

In Southern Africa there is a "Front Line", from the Indian Ocean in the East to the Atlantic Ocean in the West. To the South of this "Front Line" is apartheid South Africa, the heart of white supremacy and of racist power and privilege. On the same side of the "Front Line" is Namibia, a territory illegally occupied by apartheid South Africa. On the other side of the "Front Line" are the independent states of Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. These states gained their independence in the 1960s and 1970—in the case of the last three as a result of armed resistance to colonial rule.

# 1. APARTHEID'S WAR AGAINST AFRICA

With the collapse of the unholy alliance of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, which dominated the region until the mid-1970s, South Africa is today trying to re-impose its will on the peoples of Southern Africa by the creation of a "Constellation of

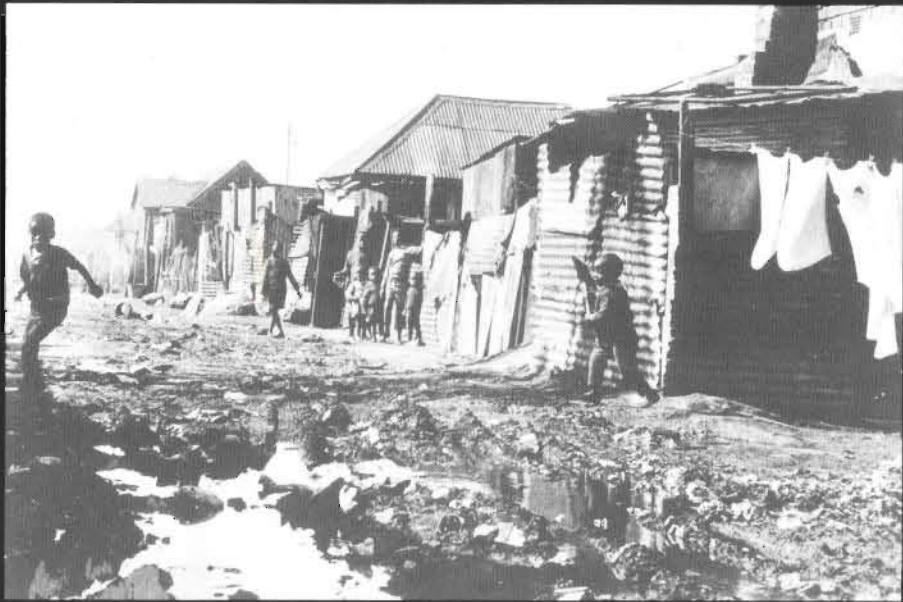
States". To reverse the gains of the cause of African freedom, South Africa is today using a combination of military might, political destabilisation and economic sabotage in order to dominate the region. This is apartheid's war against Africa.

# 2. APARTHEID: A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

NON-WHITES  
NIE-BLANKES

WHITES (ONLY)  
BLANKES (ALLEEN)

Apartheid is a unique system of legalised racial discrimination. A white minority, less than one-fifth of the population, rules over the black majority. The apartheid regime, committed to the maintenance of white supremacy, denies all fundamental rights to the Black majority. 87% of the land has been designated "white" and Africans are



▲ Life in Soweto, South Africa

being forcibly removed from "white areas" to live in the "bantustans" or "homelands" in the remaining 13% of the land, much of which is barren. These "bantustans" are in reality reserves of cheap labour for the white economy. The South African authorities are declaring these "bantustans" "independent", with the intention of depriving all Africans of the citizenship of the land of their birth. It is estimated that 3½ million people have already been forcibly removed from their homes.

