African troops massed at border markers 18 and 19. |
| 268. | 15/12/80 | Cunene | Strafing | 1 civilian killed (a pregnant woman) 1 civilian wounded | Two South African Impalas strafed a passenger bus in the Móngus area. |
| 269. | 17/12/80 | Cunene | Shelling | | South African artillery shelled the municipality of Oshikango. |
| 270. | 11/1/81 13.00 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | South African aircraft overflew Ngiva and Xangongo. |
| 271. | 13/1/81 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | South African aircraft overflew Ngiva, Xangongo and Ruacaná. |
| 272. | 14/1/81 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | South African aircraft overflew Xangongo and Cahama; 3 Alouette III helicopters overflew the Móngus area. |
| 273. | 14/1/81 | Cunene | Build-up | | A motorised company massed south of Chiede. |
| 274. | 15/1/81 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | South African aircraft overflew Cuamato. |
| 275. | 15/1/81 16.00 | Cunene | Combat | Unknown number of FAPLA and South African troops killed and wounded | South African ground forces supported by 6 Puma helicopters and a squadron of Mirages attacked FAPLA in the municipality of Cuamato and there was fierce fighting. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|--------------------------|-----------------|--|--|--|
| 279. | 12/3/81 | Cunene | Strafing | 5 children killed | Two South African aircraft strafed a primary school in Mupe. |
| 280. | 13/3/81 15.19 & 16.20 | Cunene | Strafing | 4 TGFA wounded | Two South African aircraft strafed a FAPLA convoy on the Ngiva-Xangongo road. Two South African aircraft strafed a TGFA convoy on the Ngiva-Xangongo road. |
| 281. | 17/3/81 15.19 & 16.20 | Mula and Cunene | Bombing | 5 civilians wounded (3 children and 2 women) | Five aircraft overflew the town of Lubango, bombing an agricultural area between Lubango and Humpata, wounding 5 people. Helicopters bombed the areas of Matende and Cheteguera, south of Xangongo. |
| 282. | 6/4/81 | Cunene | Strafing | No consequences | South African aircraft strafed a tanker on the Xangongo-Ngiva road. |
| 276. | 17/1/81 08.00-10.30 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | South African reconnaissance planes overflew Xangongo, Namutla and Móngua. |
| 277. | 17/1/80 | Cunene | Bombing | Unknown number of South African losses 1 plane shot down | Eight South African helicopters tried to bomb a FAPLA group north of Cuamato and were repulsed. Four Impala Mk-1a attacked the group. One of the planes that bombed the group, a Buccaneer, was shot down. |
| 278. | Jan/Feb/81 | Cunene | Innumerable recon- naissance flights, 10 bombing raids, 6 landings, 1 shelling incident, 6 ground attacks, 6 strafing incidents, 2 built- up of forces and equipment | 28 FAPLA killed 7 civilians killed | |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------------|---|--|--------------------|---|
| | | | | DEAD, | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 283. | 10/4/81 | Cunene | Strafing | 1 FAPLA killed 2 civilians wounded | | South African aircraft attacked a FAPLA group at Mupa who were protecting a group of foreign journalists. |
| 284. | 11/4/81 22.00 | Cunene | Bombing | 2 civilians killed | | Two Impelas overflew the main centre of the commune of Evale and then bombed it. |
| 285. | April '81 | Cunene | 70 reconnaissance flights 1 strafing 2 landings 3 shellings 5 ground attacks 2 border provocations | 3 FAPLA killed 22 FAPLA wounded 2 civilians killed 5 civilians wounded 2 Alouette III helicopters shot down | | |
| 286. | 7/5/81 | Huila | Landing | | | Four Puma helicopters landed troops who brought down 3 electricity pylons in Mate, on the Lubango-Namibe road, and mined the area. |
| 287. | 16/5/81 | Kuando Kubango | Provocation | | | South African troops opened fire on Calai with anti-aircraft guns. |
| 288. | 21/5/81 17.30 | Cunene | Bombing | 2 civilians killed 25 civilians wounded | | Two South African Impelas bombed two public transport buses on the Xangongo-Ngiva road. |
| 289. | 26/5/81 | Cunene | Landing | 2 FAPLA wounded | | Heliborne troops landed on the Cahama-Xangongo road, north of Uta, and mined the road. A FAPLA vehicle hit one of the mines. |
| 290. | 27/5/81 04.00 | Cunene | Ground attack | 1 FAPLA wounded | | South African troops transported in 7 vehicles dynamited a bridge 27 km from Ngiva on the Ngiva-Mongus road, subsequently mining the area around the bridge, resulting in a FAPLA soldier stepping on a mine. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------------|----------------|---------|---|---|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 291. | 27/5/81 05.30 | Cunene | Ground attack | | 2 civilians wounded 1 civilian kidnapped | A civilian Scania vehicle hit a mine on the Ngiva-Móngua road and was destroyed. South African troops lying in ambush there opened fire and kidnapped the driver, who they took to Namibia. |
| 292. | 27/5/81 05.30 | Cunene | Ground attack | | | South African troops destroyed a tunnel 22 km from Xangongo. |
| 293. | 30/5/81 11.15 | Cunene | Bombing | | 1 FAPLA killed 1 civilian killed 4 soldiers wounded 10 civilians wounded | Two South African aircraft bombed a convoy of vehicles parked at the Xangongo check point. |
| 294. | 31/5/81 | Cunene | Strafing | | 20 civilians killed 4 civilians wounded | Two South African Impalas strafed a convoy on the Ngiva-Móngua road. |
| 295. | 2/6/81 06.30 | Cunene | Bombing | | 3 civilians killed 5 FAPLA wounded 4 civilians wounded | Two South African Impalas bombed a convoy of cars at the Ngiva checkpoint. |
| 296. | 2/6/81 11.30 | Cunene | Bombing | | 4 FAPLA killed 1 FAPLA wounded | Two South African aircraft fired missiles from an altitude of more than 5 km, hitting a military vehicle at Naulila. |
| 297. | 3/6/81 16.15 | Cunene | Bombing | | 1 civilian killed (woman) | Four South African aircraft bombed FAPLA's logistics centre at Ngiva from an altitude of more than 4,000 metres. |
| 298. | 3/6/81 23.00 | Cunene | Bombing | | 1 FAPLA killed 3 FAPLA wounded | The South African air force bombed a FAPLA convoy 3 km north of Chitulo. |
| 299. | 10/6/81 | Kuando Kubango | Build-up | | | South African troops and equipment massed at the Rundu base, near the border at Cetai. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|----------------|--|--|
| 300. | 12/6/81 16.00 | Cunene | Bombing | | A convoy of civilian vehicles carrying foodstuffs for the population and escorted by FAPLA, was bombed at Catequero and most of the vehicles destroyed, including refrigeration trucks. |
| 301. | 13/6/81 | Cunene | Infiltration | | South African troops on horseback entered the areas of Kuvengo, Curoca, Catueque and Ruacanã. |
| 302. | 17/6/81 22.30 | Cunene | Bombing | 4 FAPLA wounded | Two Impalas bombed a FAPLA platoon 1 km from Catequero |
| 303. | 20/6/81 07.59 | Cunene | Infiltration | Unknown number of dead and wounded civilians | A South African company entered Angolan territory at border marker 19, supported by 3 helicopters, and carried out barbarous acts against the population of the villages of Hunge, Camuole, Muendi, Cange, Omukua and Chitapelo. |
| 304. | 22/6/81 | Cunene | Mine-laying | 2 FAPLA wounded | A FAPLA vehicle hit a mine on the Ngiva-Móngua road. |
| 305. | July '81 | Cunene | | | South African troops comprising 1 infantry brigade, 2 combined battalions of mercenaries and South Africans and 1 motorised infantry battalion, supported by aircraft, helicopters, long-range artillery and AML-60 armoured cars entered Angolan territory and occupied Mulemba, Ndova, Mupa, Evale, Chane Catolua and Mutako. From these positions they controlled the roads in the area and carried out ambushes, attacks and other actions against civilian and military vehicles. |
| 306. | 1/8/81 12.00 | Cunene | Infiltration | | South African troops composed of three groups entered at border marker 20, in the direction of Muongo. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|--|---------|---------------------------------------|--|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 307. | 3/8/81 | Cunene | Troop landing and infiltration | | | Heliborne South African forces landed at Chisde, Chitumbo, Nehoma, Evele and Mupe. 60 South African soldiers landed in the Dombondola area and advanced towards Nauilla. South African troop concentrations at border markers 20, 22 and 25. |
| 308. | 4/8/81 | Cunene | Build-up | | | South African troop concentrations at border markers 20, 22 and 25. |
| 309. | 7/8/81 | Cunene | Bombing | | 2 FAPLA killed 3 FAPLA wounded | Four Puma helicopters and 2 Impalas prevented the movement of vehicles on the Môngua-Ngiva road and bombed a GAZ-66 ambulance, 2 BRDM-2s and an anti-aircraft gun. |
| 310. | 8/8/81 | Cunene | Pursuit | | | Two South African helicopters pursued a FAPLA convoy on the Xangongo-Ngiva road. |
| | 09.20 | Cunene | Bombing | | 4 killed | A Cunene public transport truck was bombed on the Xangongo-Cahama road. |
| | 17.30 | Cunene | Strafing | | 6 FAPLA wounded 2 civilians killed | South African helicopters strafed a FAPLA vehicle and a civilian vehicle on the Môngua-Ngiva road. |
| 311. | 9/8/81 14.30 | Cunene | Bombing | | 7 civilians wounded | One civilian vehicle was bombed between Ngiva and Môngua. |
| 312. | Up to 15/8/81 | Cunene | Occupation, massacres, destruction, bombing and mine-laying | | | South African forces supported by Impalas, Puma and Alouette helicopters, armoured cars and artillery occupied the communal centre of Evele, massacred the civilian population, burned down houses, looted property, killed cattle, cut off the water supply for the population and carried out bombing raids, ambushes and mine-laying on the Ngiva-Xangongo and Ngiva-Cuvelai roads. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|--|--|
| 313. | 15/8/81 | Cunene | Fighting | 1 FAPLA killed 3 civilians killed 1 South African killed | Fierce fighting between FAPLA and South African forces who were trying to land between Choussu and Uia. |
| 314. | 18/8/81 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 FAPLA wounded 7 civilians killed 16 civilians wounded | The South African air force bombed a civilian bus 18 km south of Humbe. |
| 315. | 18/8/81 15.00 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 FAPLA killed 3 FAPLA wounded 1 vehicle damaged | The South African air force bombed a FAPLA convoy at Uia. |
| 316. | 22/8/81 | Cunene | Build-up | | South African troops and mercenaries massed at Oshakati (Namibia) with the objective of attacking Xangongo and Ngiva. |
| 317. | 23/8/81 — 23/8/81 | START OF OPERATION PROTEA Cunene | Bombing | Unknown number of civilians and military killed and wounded | Eight aircraft (6 Mirages and 1 Buccaneer) attacked and destroyed the centre of Cahama and Chibemba, using missiles, 500 kg bombs and rockets. The South African air force carried out reconnaissance flights in the areas of Ngiva and Porto Alexandre. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 318. | 24/8/81 10.00 | Cunene | Troop movements | | Two motorised South African columns, one composed of 32 tanks and 82 vehicles, supported by aircraft, proceeded towards Xangongo and Cahama. |
| | 10.25 | | Bombing | | The South African air force bombed Xangongo. |
| | 15.05 | | Fighting | | Fierce fighting in Xangongo which was destroyed and occupied by the racist forces. |
| | | | Occupation | | South African forces occupied Catequero. |
| 319. | 25/8/81 | Cunene | Bombing | | The South African air force bombed Cahama and Ngiva. |
| | | | Fighting | | There was fierce fighting between FAPLA and the South African and mercenary forces in Cahama. |
| 320. | 26/8/81 | Cunene | Bombing | | The South African air force continued to bomb Ngiva while an armoured column headed for Ngiva. |
| | 14.45, 15.00 | | Bombing | | The South African air force bombed Chibemba. |
| 321. | 27/8/81 | Cunene | Bombing | | The racist air force bombed Ngiva, Cuvelai and Chibemba. |
| | | | Fighting | | FAPLA and the racist South African forces involved in fierce fighting in the Ngiva area. |
| 322 | 28/8/81 | Cunene | Occupation | | South African troops occupied Ngiva. They now occupied an area of 40,000 sq km, including in particular Xangongo, Mõngua, Humbe, Uia, Cuamato, Anhaca, Nelhone, Mucupe, Evale, Mupa and Ngiva. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|-----------------------|--|--|
| 323. | 29/8/81 10.30 | Cunene | Build-up | | South African troops massed at Mupa with tanks, helicopters and infantry units. |
| | 14.00 | Cunene | Reconnaissance flight | | A South African aircraft overflew Tchamutete. |
| 324. | 30/8/81 | Cunene | Bombing | | In the Cahama area, FAPLA shot down a South African plane during a bombing raid. |
| 325. | 31/8/81 | Cunene | Bombing | | The South African air force bombed Cahama, using 500 kg bombs, rockets and 30 mm guns. |
| 326. | 1/9/81 | Cunene | Bombing | | The South African air force again bombed Cahama. |
| | | Cunene | Strafing | 1 FAPLA killed 7 FAPLA wounded | The South African air force strafed and destroyed a military vehicle. |
| 327. | 2/9/81 09.30 | Cunene | Bombing | | Two South African aircraft bombed Cahama. |
| 328. | 3/9/81 16.00 | Cunene | Bombing | 40 FAPLA wounded 15 civilians wounded Medical post destroyed | The South African air force bombed Cahama with 500 kg bombs. |
| 329. | 4/9/81 | Cunene | Bombing | 15 FAPLA killed 40 FAPLA wounded 1 civilian killed 16 civilians wounded Water tank destroyed | Cahama. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| 330. | 5/8/81 07.30 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 FAPLA wounded 2 journalists wounded | Four South African Mirages attacked a convoy of Angolan and foreign journalists on their way to Cahama. |
| | 09.30 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 soldier wounded 1 tanker destroyed | The South African air force bombed a military convoy on the Lubango-Cahama road. |
| | 16.00 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 civilian wounded | South African aircraft bombed a civilian vehicle. |
| 331. | 6/9/81 08.00 | Cunene | Bombing | 2 FAPLA wounded 11 civilians wounded | The South African air force bombed Cahama. |
| 332. | 11/9/81 | Cunene | Airspace violation and bombing | | Twelve South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace and bombed civilians who had taken refuge in the bush around Cahama. |
| 333. | 12/9/81 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | Twenty-one South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace eight times. |
| 334. | 13/9/81 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 civilian wounded | The South African air force fired rockets at Chicusse, 18 km from Cahama. 13 planes violated Angolan airspace. |
| 335. | 15/9/81 06.20 | Cunene | Attack | Unknown number of dead and wounded | South African ground forces supported by planes and helicopters attacked Changalele, 15 km from Xangongo, massacring the population and destroying their belongings. |
| | 16.45 | Cunene | Strafing | 3 civilians wounded | South African military aircraft strafed and damaged an ambulance and a vehicle of the Cuvelar Municipal Commissioner's Office in the village of Lilemba. |
| 336. | 16/9/81 | Cunene | Airspace violation | | Ten aircraft violated Angolan airspace. |
| 337. | 17/9/81 | Cunene | Airspace violations | | Eleven aircraft entered Angolan national territory. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS | | COMMENTS |
|------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|---------|---|---|
| | | | | DEAD | WOUNDED MISSING | |
| 338. | 18/9/81 | Cunene | Attacks | | | South African troops on horseback and infantry with dogs massacred the population of Macocote (20 km from Xangongo) and burned down the village. |
| | | | Airspace violation | | | Nine South African aircraft violated Angolan airspace. |
| | | | Troop landing | | | Heliborne troops supported by aircraft landed in various places, especially south of Xangongo. They mined roads, blew up bridges and stole cattle and vehicles. |
| 339. | 18/9/81 to 2/10/81 | Cunene and Namibe | Airspace violation | | | Reconnaissance flights over Cahama, Chibemba, Xangongo, Ngiva, Môngua, Evale, Mupa, Chivemba, Quiteve, Mulondo, Pêu-Pêu, Anhaca, Virei, Espinheira and Baia dos Tigres. |
| | | Cunene | Attacks | | | The racist forces launched armed operations in the areas of Xangongo, Môngua and Ngiva, supported by armoured cars, heliborne troops, troops on horseback and using also dogs. |
| | | Cunene | Build-up | | | Large build-ups of troops in Namaculungo, Chagalala, Mufico, Mahuengue, Chilandula, Namacunde and Chana Amunvei and the Cuamato area, which were then used as bases for attacks on the population and systematic destruction. |
| 340. | 6/10/81 | Cunene | Airspace violations and bombing | | 21 civilians killed 11 civilians wounded 1 padre killed | Three South African aircraft overflew the areas of Xangongo and Pêu-Pêu for 70 minutes and bombed Ngiva and Nelhone. They bombed and strafed the Nelhone Catholic mission. |
| 341. | 8/10/81 | Namibe | Airspace violation | | | Two Mirage overflew Porto Alexandre and then withdrew to Namibia. |