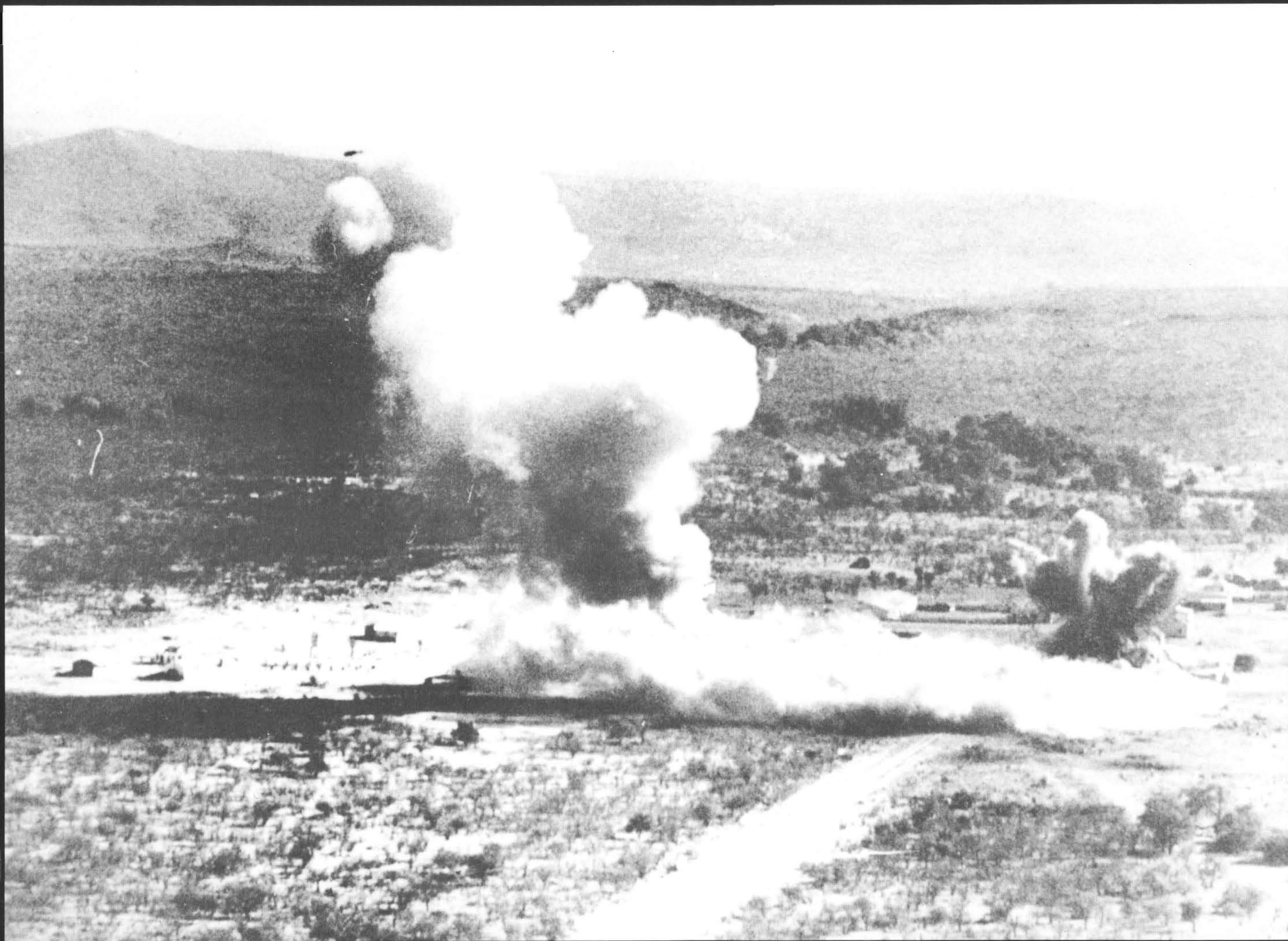
Africans are treated as "labour units", vital to the white-owned mines, farms and factories. Every African must carry a Pass Book and obtain a permit to be in a "white area" for more than 72 hours. Many Africans working in the "white areas" are not permitted to have their families with them. The elderly, unemployed, women and

children, are officially considered "superfluous appendages".

South Africa has occupied the neighbouring territory of Namibia since 1915 and imposed its own racial policies on the population. This occupation was declared illegal in 1966 by the United Nations General Assembly and in 1971 the International Court of Justice upheld this decision. In defiance of all the governments of the world, South Africa has maintained its military occupation with an estimated force of 100,000 men. Namibia is important to South Africa because it profits in particular from the mining and sale of its mineral resources, especially uranium. The territory has been transformed by South Africa into a springboard for its acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent states of Angola, Botswana and Zambia.



▲ Paramilitary police in Windhoek, Namibia



▲ The Angolan settlement of Chitado in flames following a South African attack

▼ South African soldiers looking over the Namibian border into Angola



## 3. ANGOLA UNDER ATTACK

On the other side of the "Front Line" in Southern Africa is Angola. This country gained its independence in 1975 after centuries of Portuguese colonialism and a long war of liberation, but on the eve of independence a new war started when South Africa launched a major invasion from Namibia. The aim was to prevent Angola's liberation movement, the MPLA, from coming to power and forming a government committed to the ongoing struggle for freedom throughout Southern Africa. It did not succeed. The South African forces finally withdrew in March 1976 after heavy fighting with the Angolan armed forces and Cuban troops, invited by the new Angolan Government to assist it following independence.

However, South Africa persists with its acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, including major attacks and acts of sabotage. South Africa also



▲ South African Prime Minister (then Defence Minister) P.W. Botha with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi together in Angola during the apartheid regime's invasion of Angola in 1975-6

began to train and equip personnel of the anti-government grouping, UNITA, to carry out acts of terrorism and sabotage.

On 23 August 1981, South Africa launched its second massive invasion on Angola. In its biggest military mobilisation since the Second World War, South Africa was able to seize territory up to 200 kms from the Namibian border. South African forces launched a renewed invasion with the aim of securing an even larger area of Southern Angola in December 1983.

# 4. ANGOLA: MORE HUMAN SUFFERING

South Africa's war against Angola has resulted in 600,000 people being made homeless. The displaced have been forced to flee from occupied areas, usually on foot, sometimes having to travel hundreds of miles despite injuries and with small children.

Terrorist activity in central Angola by UNITA has also forced many people to leave their homes. Angolans living in rural areas who have lost their homes have, as a result, also lost their land and their livelihood and this in turn has accentuated the problems of food production and food shortages.



▲ Angolan refugees forced to flee their villages by South African occupying forces



▲ Young Angolan girl maimed by a mine explosion



▲ A railway line in the south of Angola sabotaged by airborne South African Commandos in 1979

## 5. ANGOLA: ECONOMIC DEVASTATION



▲ Luanda oil refinery blasted by South African commandos



▲ On the front line: clinic at Cahama destroyed by aerial attack



▲ Angolan road bridge destroyed by South African bombing

The human misery resulting from South Africa's war against Angola cannot be measured in economic terms, but the destruction and damage inflicted on factories, schools, hospitals, bridges, roads, railways and industrial plant, including the Luanda oil refinery, as well as the setbacks to production and the effect on the social, administrative and health services, has been estimated to total at least \$10 billion for the period 1975-1982.

In addition, a further price has been paid by Angola because urgently needed resources for development projects have had to be diverted for military purposes. As a result of South Africa's undeclared war, over 50% of the Angolan Government's budget is now spent on defence.

In fact, Angola's natural resources include oil, uranium, gold, diamonds, iron and phosphates, and thus it is in a better position than many other states in Southern Africa to be economically independent from South Africa. This factor, combined with Angola's support for the freedom struggle in Southern Africa, makes South Africa single out Angola as a special target for attack.

# 6. KASSINGA: A NAMIBIAN TRAGEDY

70,000 Namibians have chosen to flee South Africa's illegal occupation and seek freedom in Angola. Many live in refugee camps. On 4 May 1978 South African jet bombers and paratroopers attacked one such refugee camp at Kassinga in Southern Angola. Over 600 were murdered by the South African troops. Most were young

people, teenagers and children. At least 116 refugees were abducted back to Namibia and subjected to vicious torture. They are still held by the South African army at a secret detention camp in Southern Namibia. Most Namibian refugees have now been moved hundreds of miles to the North of Angola in Kwanza Sul province.



▲ Refugees at Kassinga camp in February 1978, prior to the massacre



▲ A mass grave of the victims of the Kassinga massacre, 4 May 1978



◀ Namibian refugees abducted from Angola by South African forces during the Kassinga raid

# 7. LESOTHO: HOSTAGE OF APARTHEID



There is another "Front Line" in Southern Africa: inside South Africa, encircled by the apartheid state, the small Kingdom of Lesotho is struggling for its very survival. This former British Protectorate gained independence in 1966. It is a mountainous country with few natural resources and is totally surrounded by South African territory.

Lesotho has been subjected to numerous acts of sabotage, border violation, assassination and kidnapping.

Also involved in these actions is the "Lesotho Liberation Army" which operates from South Africa.

The most savage of these attacks was on the eve of United Nations Human Rights Day, 9 December 1982, when South African commando units carried out a barbaric attack on the capital, Maseru. The targets were private residences. Twelve Lesotho nationals and thirty South African refugees, including women and children, were killed

in cold blood.