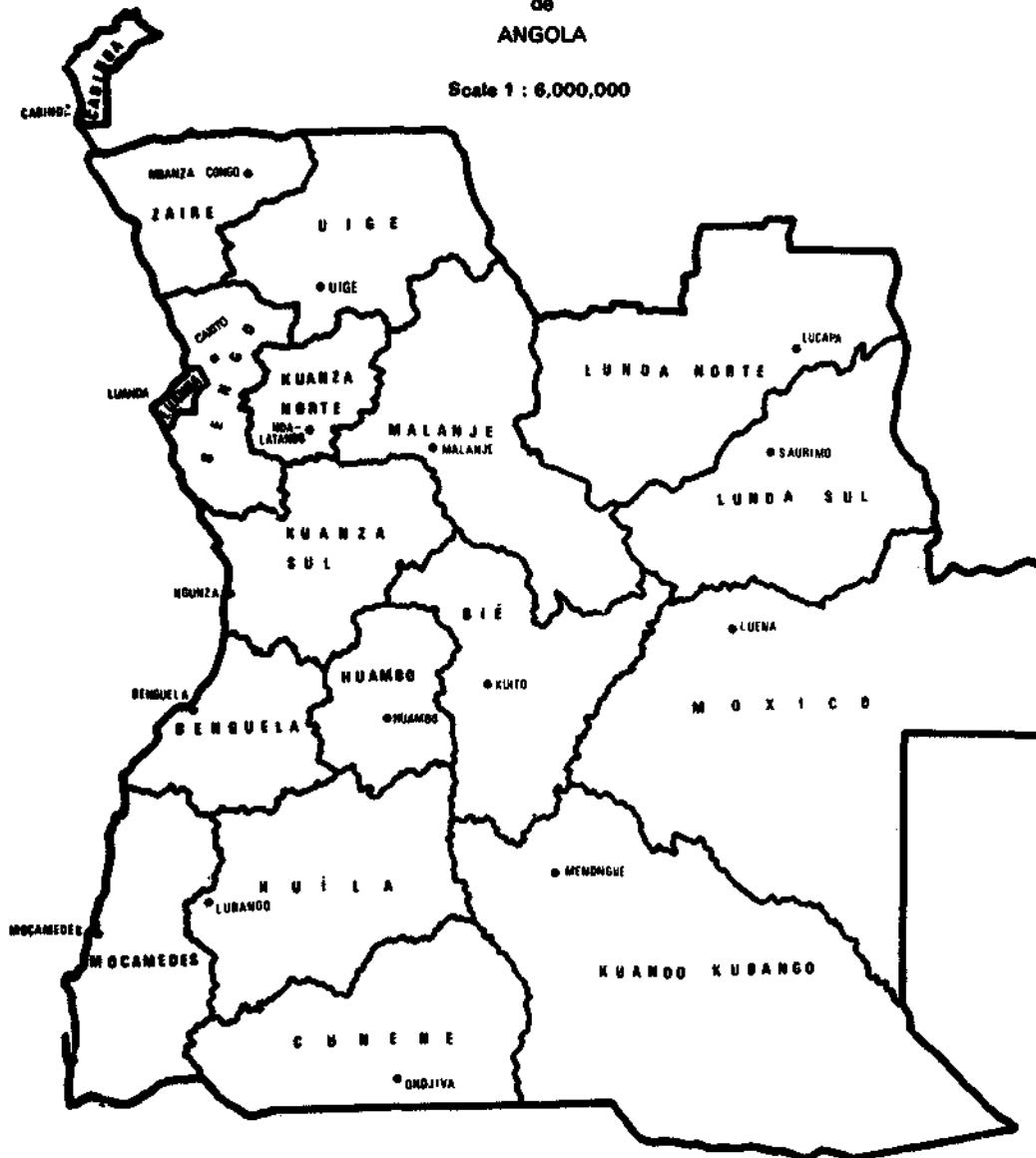
| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|-------------------|----------|--------------------|--|--|
| 342. | 10/10/81 | Namibe | Airspace violation | | Three South African aircraft overflew the area southeast of Namibe and Porto Alexandre. |
| 343. | 26/10/81 07.32 | Cunene | Bombing | | The racist forces bombed FAPLA positions in Cunene. |
| | 08.45 & 10.20 | | Troop landing | | |
| | 12.58 | | Bombing | | Heliborne South African troops landed at Edive and Chicusse and near Cahama. |
| | 17.50 | | Airspace violation | | The South African air force bombed FAPLA's logistics positions. |
| 344. | 4/11/81 08.00 | Cunene | Bombing | | Fourteen South African aircraft overflew the Uta-Cahama road. |
| | 16.00 | Cunene | Attack | Unknown number of civilians killed | The South African air force bombed the village of Chetequera (40 km from Xangongo) and destroyed material goods. |
| 345. | 5/11/81 | Cunene | Bombing | 1 FAPLA killed 2 FAPLA wounded 3 vehicles burnt 20 drums of oil destroyed | Four helicopters landed troops 23 km east of Tchamutene. A number of homes destroyed. |
| 346. | 6/11/81 | Cunene | Air penetration | 1 pilot wounded | Six South African aircraft bombed FAPLA positions at Cahama. |
| | | | | | Two Mirages penetrated 200 km inside Angola and caused a FAPLA plane to crash. |

| No. | DATE AND TIME | PROVINCE | TYPE OF ACTION | VICTIMS DEAD, WOUNDED MISSING | COMMENTS |
|------|-------------------|----------|----------------|---|---|
| 347. | 18/11/81 06.00 | Cunene | Attack | 1 FAPLA killed 2 civilians wounded 3 South Africans killed | South African ground forces attacked the village of Techipa (65 km from Cahama), using poisonous gases. |
| | | Cunene | Troop build-up | | Increased South African troop build-up in Xangongo and Péu-Péu, with 45 armoured cars. |
| 348. | 21/11/81 07.00 | Cunene | Attack | Unknown number of dead | One Puma helicopter landed South African troops in the area of Chica (40 km from Xangongo), and massacred the population. |
| 349. | 26/11/81 | Cunene | Attack | 5 FAPLA killed | South African troops attacked and destroyed a border guards' vehicle. |
| 350. | 2/12/81 | Cunene | | | After fierce fighting FAPLA took back Humbe and Péu- Péu. |
| 351. | 3/12/81 | Cunene | | | FAPLA took back Môngua and Ngiva. |
| 352. | 4 & 5/12/81 | Cunene | Attack | 1 FAPLA killed 21 FAPLA wounded 10 FAPLA affected by poisonous gases 2 South Africans killed 1 South African wounded | The South African air force and ground forces reoccupied Humbe, Péu-Péu, Môngua and Ngiva. |

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

REPÚBLICA POPULAR
de
ANGOLA

Scale 1 : 6,000,000



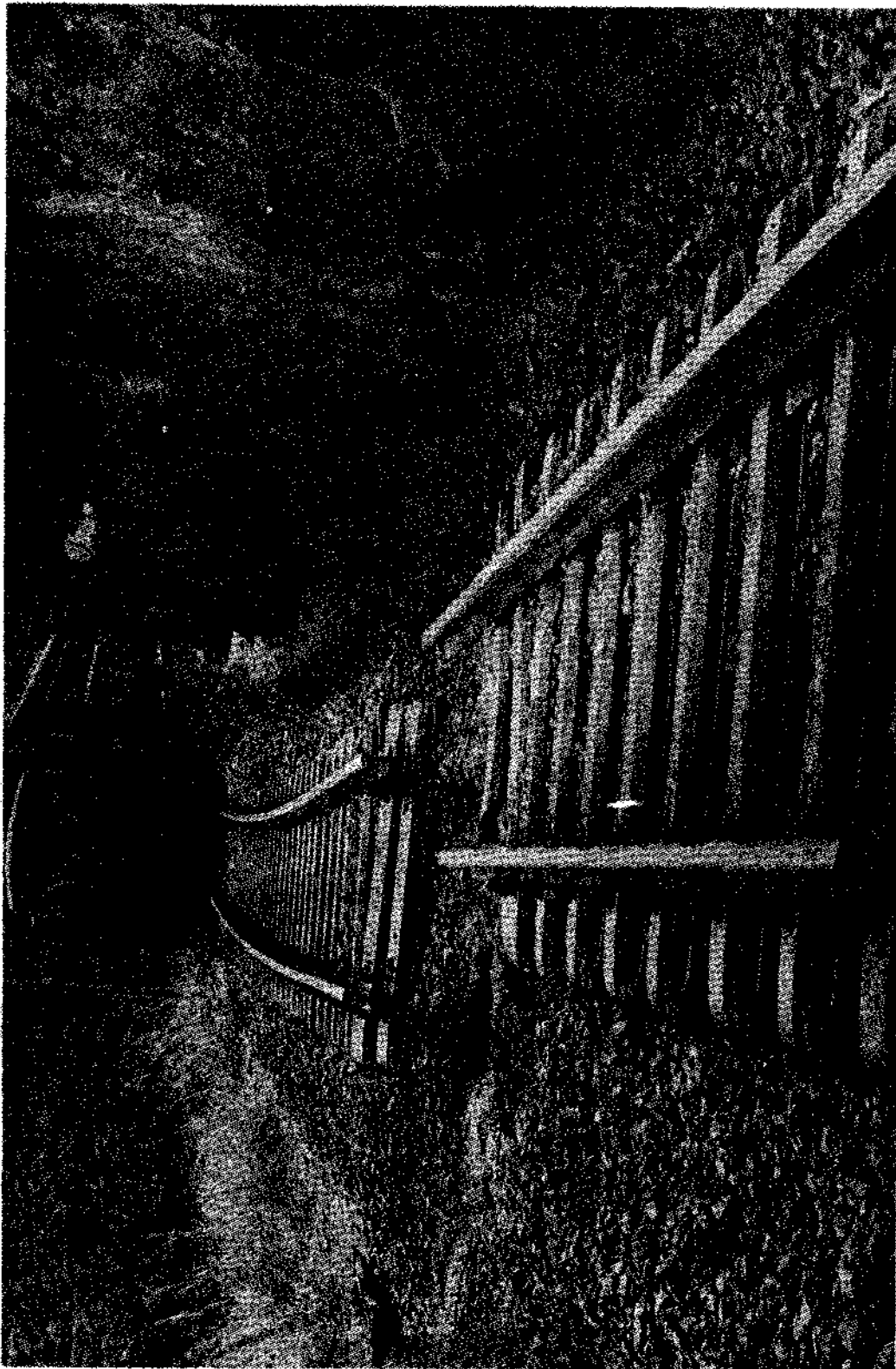


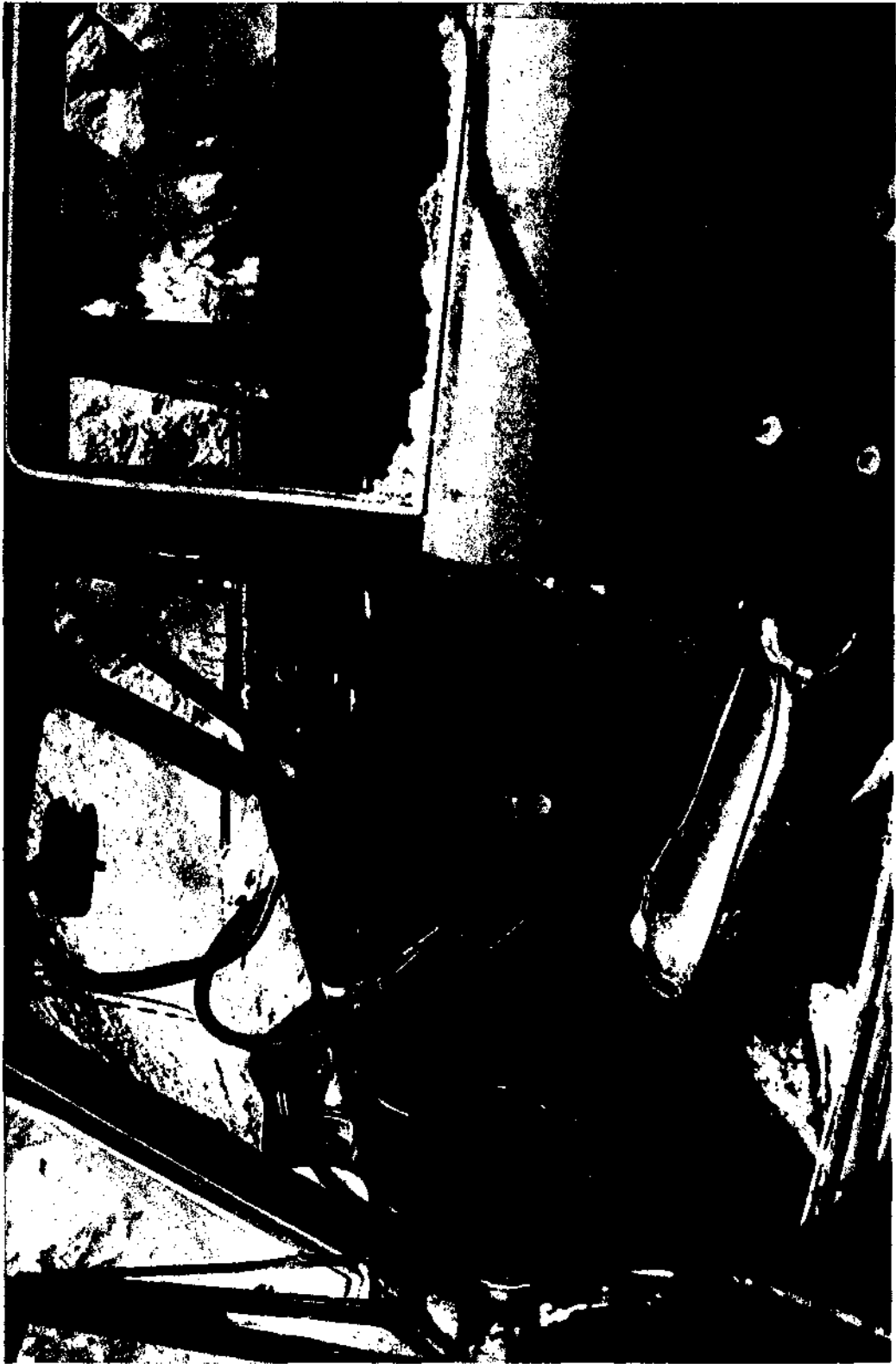
Bombing in Cunene Province, June 1979.



Bombing of Ngiva, Cunene Province, August 1981.