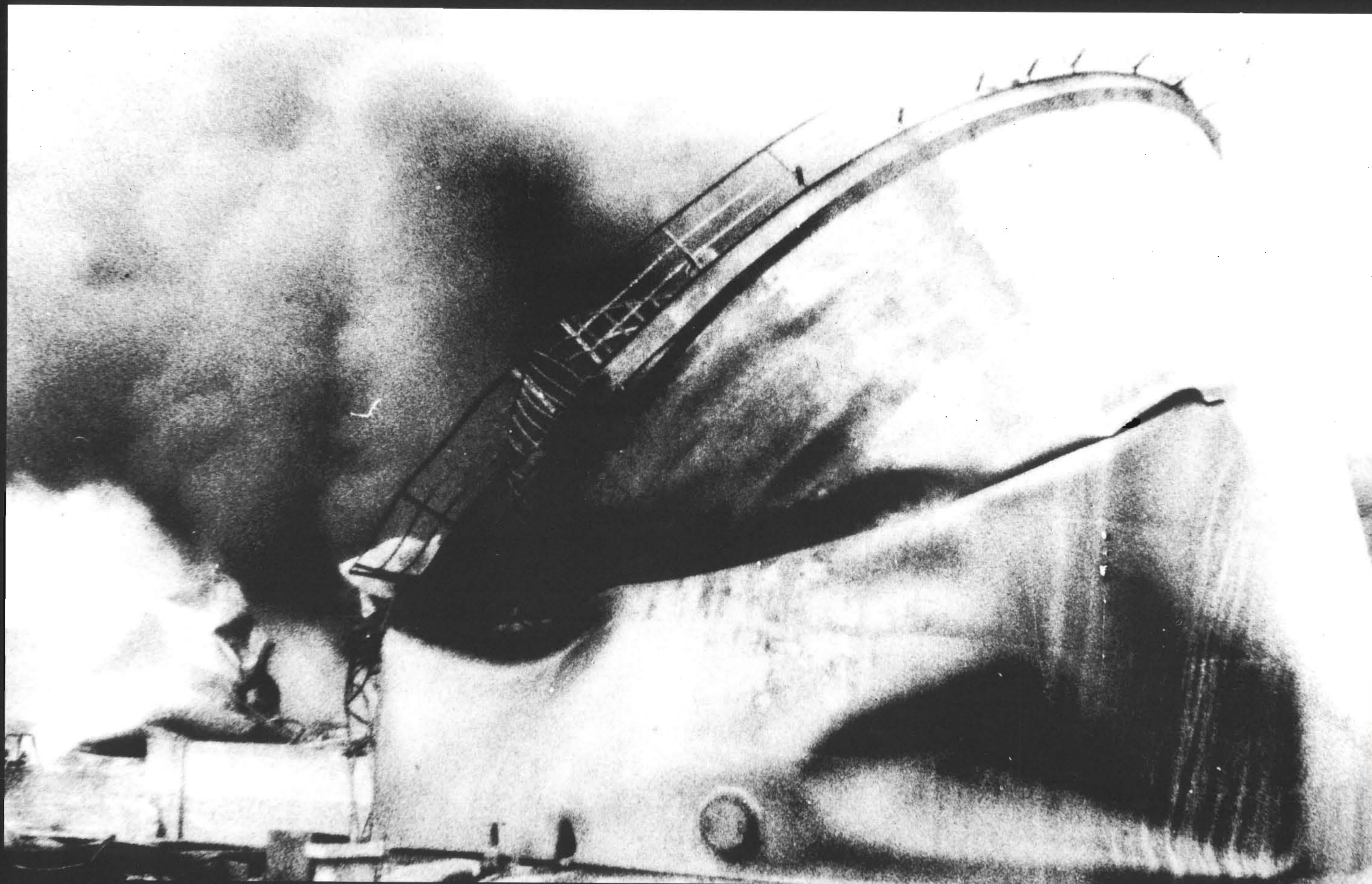
Lesotho is also especially vulnerable to economic strangulation by apartheid South Africa. For example in 1983, South Africa effectively closed its borders with Lesotho for several weeks in an attempt to force Lesotho to cease providing asylum for South African refugees. The picture above shows queues of people unable to cross into South Africa from Lesotho following South Africa's blockade of the territory.



▲ Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, at the funeral of South African refugees murdered by SADF commandos, in Maseru, Lesotho, December 1982



▲ Victim of raid on Maseru, capital of Lesotho, in December 1982. 42 civilians were massacred by the SADF – 30 were South African exiles, members of ANC and SACTU, and 12 were Lesotho nationals



## 8. ECONOMIC SABOTAGE ACROSS THE FRONT LINE

▲ Beira fuel tanks destroyed by South African commando raid in December 1982

The landlocked States in Southern Africa – Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe – have to use sea ports in other countries for their trade. Under colonialism South Africa became the centre of the transport and communication network for the region. Many countries still have little choice but to use South Africa's railways and port facilities. This gives South Africa another weapon against the independent states in the region.

For instance, during 1981 Zimbabwe's bumper harvests of nearly 13 million metric tons of grain could not be exported. The South African regime had suddenly terminated arrangements by which it had loaned locomotives to the country prior to independence. This cost the Zimbabwe

government an estimated Z\$4.6 million a week in lost exports and foreign exchange.

Another example was the sabotage of oil storage tanks in the Mozambique port of Beira in December 1982, which led to a serious shortage of petrol in Zimbabwe. The aim of the operation was to force Zimbabwe into increased dependence on South Africa in the strategically vital areas of oil and petroleum products.

Botswana and Zambia have repeatedly faced similar problems as a result of the combination of military aggression and economic sabotage.

Positive moves to end dependence on South Africa and therefore South Africa's capacity to dominate the region are taking place in Southern Africa today. The

Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was set up to bring together Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It aims to co-ordinate regional development and to reduce the region's dependence on South Africa.

A priority is the development and modernisation of alternative transport routes to seaports, especially in Mozambique. South Africa, in response, stepped up both direct and indirect attacks against the transport system in Mozambique such as port facilities in Beira, oil storage facilities, the oil pipeline to Zimbabwe, as well as railways, roads and bridges.



▲ Cars queueing at a Harare petrol station, December 1982, during fuel crisis in Zimbabwe following attack on Beira storage tanks.