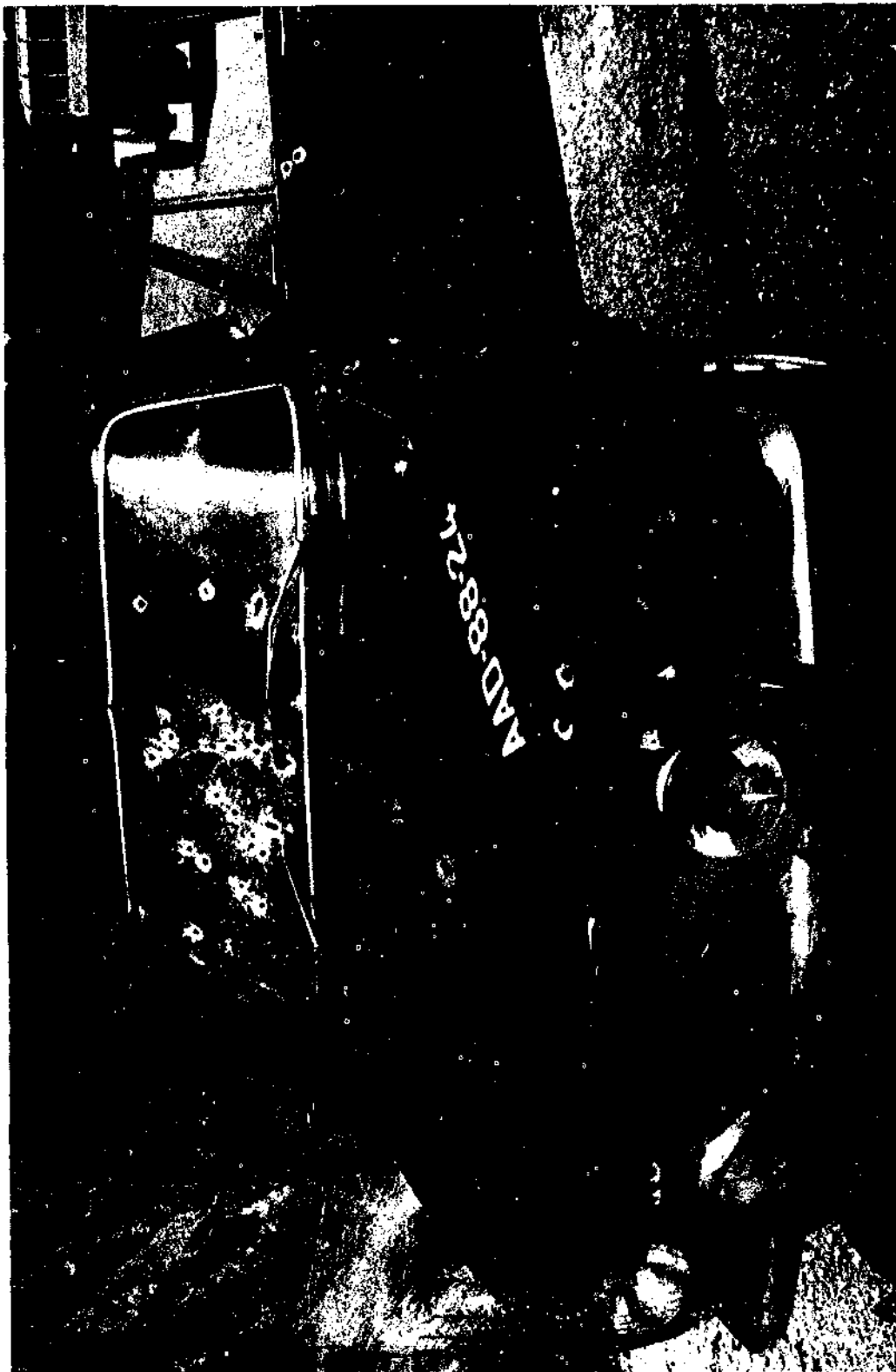
Sabotage of Namibe (formerly Moçâmedes) Railway, 1980.

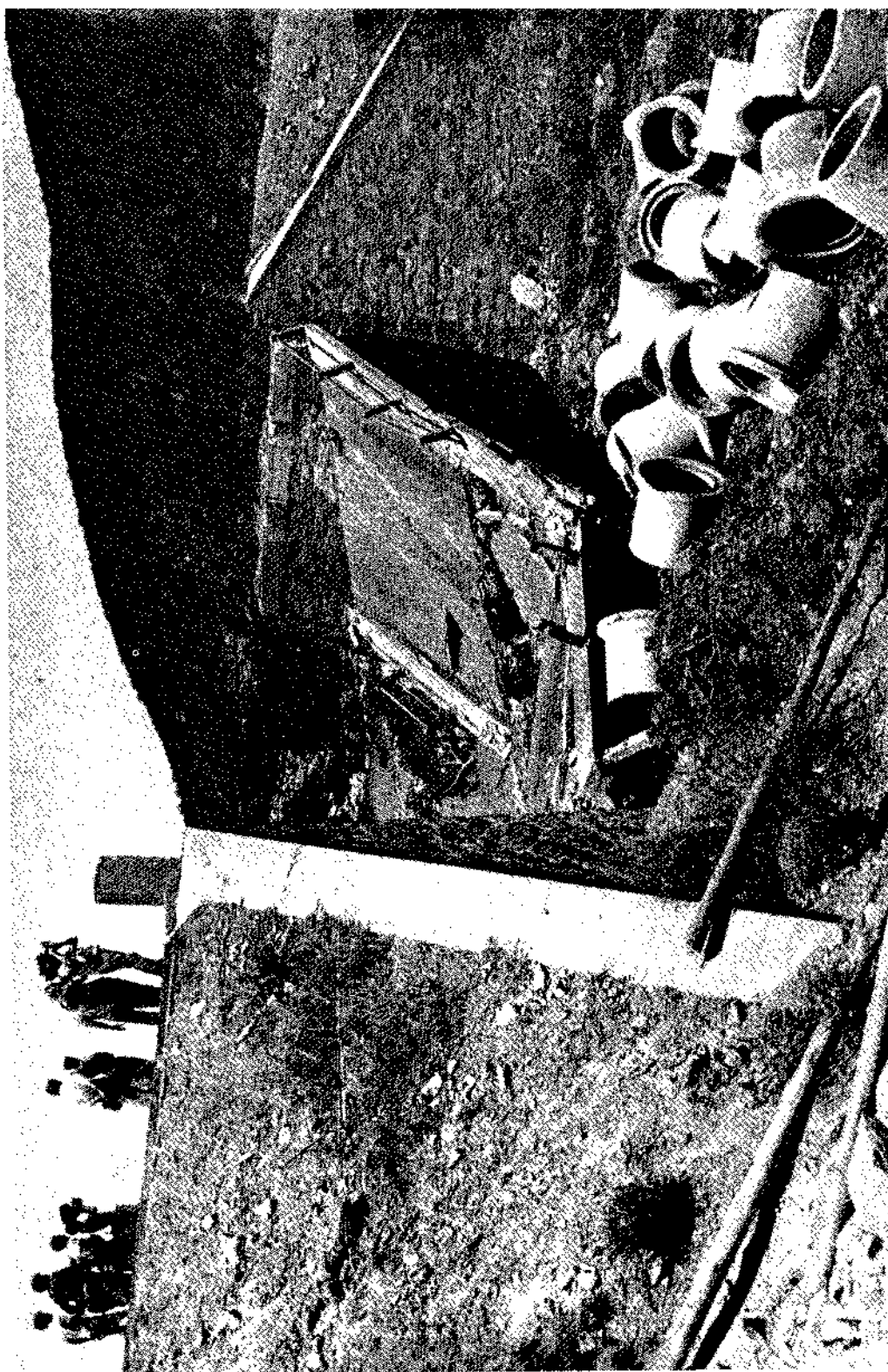




Civilian car attacked on Serra da Leba, October 1979.

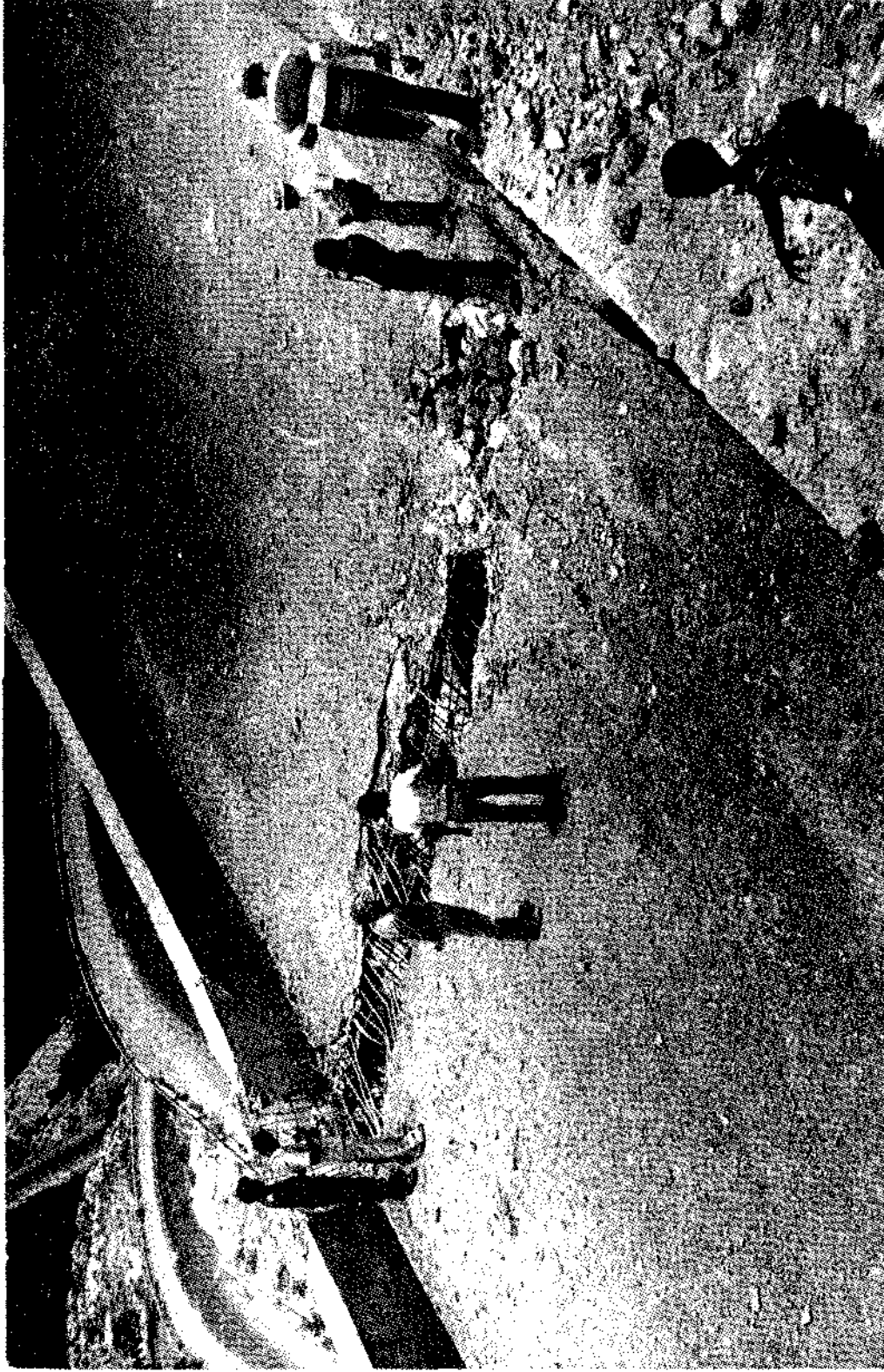
Civilian car attacked on Serra da Leba, October 1979.





Bridge on Serra da Leba highway destroyed by South African aggression, October 1979.

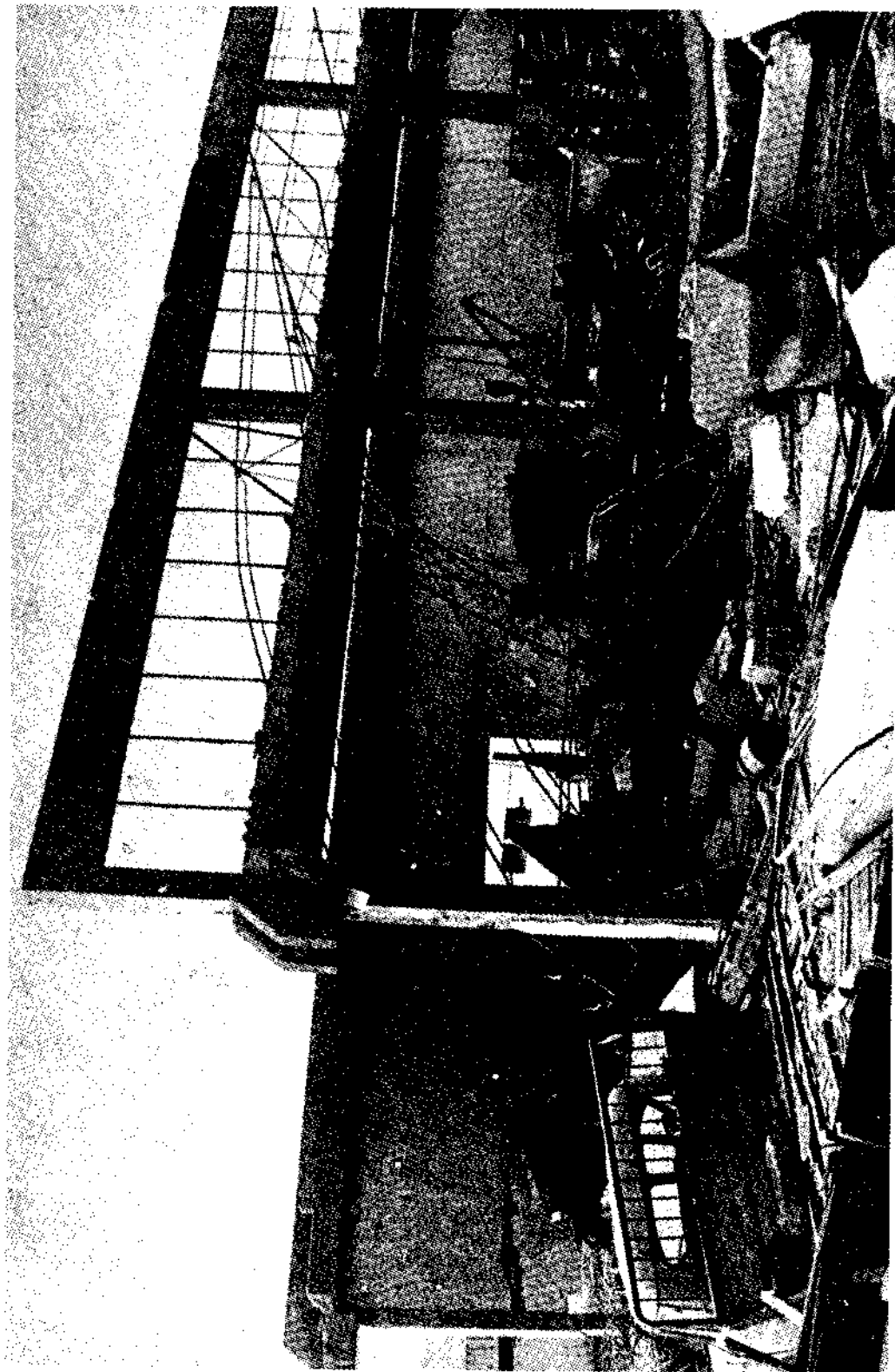
Destruction on Serra da Leba highway, October 1979.

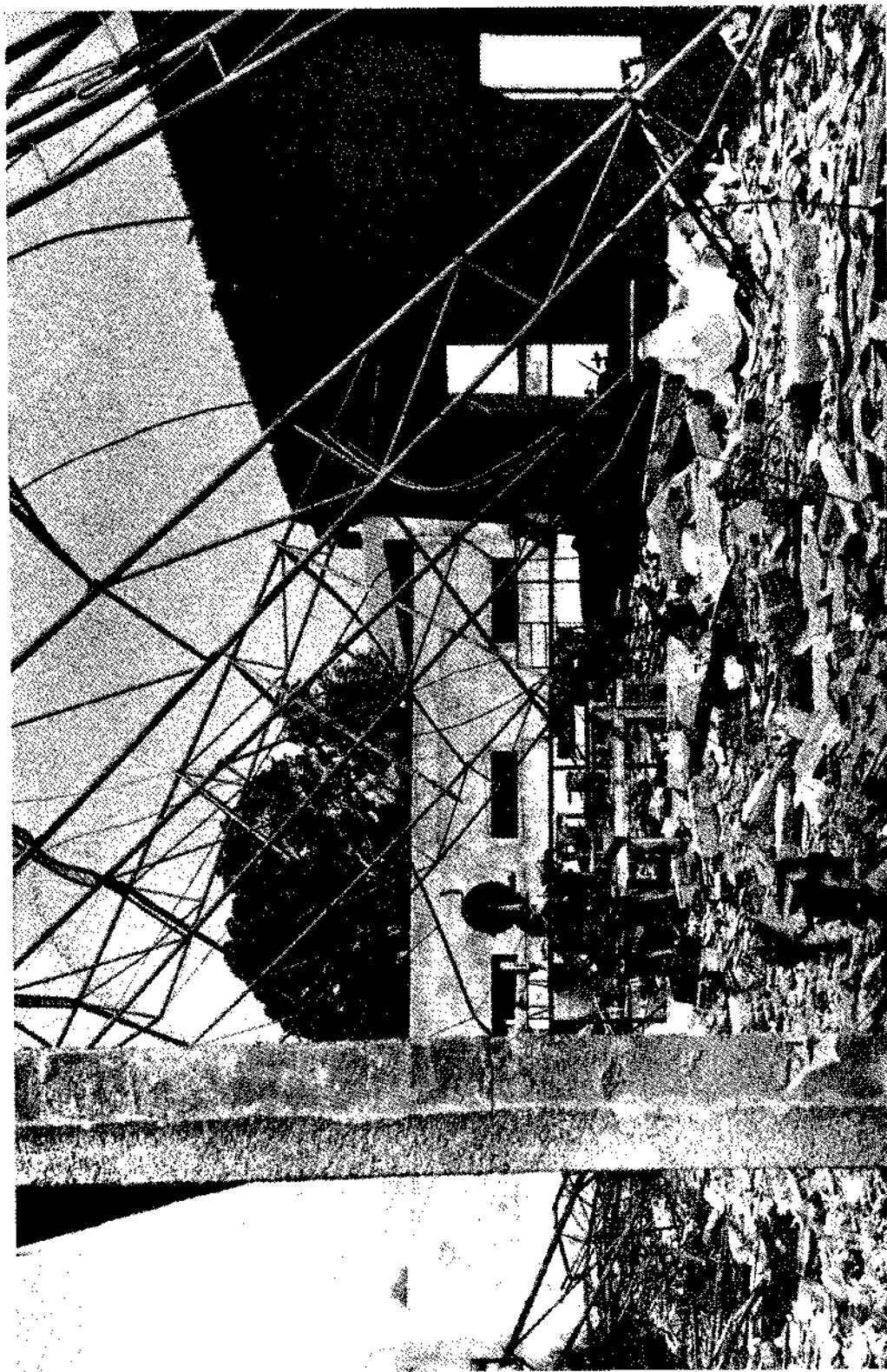




Destruction on Serra de Laba, October 1979.

Bombing of Madeiras da Huila furniture factory, September 1979.





Bombing of Madeiras da Huila furniture factory, September 1979.

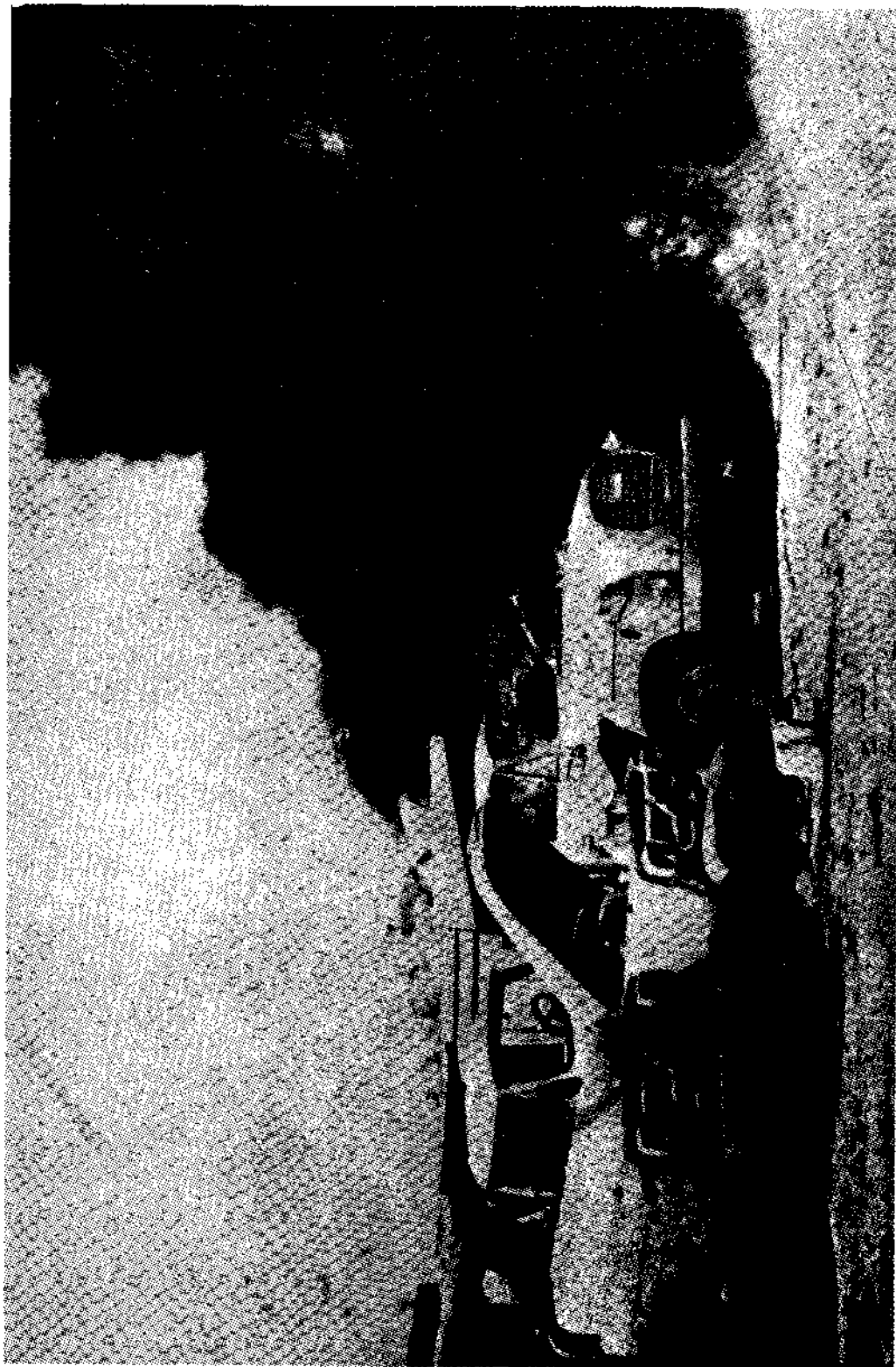
Bombing of Madeiras da Huila furniture factory, September 1979.



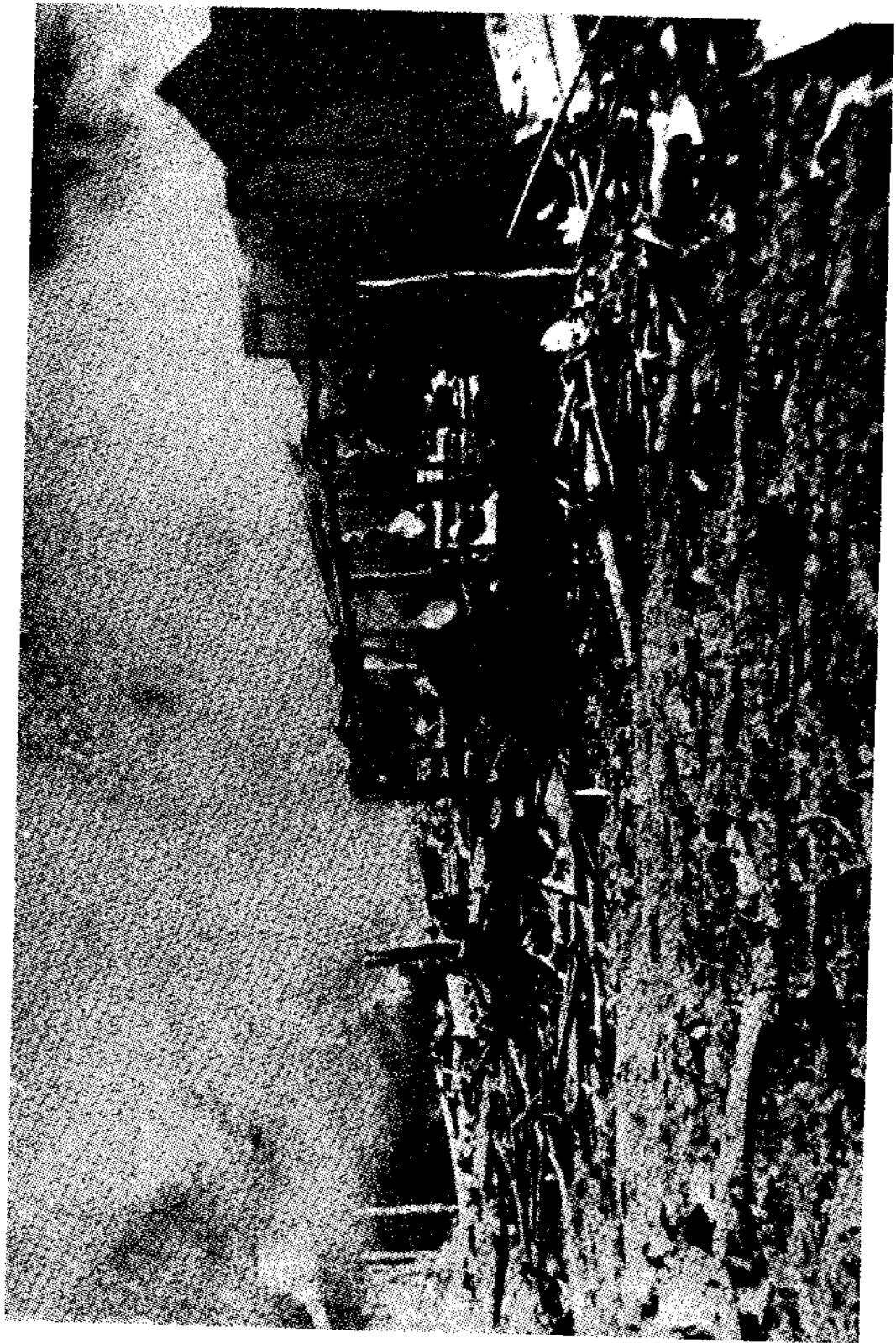


Bombing of Madeiras da Huila furniture factory, September 1979.

Bombing in Cunene Province, June 1979.



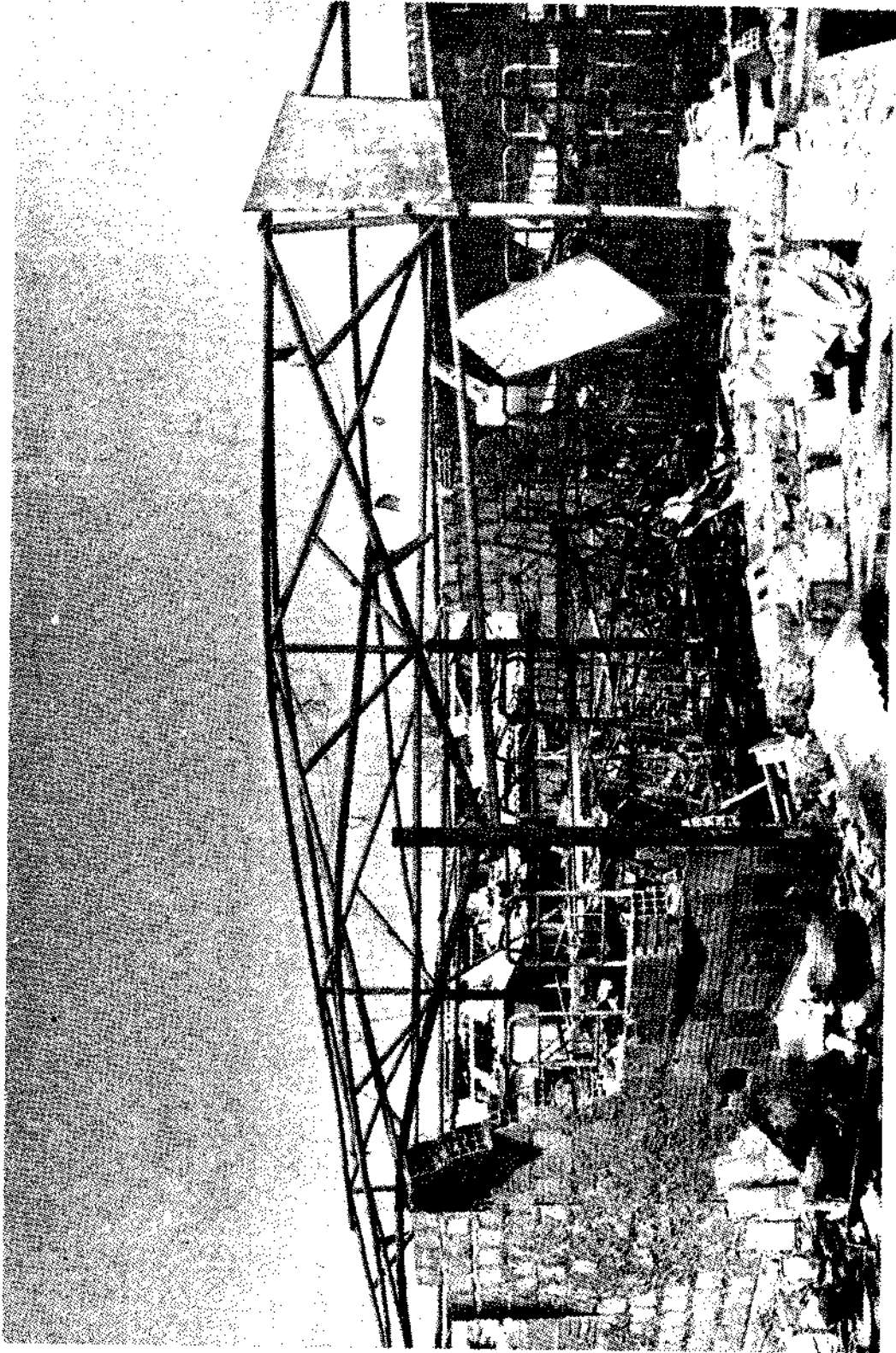
Bombing of Ngiva, August 1981.





Bombing of Ngiva, August 1981.

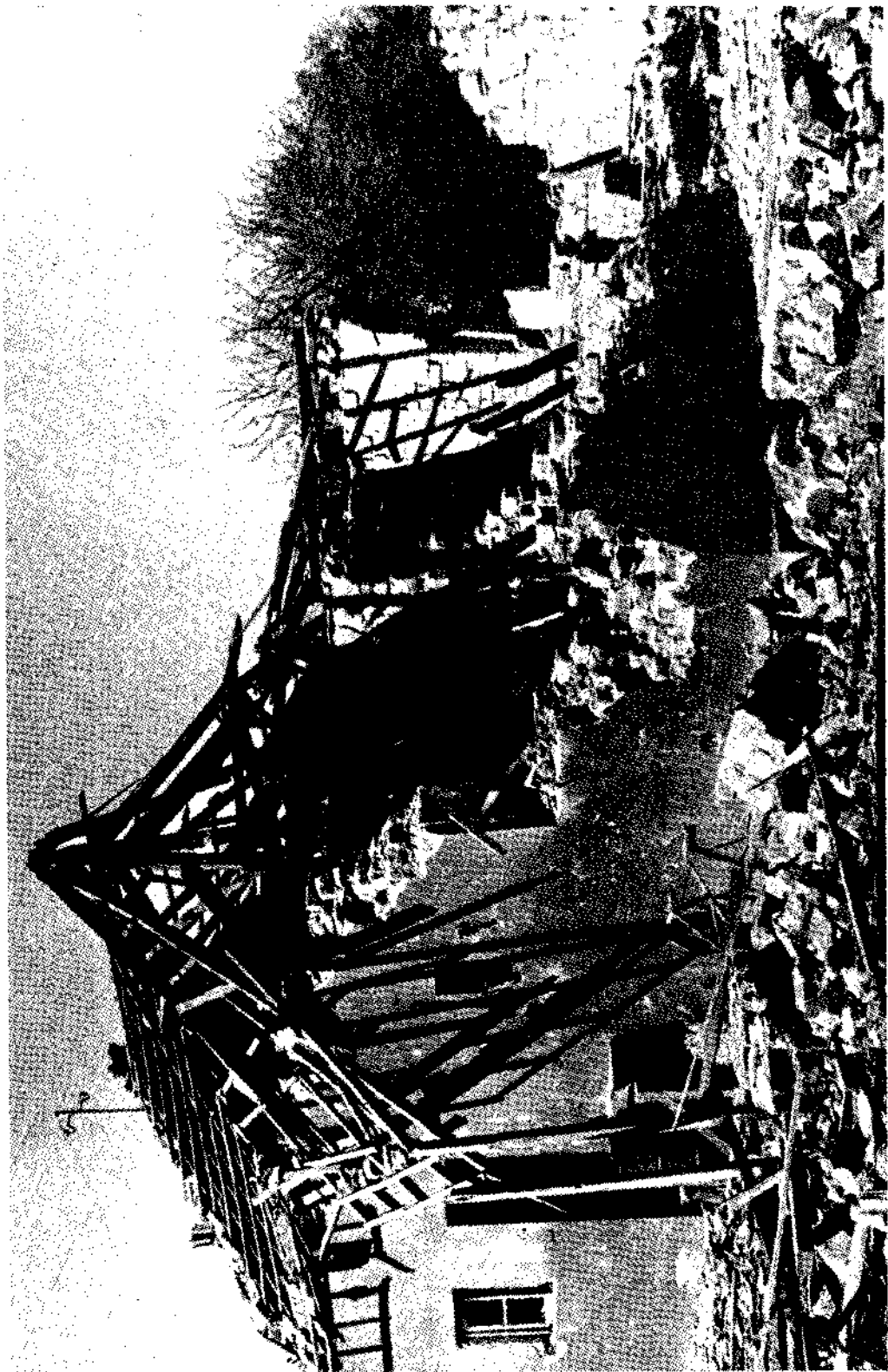
Bombing of Ngiva, August 1981.