▼ Mozambique passenger train destroyed by sabotage attack, claimed by MNR,

▼ Mozambican troops with captured MNR equipment



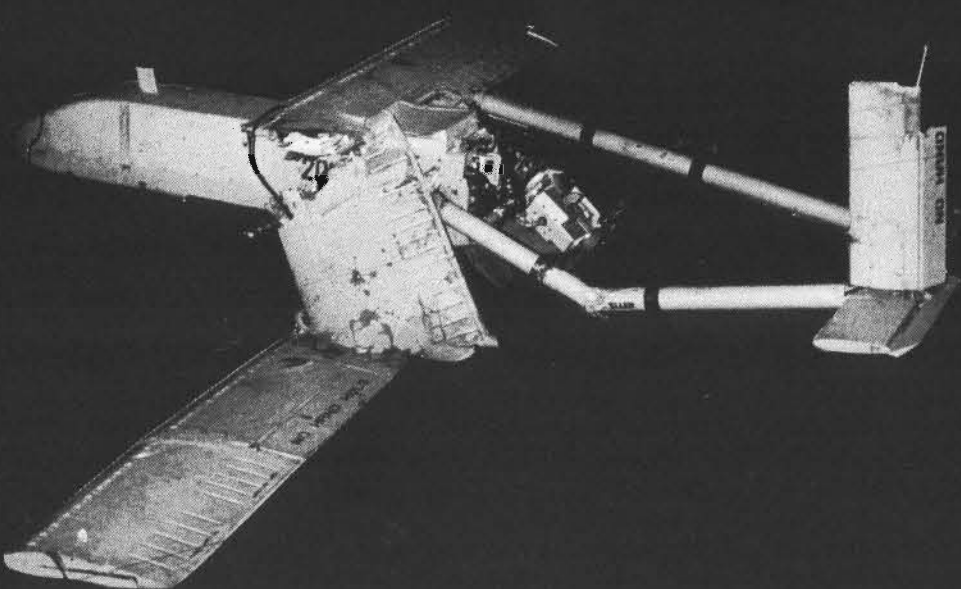
On the east coast of Africa, on the Indian Ocean, Mozambique, also a former Portuguese colony, is on the "Front Line". It gained independence in 1975 after a long and costly liberation struggle. It immediately became a target of racist aggression; initially by the Rhodesian forces under Ian Smith and now by Pretoria. Mozambique is especially vulnerable as its capital is only a few minutes' flying time away from South Africa and continues to be linked economically with South Africa.

Mozambique has been subjected to countless attacks on economic targets such as the Beira-Zimbabwe oil pipeline and the road-rail links with Zimbabwe. South Africa's aim has been to destroy Mozambique's economy, create political chaos and, at the same time, to destabilise the economics of other Southern African States, in particular Zimbabwe.

The apartheid regime has violated Mozambique's borders and air-space, attacked and killed Mozambique civilians and South African refugees. Many of these actions have been carried out directly by South African forces; others were the responsibility of the South African controlled Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR), originally set up in 1975 by the Rhodesian Special Intelligence. After Zimbabwe's independence it was taken over by South Africa. The MNR is supplied and directed from bases in Northern Transvaal, South Africa, where a radio transmitter broadcasts in its name.

Western mercenaries in the South African Army play a major part in South Africa's war against Mozambique. For example, Lieutenant Alan Gingles, formerly a British Army Officer, was killed on a sabotage mission deep inside Mozambique in 1981.

## 9. MOZAMBIQUE: ON THE FRONT LINE



▲ The remains of Pretoria's spy-plane, fished up from Maputo bay after it was shot down on 30 May 1983

▲ An example of the atrocities committed by MNR bandits

▼ ANC members murdered by SADF at their residence in Matola, a suburb of Maputo, Mozambique, 30 January 1981



## 10. MAPUTO UNDER ATTACK

On 30 January 1981 a South African commando unit crossed the border into Mozambique, entered a suburb of Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, known as Matola, and in a brutal attack against three residences, killed 13 South African refugees.

Matola was the target for another murderous attack on 23 May 1983 when the South African air force strafed the Maputo suburb. The targets were the "Somopal" fruit juice and jam factory and its adjoining creche (where three Mozambican workers were killed); the bridge over the Matola River linking the suburb with Maputo; the Petromac oil refinery and the residential areas of Fomento and Liberdade. The South African Defence Minister, General Malan, claimed

that these targets were "military bases", "terrorist centres" etc. These claims were refuted by foreign correspondents and diplomats. The British Ambassador to Mozambique confirmed that the targets

were civilian.

Later in 1983, the ANC publicity office in Maputo was partially destroyed in a bomb attack for which the South Africans claimed responsibility.



▲ Sleeping quarters of destroyed ANC office, Maputo, 1983



▲ Captured SADF equipment after the Matola raid in 1981

# 11. THE TENTACLES OF SOUTH AFRICAN TERRORISM

South Africa since the early 1960's has been a base for acts of international terrorism aimed against opponents of apartheid in neighbouring African states. Kidnapping, abductions, bombings and assassinations have become a regular feature of life in Southern Africa.

South African agents have repeatedly defied international law by carrying out such operations. Every independent state in the region has been a target.

In the 1960's South African and Namibian refugees escaping from apartheid terror fled to the then British protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. In case after case South African police ignored international borders to abduct refugees back to South Africa. By the 1970's kidnapping had become the norm. In some cases, like the example of a South African, Victor Mayisela, working as a School Principal in Swaziland, who was abducted near the South African border and has never been heard of again. Both Namibians and Angolans have been repeatedly abducted from Angola by South African military forces. The 1970's also saw a catalogue of murder. Parcel bombs took the lives of Abraham Tiro, John Dube, Ablom Duma; others were murdered by shooting and bombing. These murders culminated in the early 1980's with the assassination of the ANC Chief Representative Joe Gqabi on 31st July 1981 who was shot dead at point blank range. Then in August 1982 the internationally renowned South African academic and political activist Ruth First was murdered by a parcel bomb at the university in Maputo.