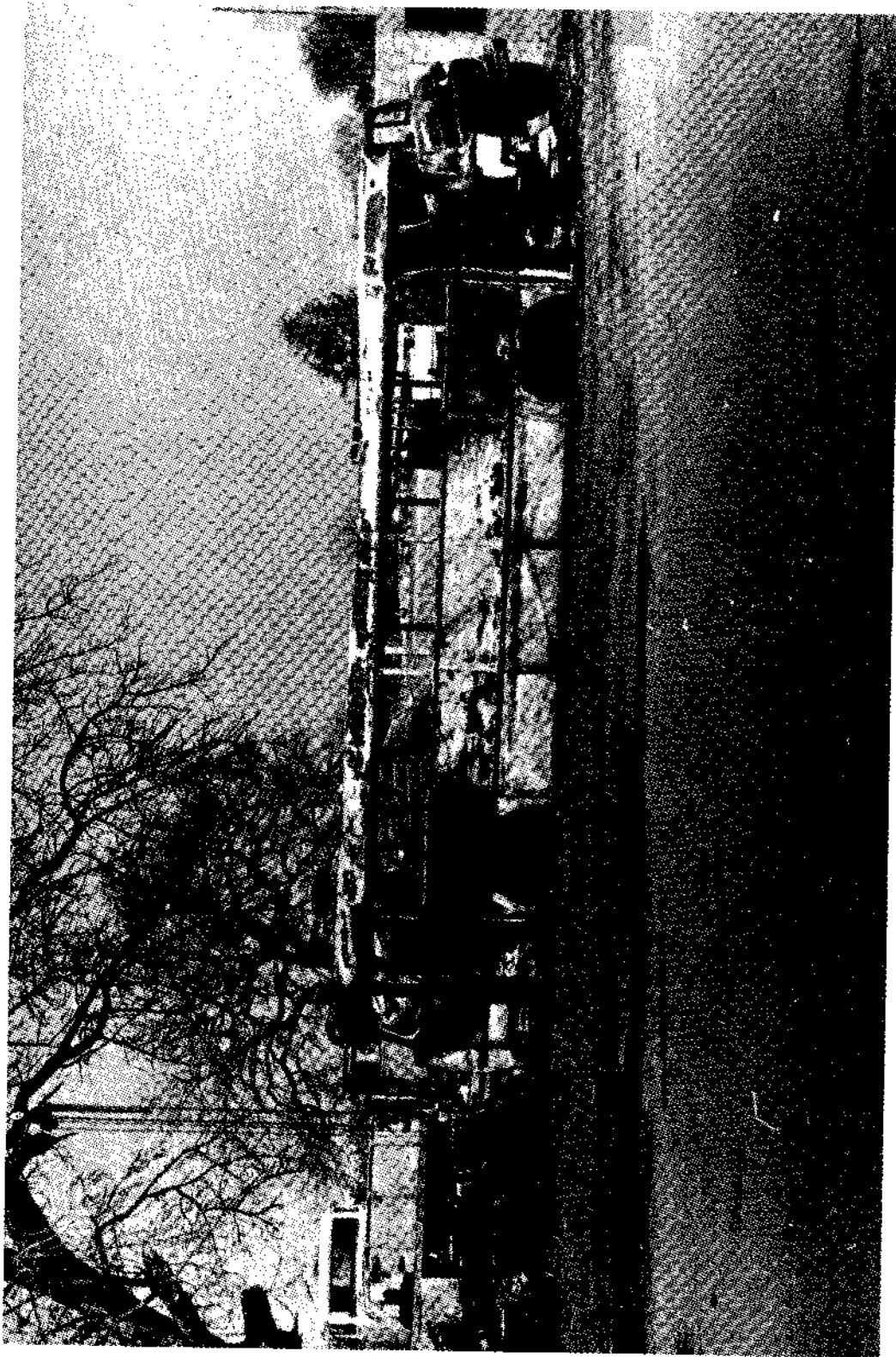




Man wounded by South African aggression, Chiulo Mission hospital, Cunene, August 1981.

Bombing of Ngiva, August 1981.





Attack on Ngiva, August 1981.

Bombing of Ngiva, August 1981.

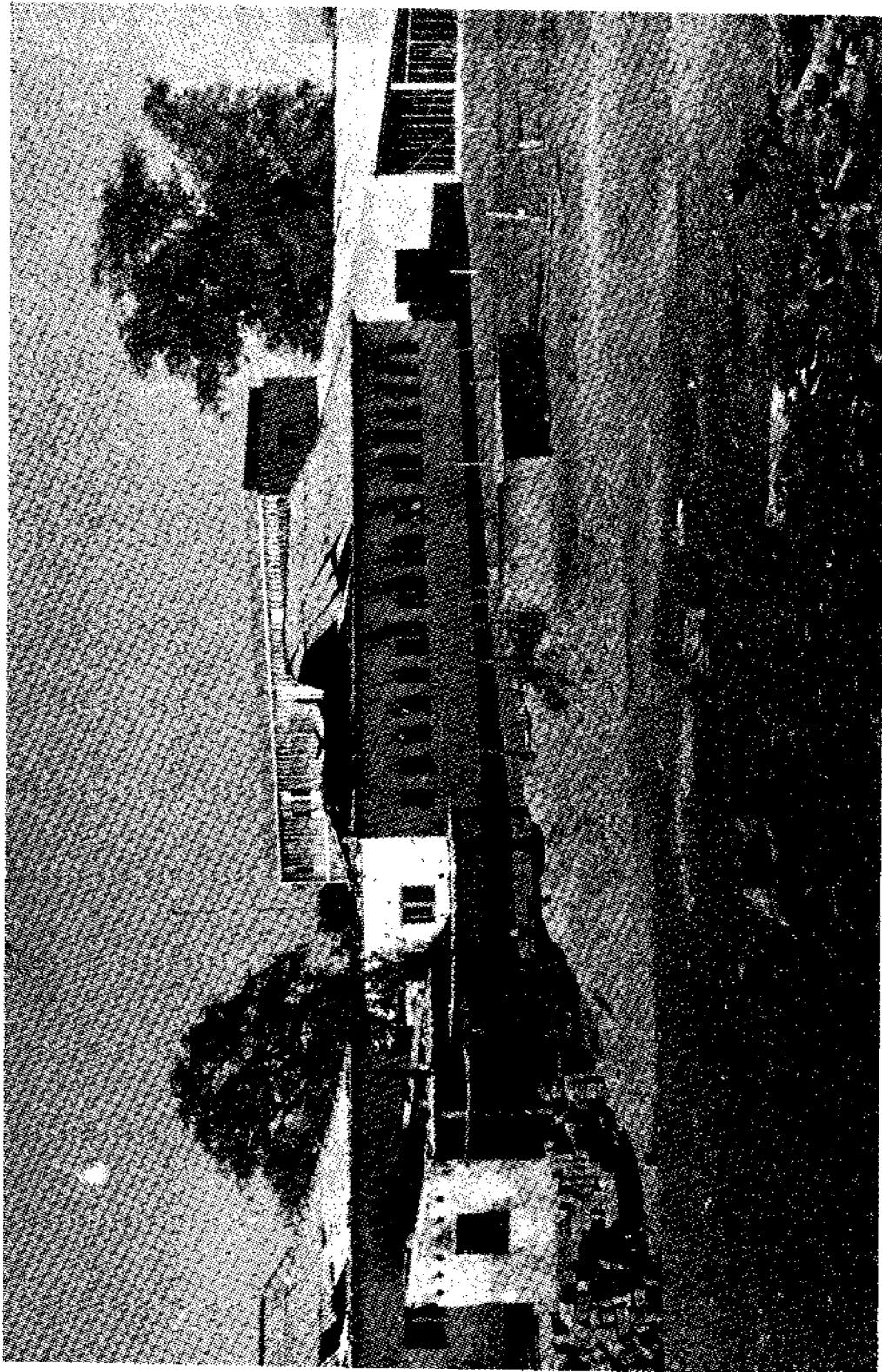




Wounded by a bomb fragment at Cahama.

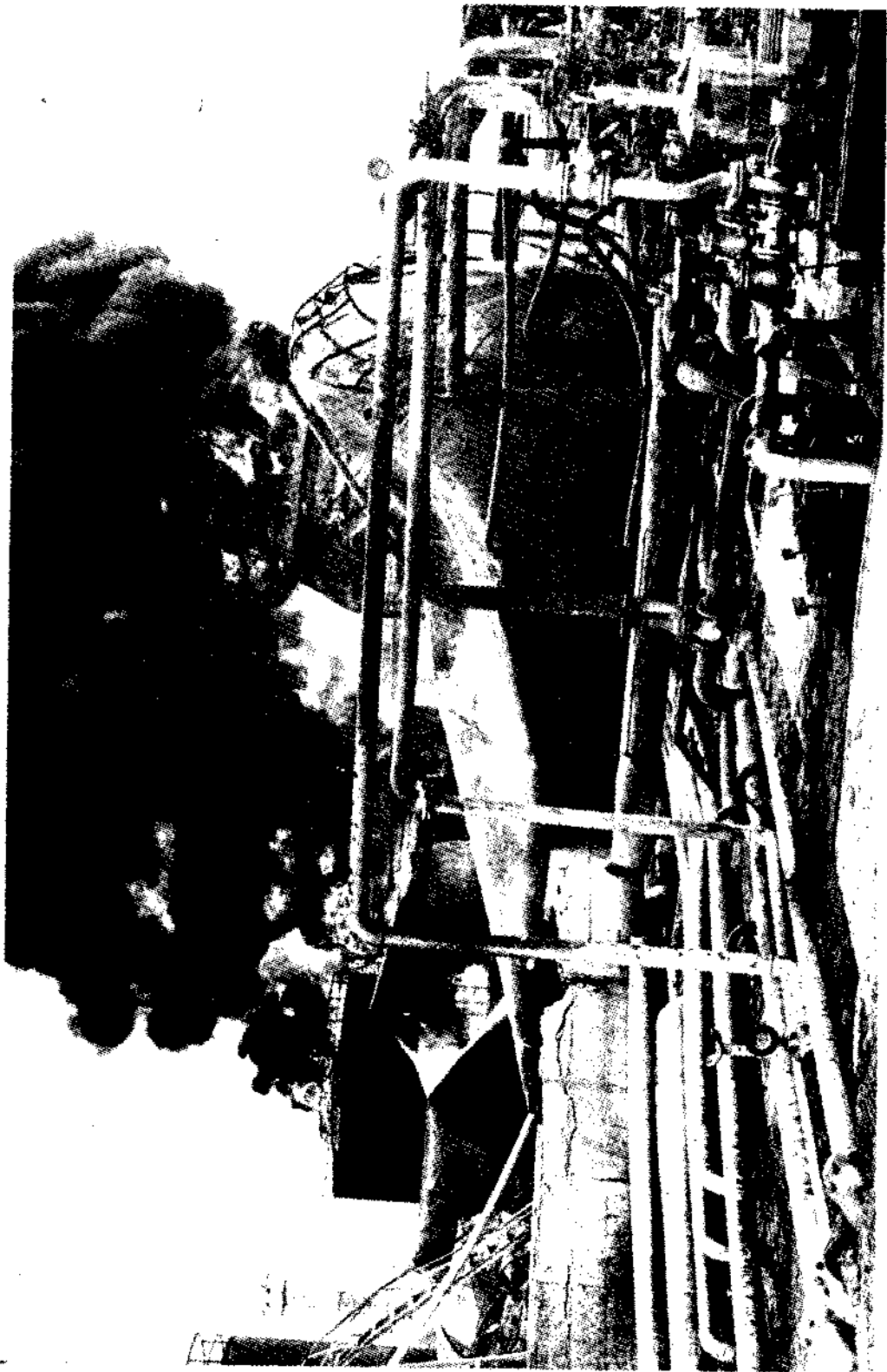
Victims of bombing of Humbe.





Bombing of Ngiva, August 1981.

Sabotage of Luanda oil refinery - burning storage tanks, November 1981.





Sabotage of Luanda oil refinery -- equipment used by saboteurs, November 1981.

Sabotage of Luanda oil refinery - remains of an aggressor, November 1981.




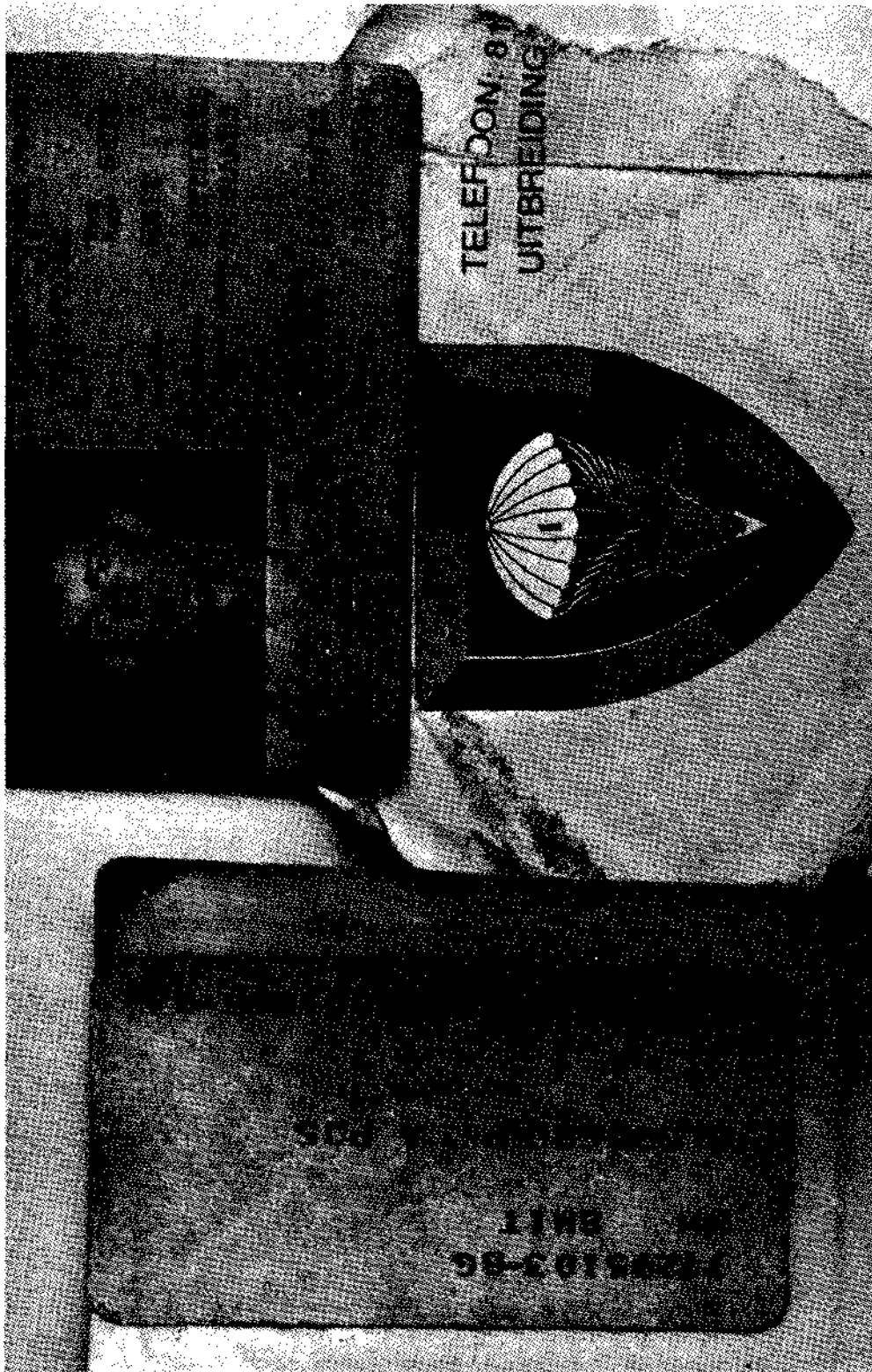


Identity cards of killed South African soldiers.