▲ On 31 July 1981 Joe Gqabi, Chief Representative of the ANC in Zimbabwe, was shot dead at point blank range as he was driving out of his home in Salisbury (now Harare)



▲ Ruth First, killed by a parcel bomb at Mozambique's University in Maputo where she had been working since 1979

▼ Damaged control tower, following raid on Pointe Larue Airport, Seychelles, 25 November 1981



▼ Arms smuggled into the Seychelles by mercenaries



▼ South African mercenaries leaving court, Seychelles



▼ Wreckage of the ANC office in London: target of a bomb attack on Sunday 14 March 1982.



# 12. SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

The illegal and terroristic activities of South African agents have reached far beyond the Southern African region.

The most serious and sensational case was the South African based attempted coup d'etat in November 1981 which failed to overthrow the government of the tiny Indian Ocean island republic of the Seychelles.

A few months later in March 1982 South African agents resorted to violence in Europe when they bombed the London

offices of the ANC causing serious damage although miraculously nobody was seriously injured or killed.

But these were just the tip of the iceberg.

South African agents are engaged in worldwide operations aimed against members of the Southern African liberation movements, and other refugees, as well as governments and organisations committed to international action against apartheid. The "Muldergate Scandal" revealed the

extent of South Africa's covert multi-million dollar operations; however now these increasingly involve break-ins and burglaries of the offices and homes of opponents of apartheid. South African Embassy officials have been directly implicated in such operations.

London in particular, has become a centre of South African espionage operations as it is one of the few countries outside Africa for which South Africans do not require visas.

▼ Pelindaba, near Pretoria: centre of South Africa's nuclear programme



# 13. SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY & NUCLEAR CAPABILITY

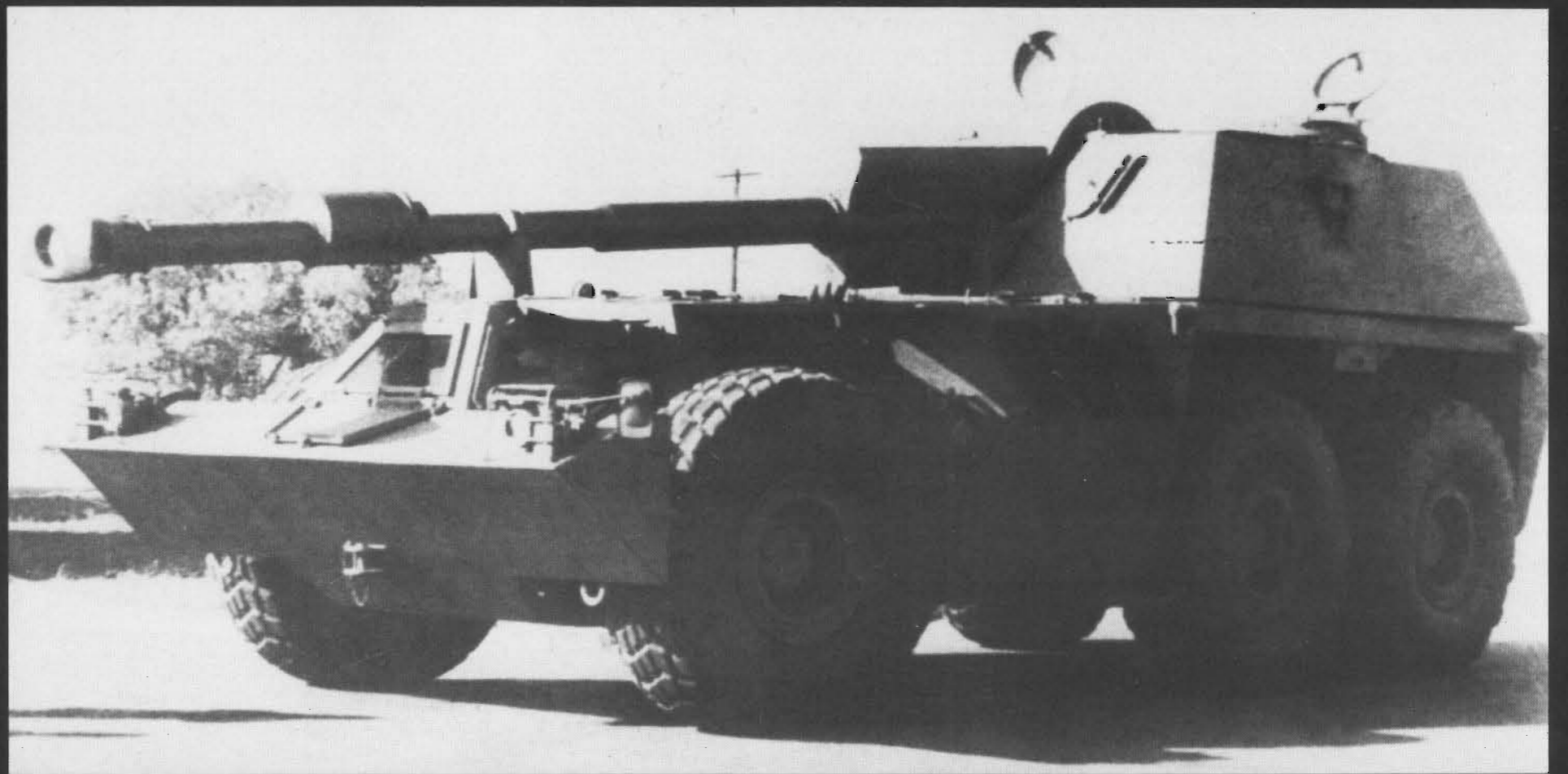
South Africa has the most powerful military machine on the African continent and its own nuclear weapons programme. During the period from 1961 to 1981 South African expenditure increased from R72 million per annum to R3000 million.

South African armed forces have not only been engaged in military aggression against neighbouring African states but are also increasingly used to maintain the repressive system of apartheid within South Africa itself. An estimated 100,000 strong force is based in Namibia to maintain South Africa's military occupation.

South Africa has built up its apartheid war machine in defiance of the Mandatory UN arms embargo imposed against South Africa in November 1977. South Africa's state-owned arms corporation ARMSCOR has a huge budget to supply the South African Defence Force.

South Africa seeks to convey the impression that its arms industry is self-sufficient but in practice it still imports huge quantities of arms and related material (including strategically vital equipment such as military radar). In addition much of the equipment ARMSCOR produces is manufactured under licences provided by overseas arms manufacturers and many components are supplied by the South African subsidiaries of western Transnational Corporations.

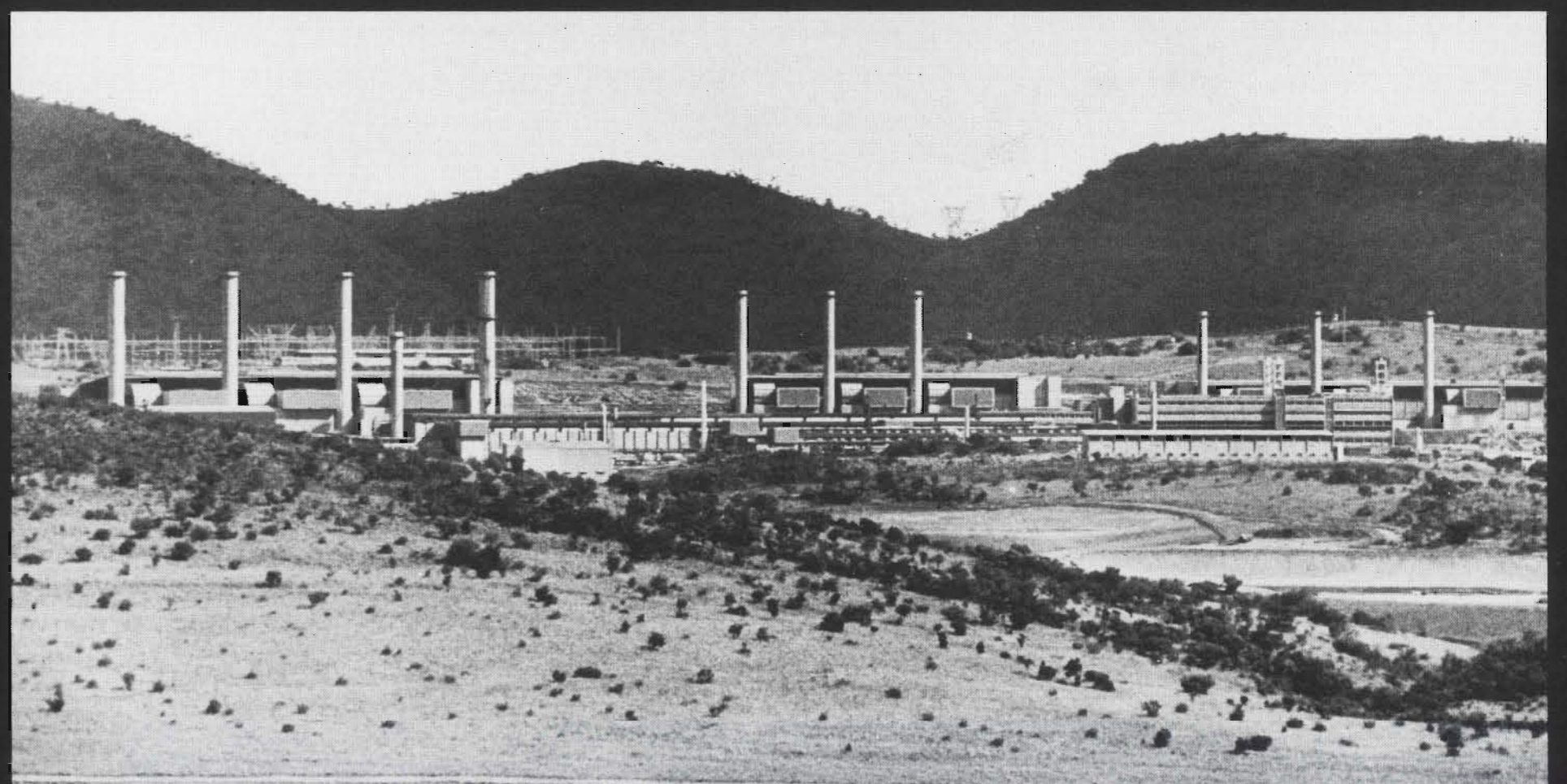
South Africa can now produce its own nuclear weapons and there is evidence that it has tested a nuclear device. Its secret nuclear installations include the Valindaba plant for enriching uranium, and it has the necessary delivery systems to launch nuclear attacks against neighbouring African states.