Appointment card of South African soldier.

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| <p>230151-8</p> | |
| <p>SINCE 1978</p> | |
| <p>Workno: 230151-8</p> | |
| <p>610522 5071 00 1</p> | |
| <p>Amguel/Anguel</p> | |
| <p>01- 02-</p> | <p>19 78</p> |





Identity card of South African soldier.

SADF identity card.



KAART
S.A. DEFENCE FORCE IDENTITY
CARD
77295103BG

No. Rang Rank SKTR

Van Surname SMIT

Voorname Christian names MARTHINUS HERMANUS

Geboortedatum Date of Birth 61/05/22

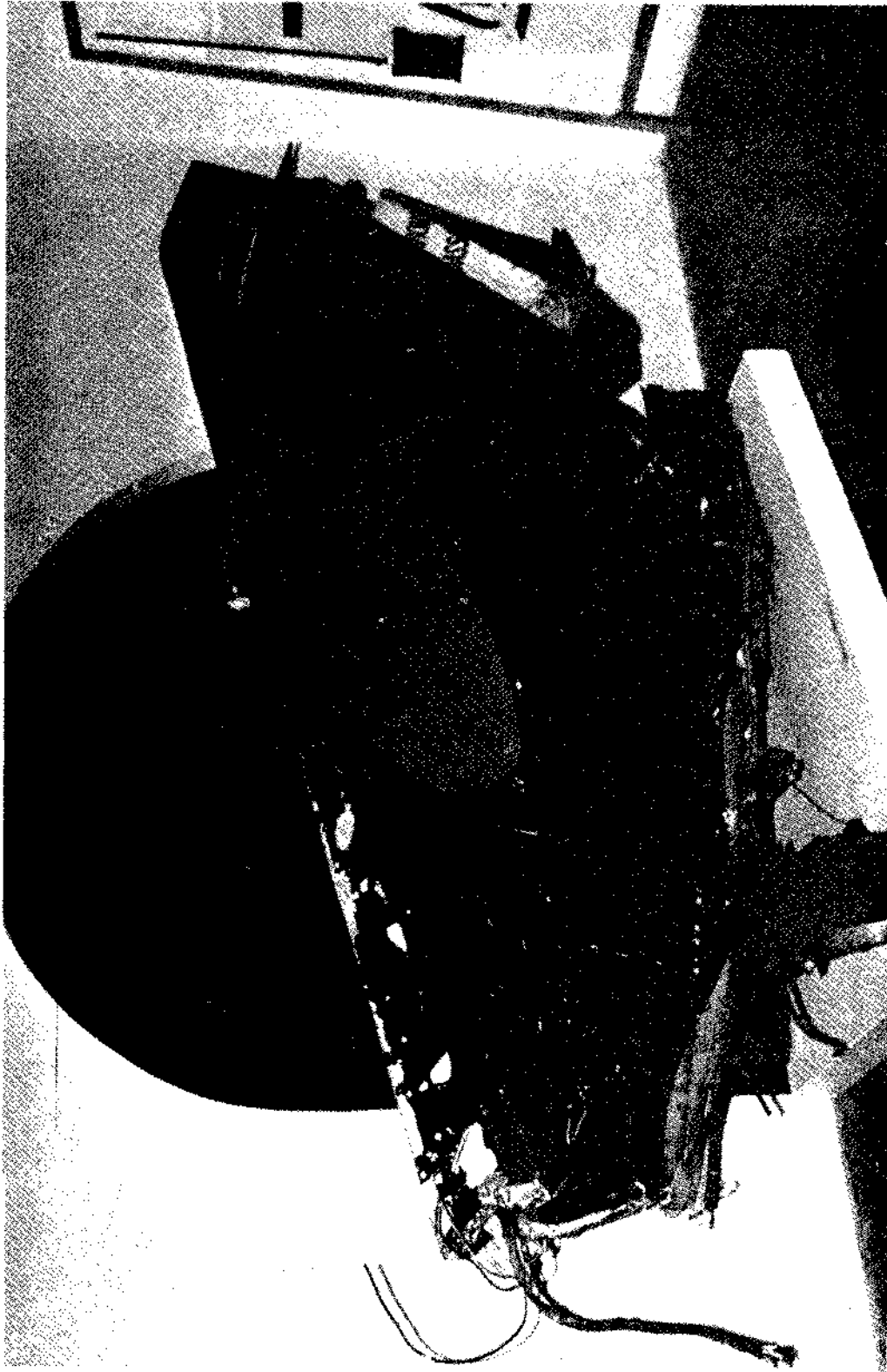
Uitgereik Issued 79/08/09

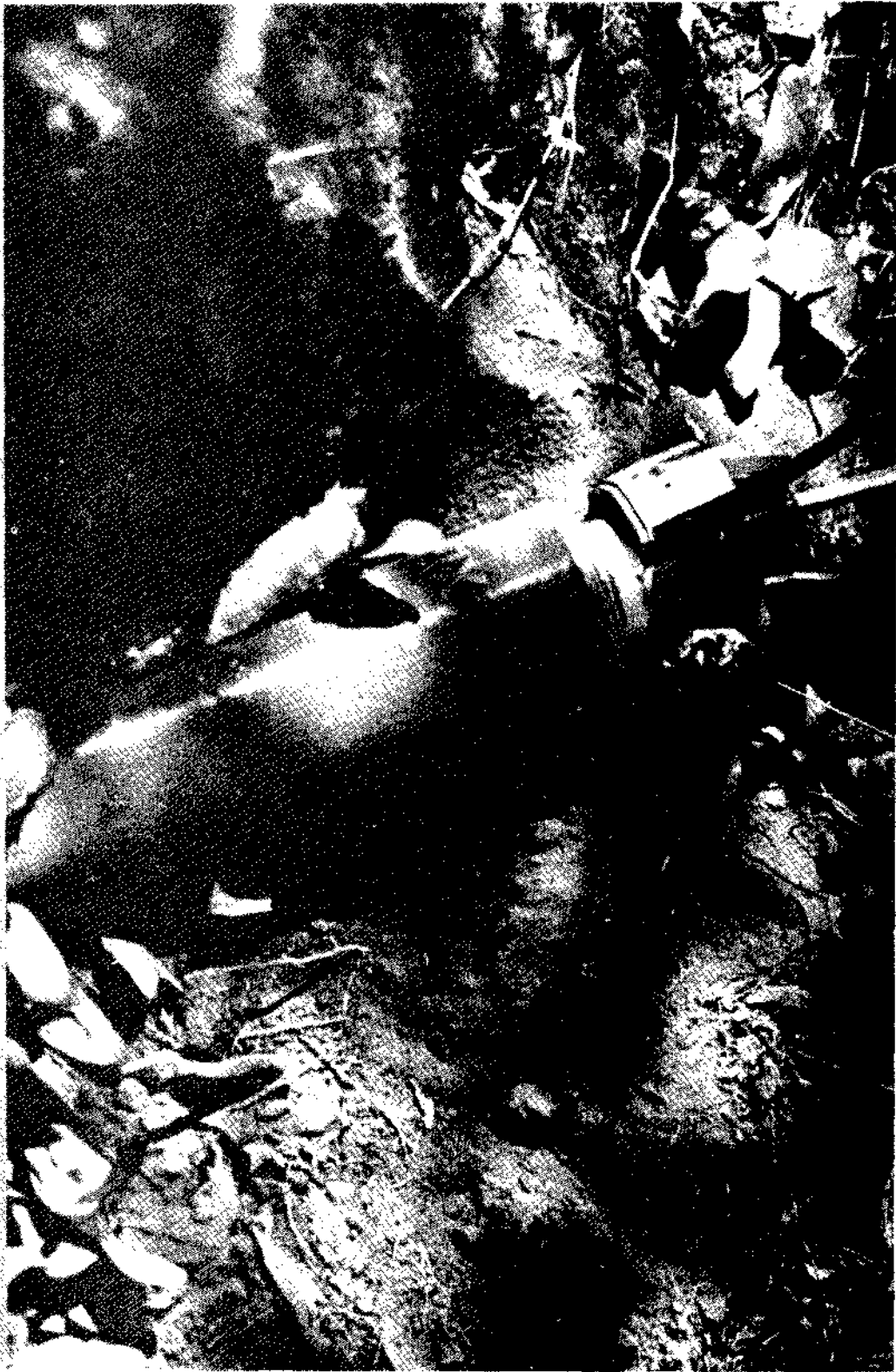
SADF
R. 2000
Lost van SADF Personeel
Chief of SADF Personnel
57786



Shot down South African pilot.

Tail of South African plane shot down.





Unexploded South African bomb.

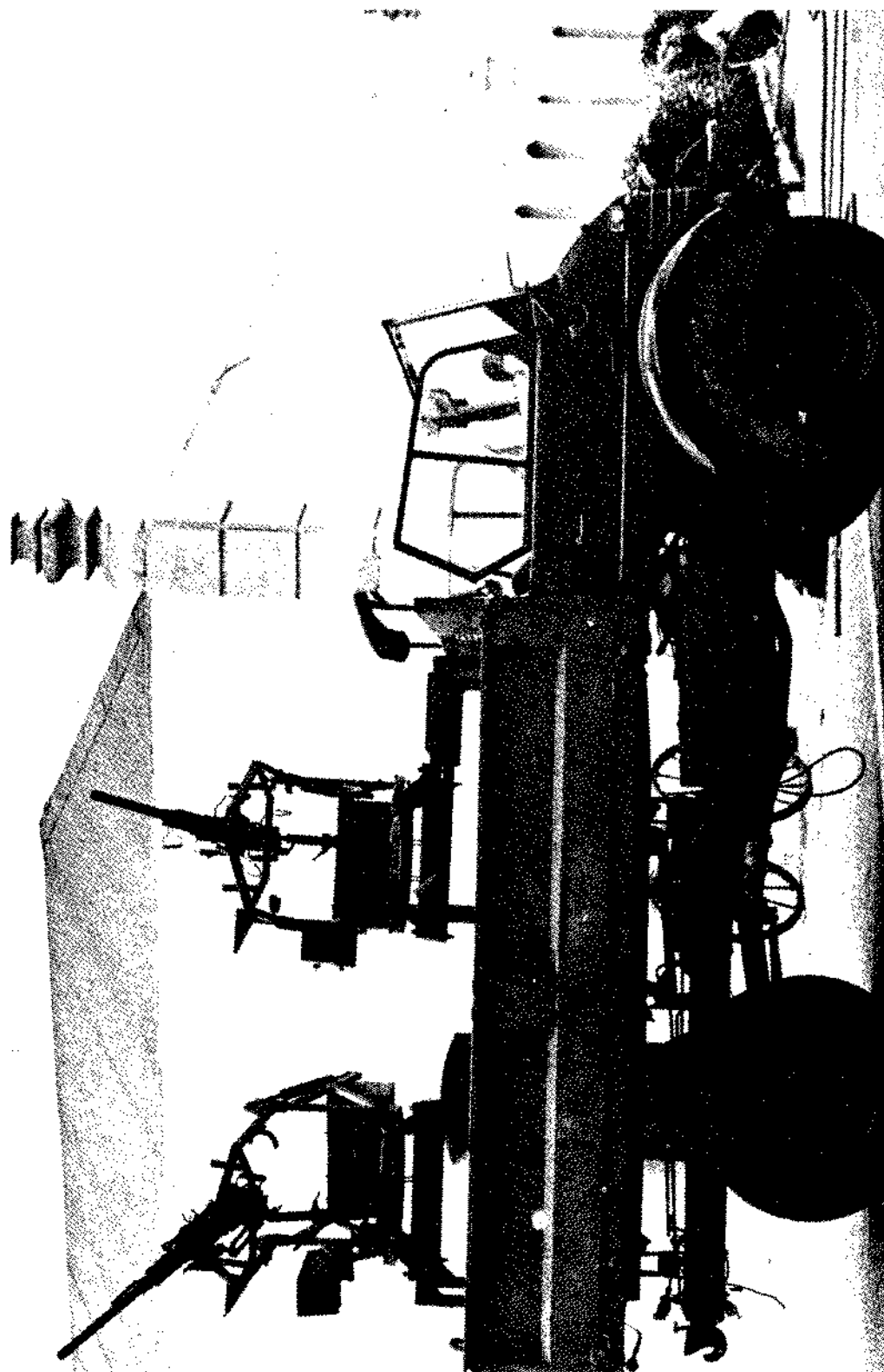
South African plane shot down in November 1979.

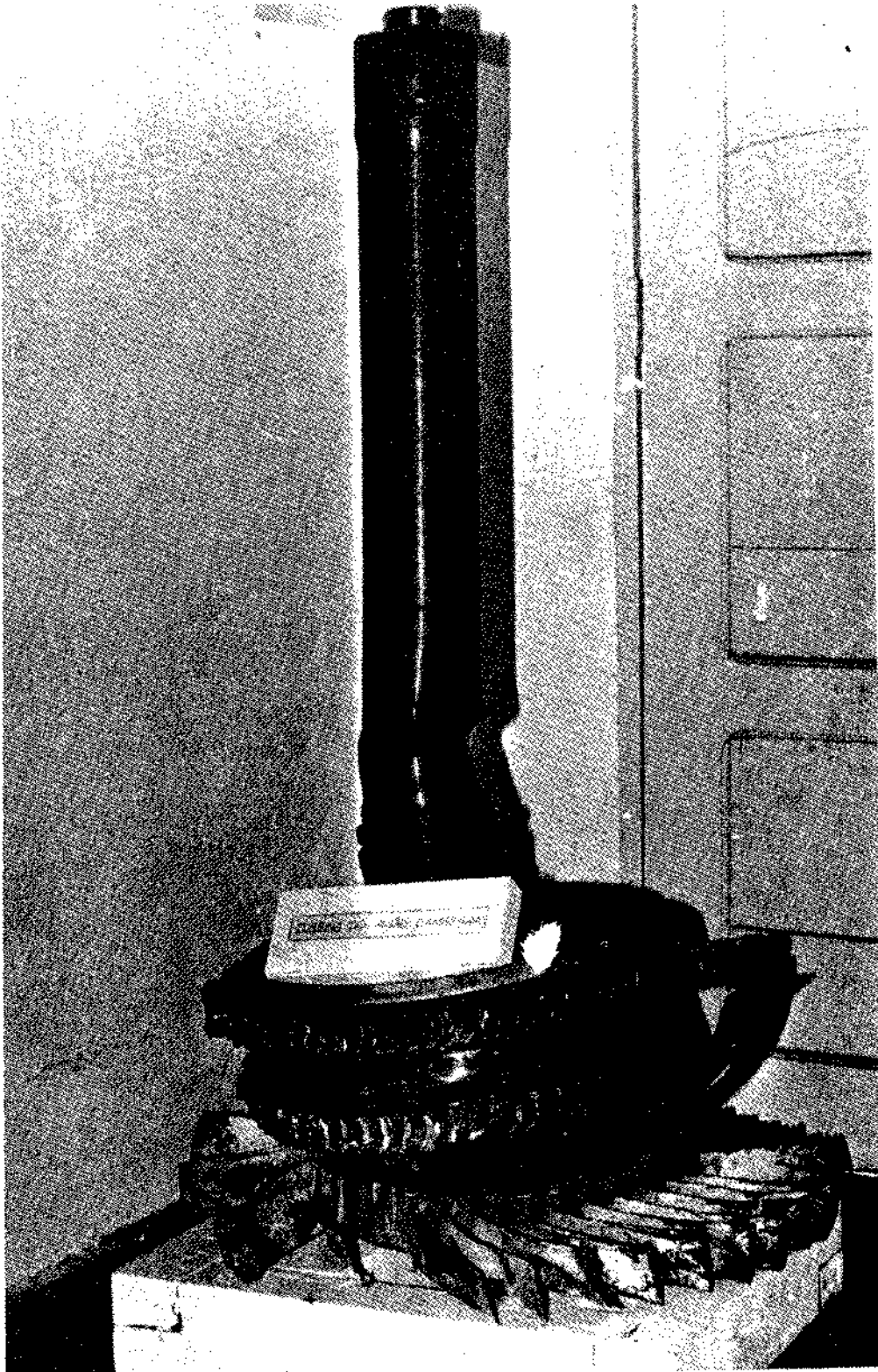




South African plane shot down in July 1980.

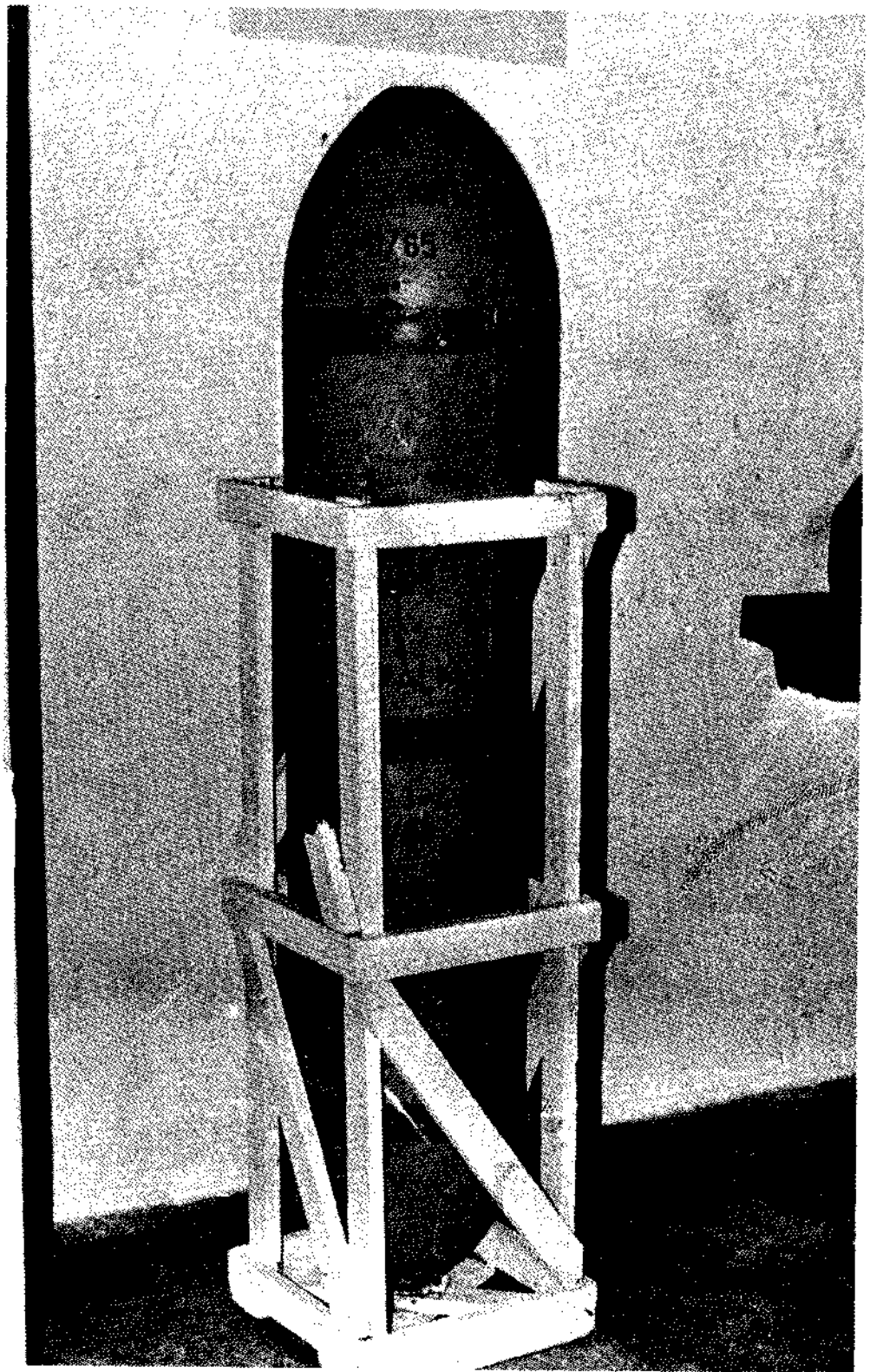
South African Browning machineguns mounted on truck.

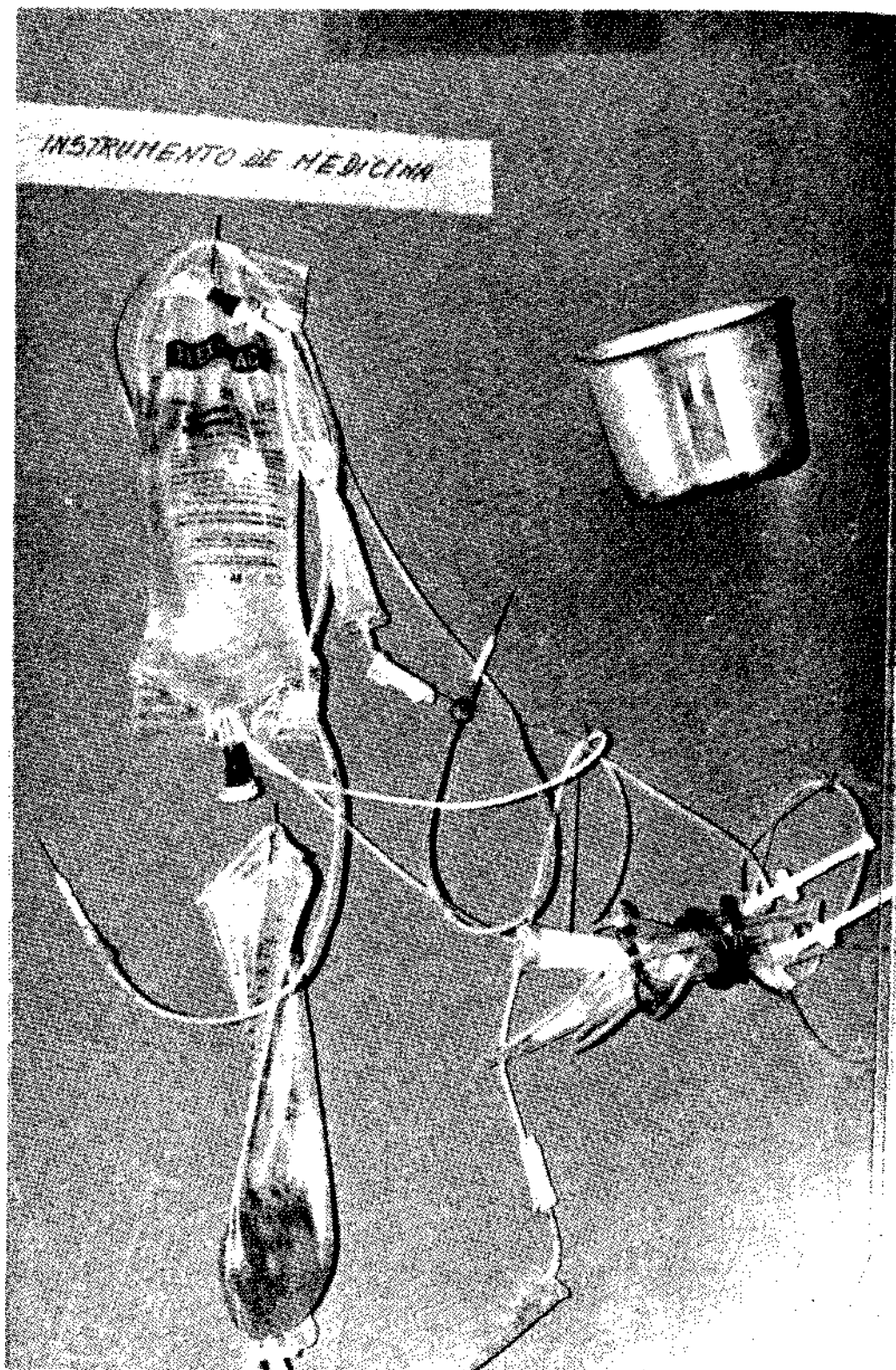




Turbine of South African Canberra.

Napalm bomb.





Field medical equipment captured from the enemy.

South African AML-90 armoured car.

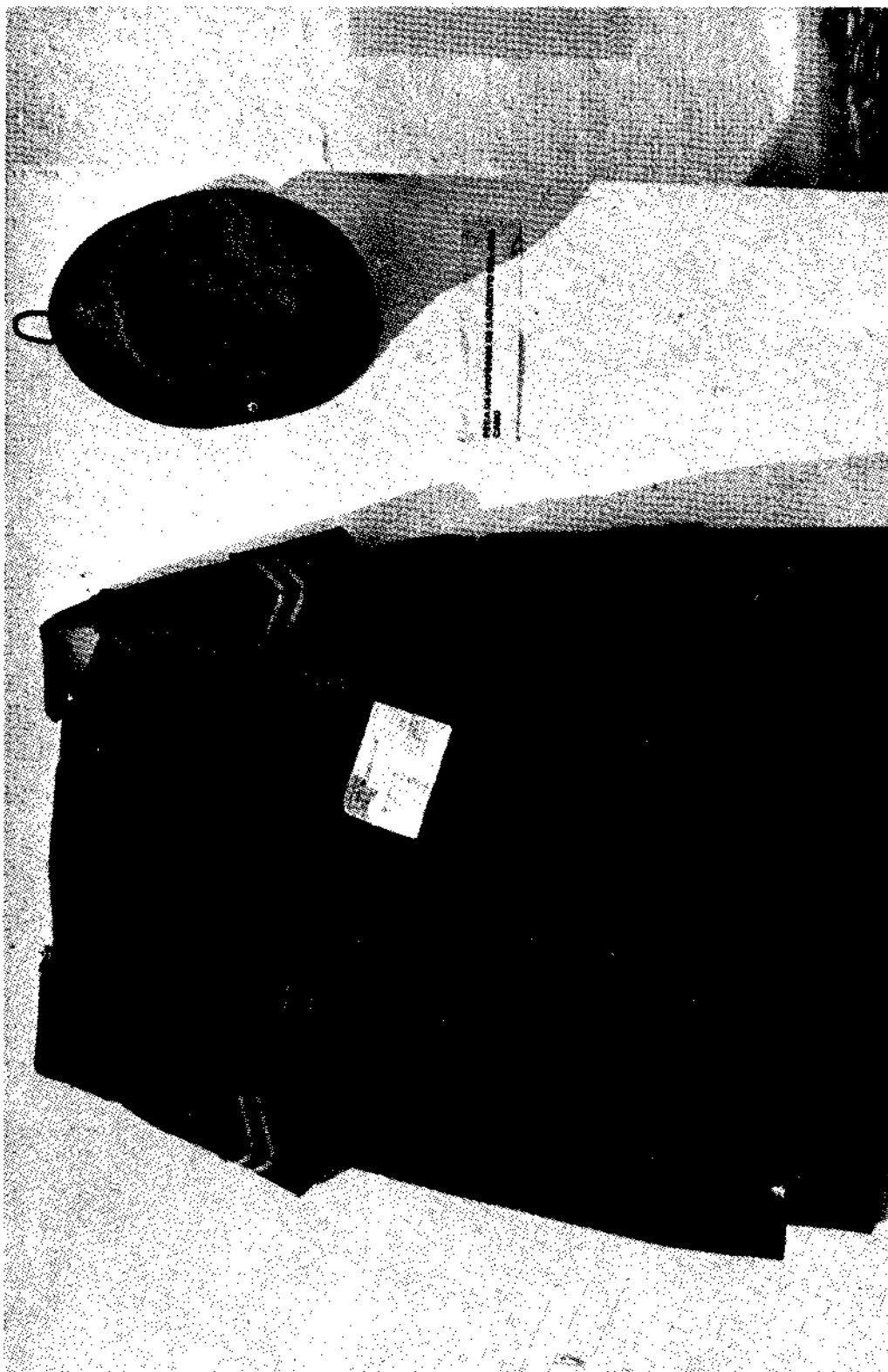




Field radio captured from enemy.

Oxygen mask of South African pilot shot down.

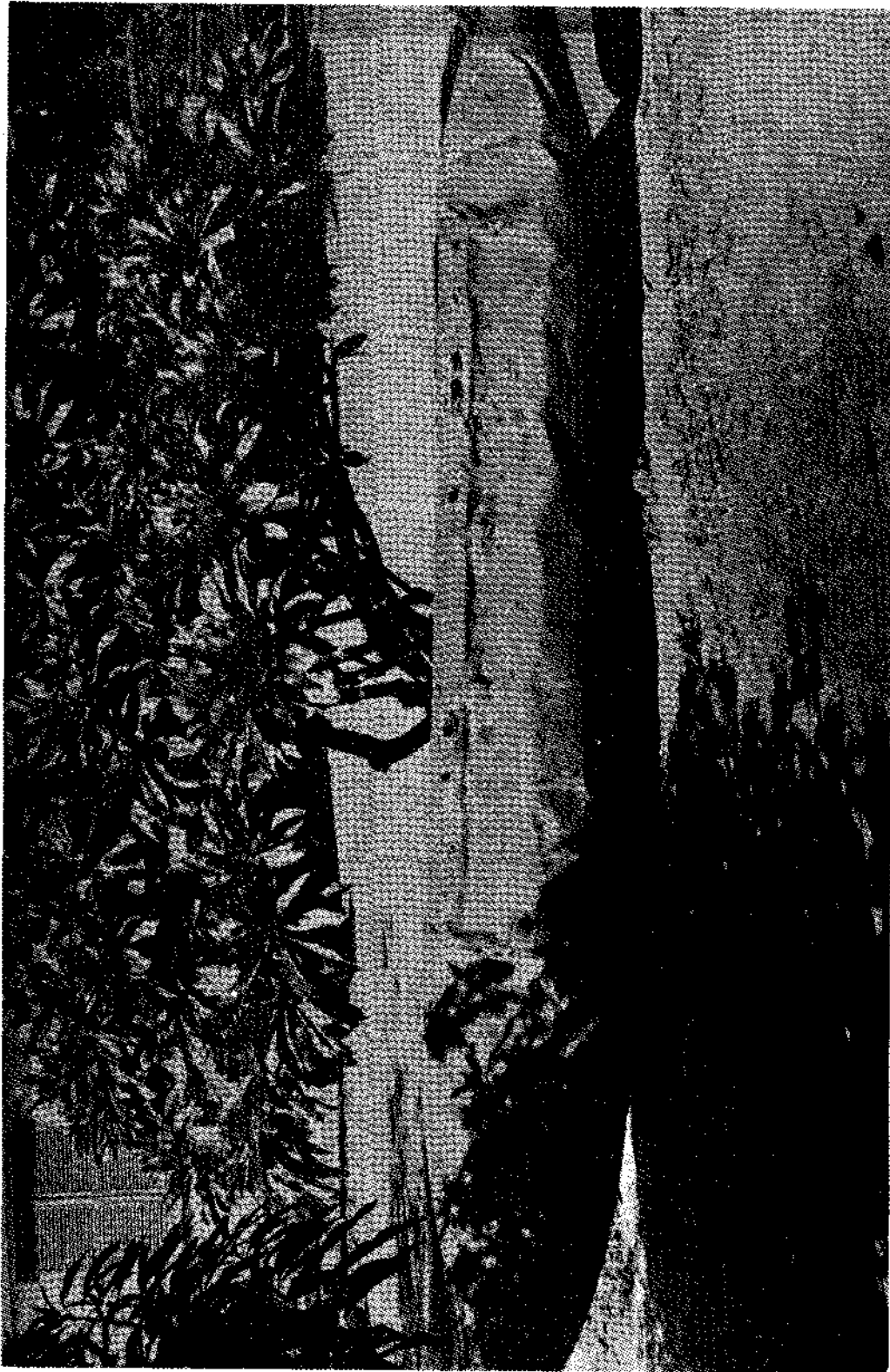




Part of uniform of South African sergeant.