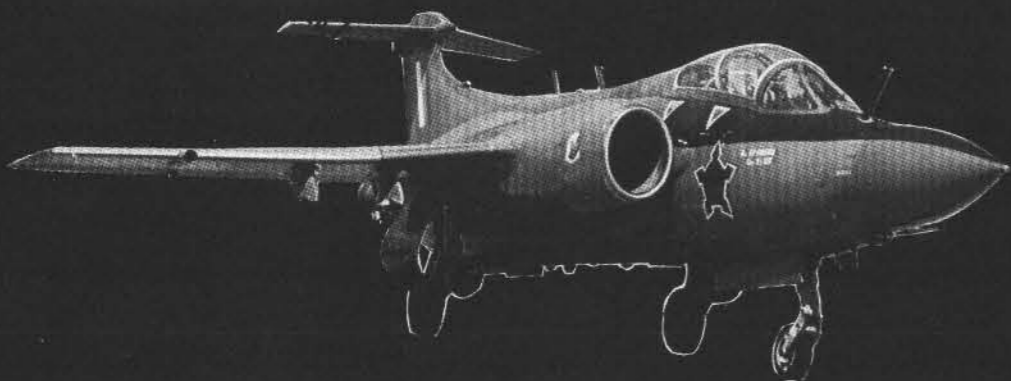
▲ A G6 155mm mobile artillery unit: a South African version of a system developed by the US/Canadian-based Space Research Corporation, which is reported to be capable of firing nuclear shells



◀ A Plessey AR3D mobile military radar unit being loaded onto a South African paramilitary Hercules L100-30 aircraft (registration ZS-RSE) at Hurn Airport in the south of England, photographed on 29th April 1981



▲ Valindaba: South Africa's top secret uranium enrichment plant



▲ A British-built Buccaneer of the South African Airforce: these aircraft have been used in bombing raids on Angola

# 14. INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE FRONT LINE STATES



Africa, and in particular the Frontline and other neighbouring African states, has been the victim of an escalating war of aggression and destabilisation by South Africa, especially since the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980.

In response there has been a growing movement of international solidarity with the Frontline states involving the active participation of the great majority of member states of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement as well as anti-apartheid and solidarity movements.

There have been extensive efforts to publicise "Apartheid's War against Africa" and to counter South African misinformation which has had a growing influence over western press and media.

World-wide protests have been mounted against South Africa's murderous attacks against the Frontline states in particular the massacre of Namibian and South African refugees.

The United Nations Secretary-General and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid both visited the Frontline States in 1983 and urged increased assistance to all independent states in the region. The Southern African Development

Co-ordination Conference has provided a unique instrument for regional co-ordination of aid programmes with the objective of reducing the regions economic dependence on South Africa. Many non-governmental organisations have responded to appeals for aid from the Frontline States and Southern African liberation movements.

The international community has also responded to South Africa's war of aggression by intensifying efforts to isolate the apartheid regime.

These have focussed in particular on the need to ensure the strict implementation of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa and to stop supplies of oil which is vital to fuel the apartheid war machine.

The United Nations Security Council has met repeatedly over the past decade to consider complaints against South Africa by individual member states and has adopted 14 resolutions between 1973 and 1983.

Moves to introduce effective action against South Africa under Chapter 7 of the Charter such as economic sanctions however have been blocked by western permanent members of the Security Council

▲ "Geef om Angola" (Give for Angola): emergency aid sent by the Holland Committee on Southern Africa to relieve the effects of South African aggression against Angola.

▼ Anti-Apartheid march in London, August 1981, to protest against the South African invasion of Southern Angola.



which have the power of veto. South Africa has interpreted such support by western powers as a "greenlight" to intensify its war of aggression. The Frontline States and SADCC countries have made repeated appeals to the west to use its influence with South Africa.



▲ Former British Ambassador to Angola, Mr Hugh Byatt, visits site of South African bombing raid: Lubango, September 26, 1979



▲ An International Commission of Inquiry visiting Southern Angola inspect damage caused by napalm bombing: Cuamato 1981.



▲ Delegation of UN Special Committee against Apartheid in Botswana during a tour of the Frontline States, Spring 1983.