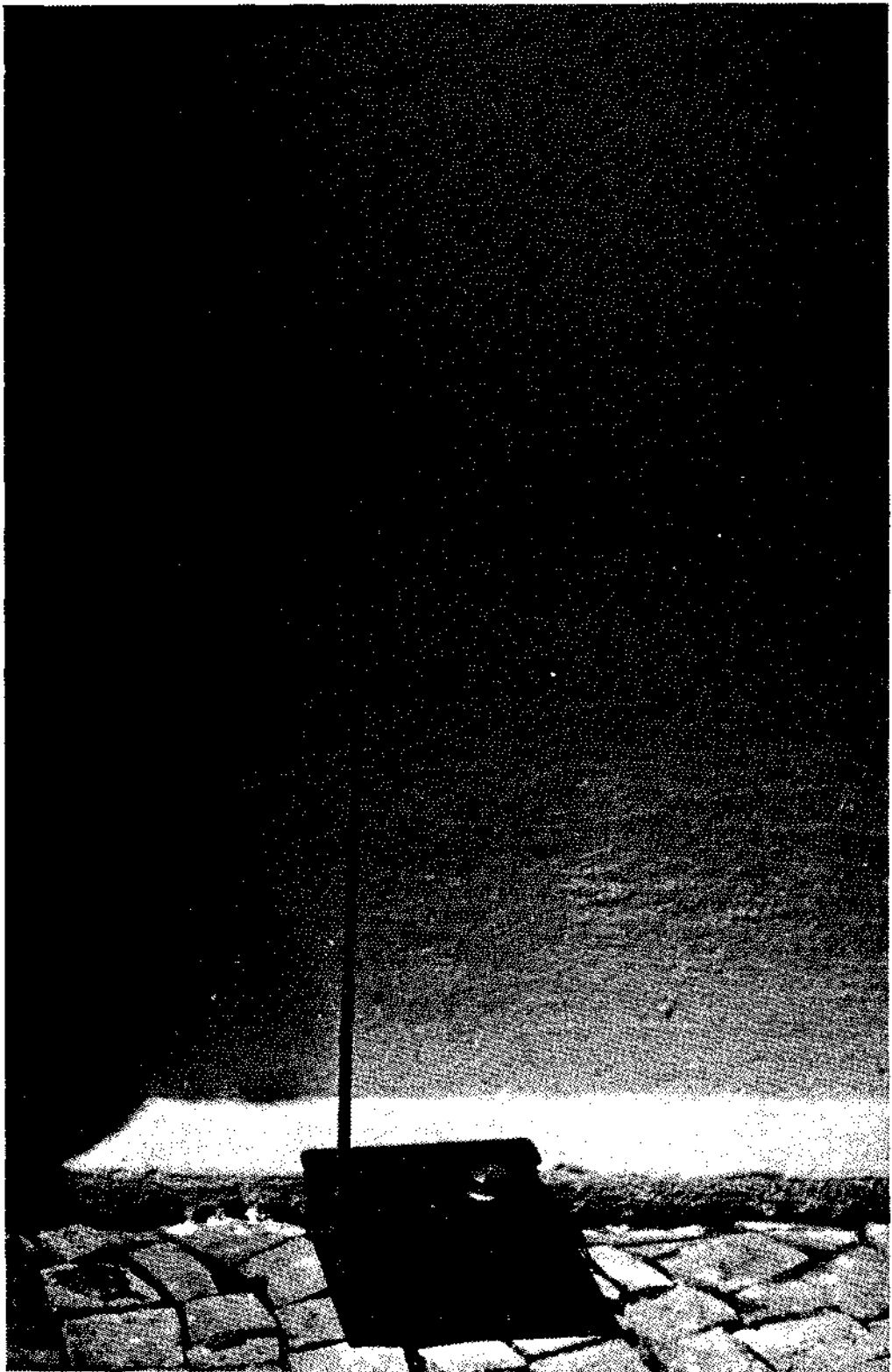
Spare fuel tanks of South African Mirage F1 aircraft.





South African bomb.

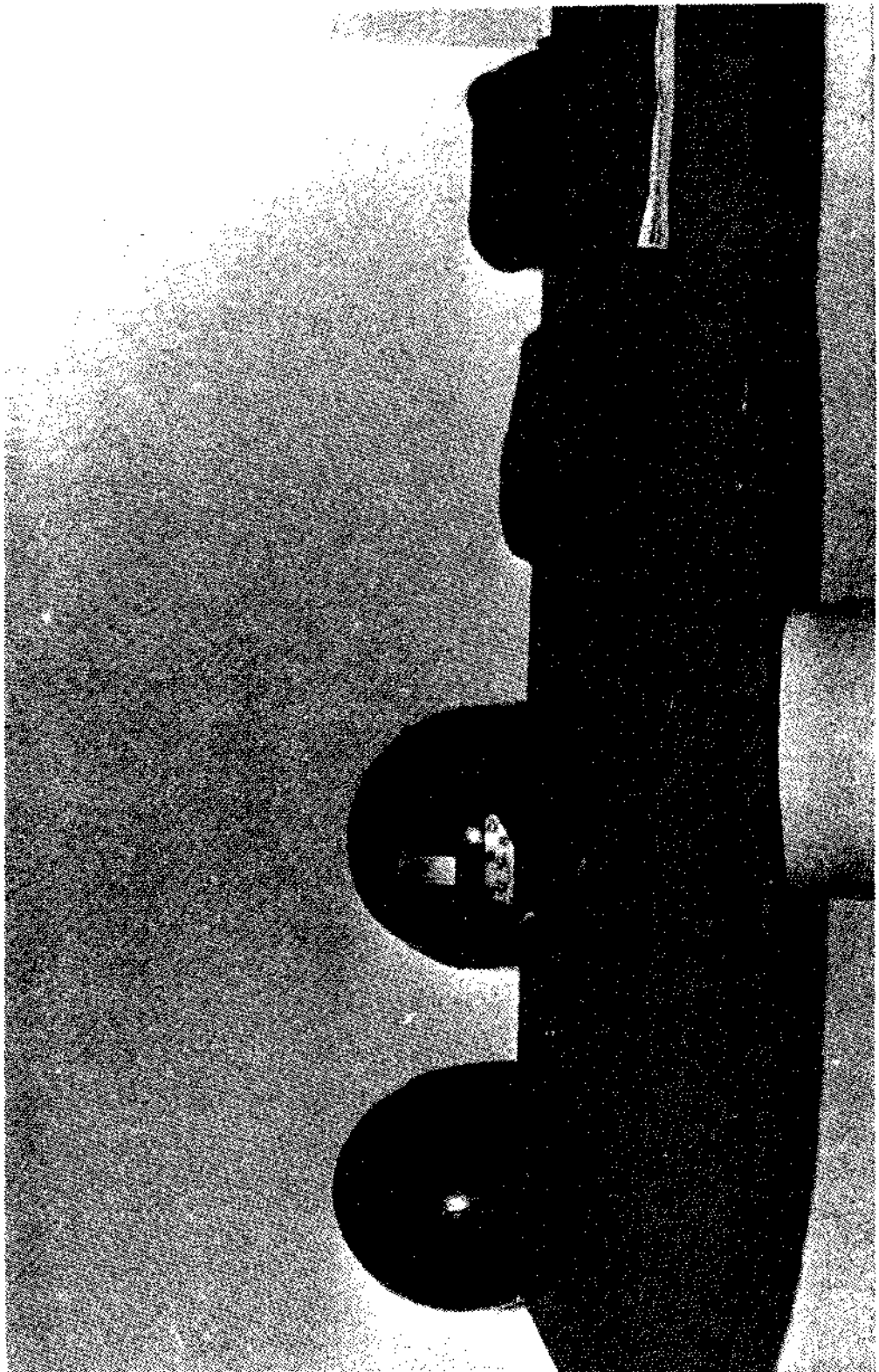
Radio set.

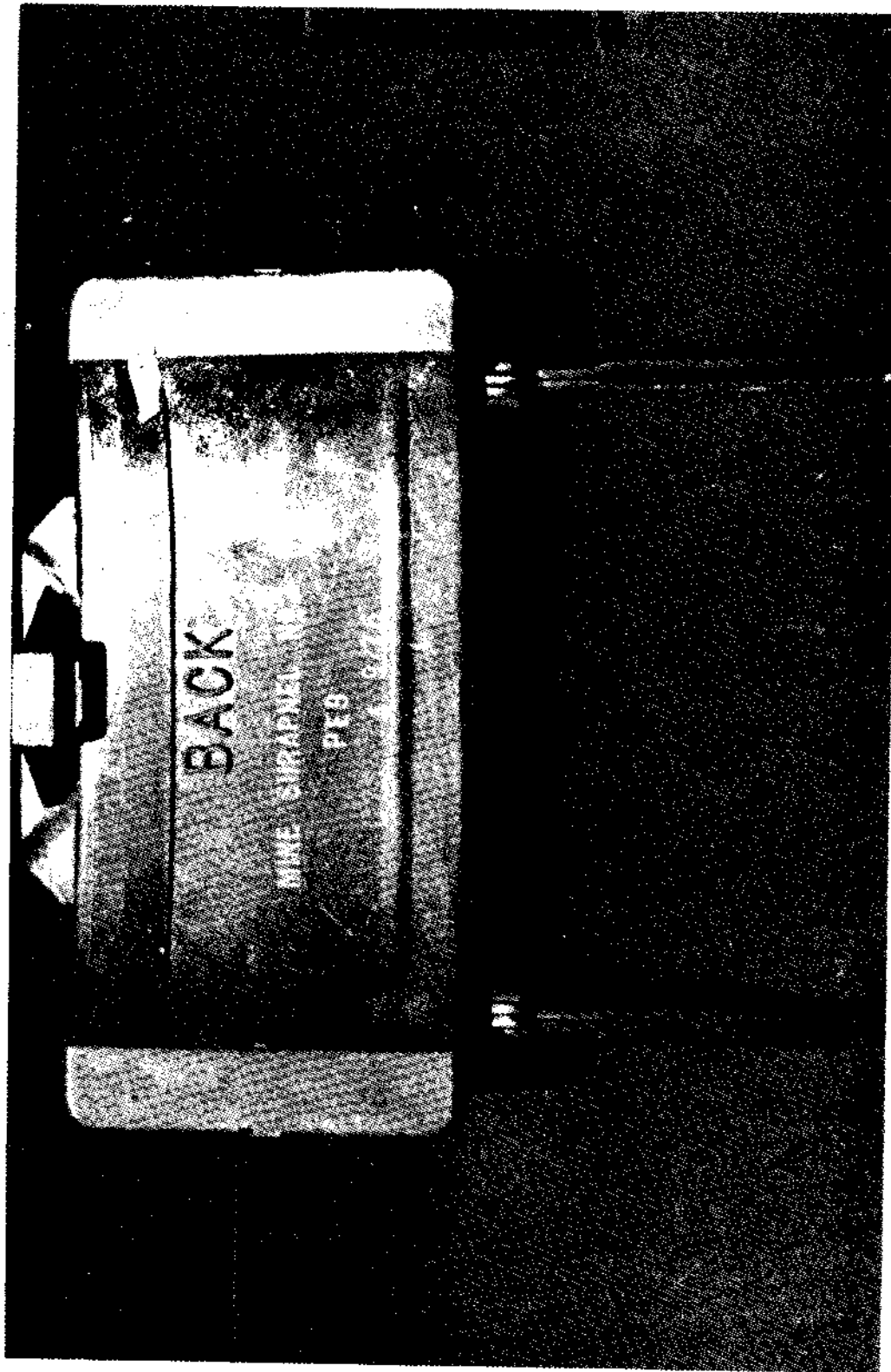




Full gear of South African pilot shot down.

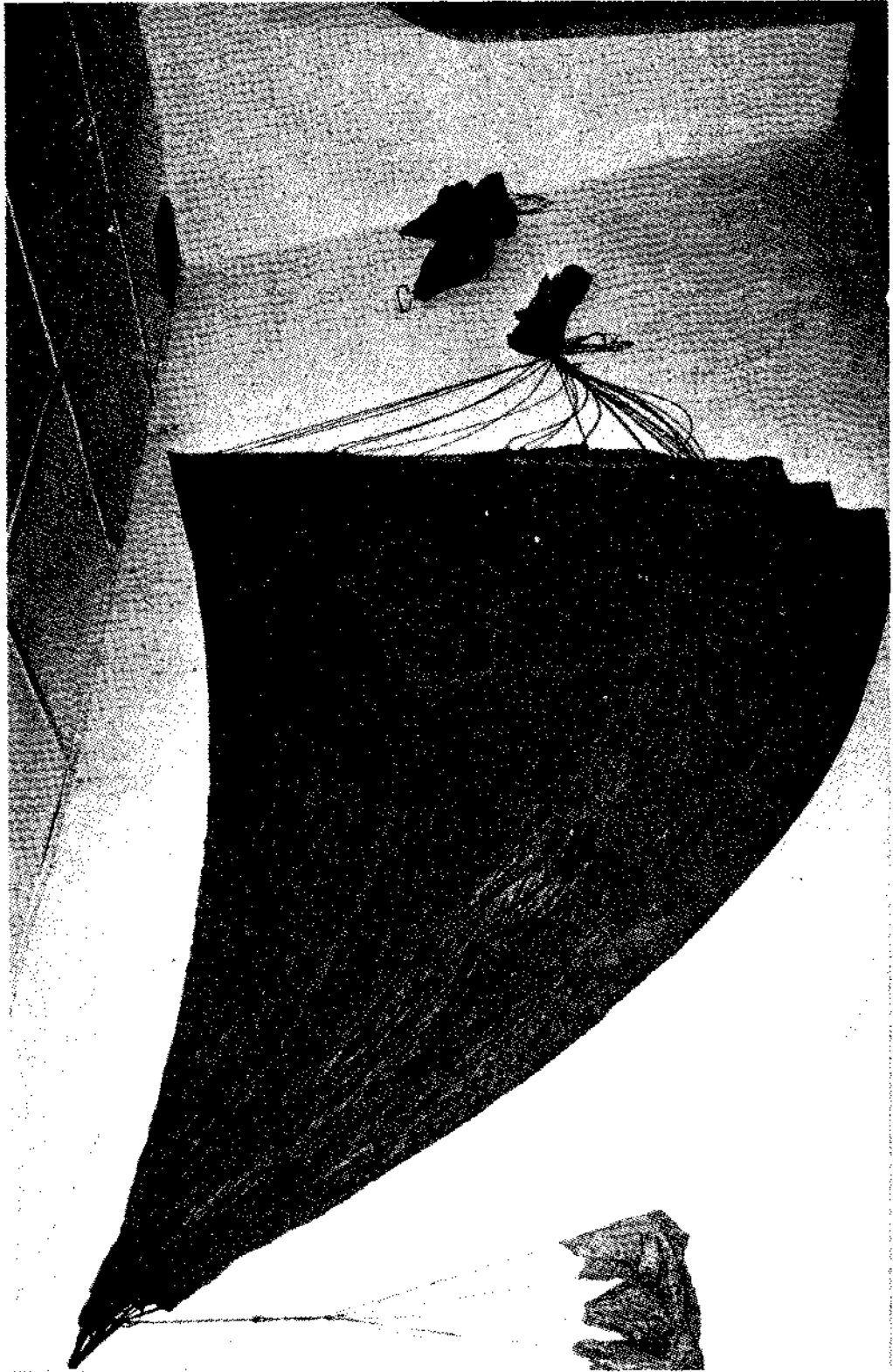
South African air force caps and helmets





Klaymore anti-personnel mine.

South African air force parachutes.





South African pilot's parachute.

Bomb crater



